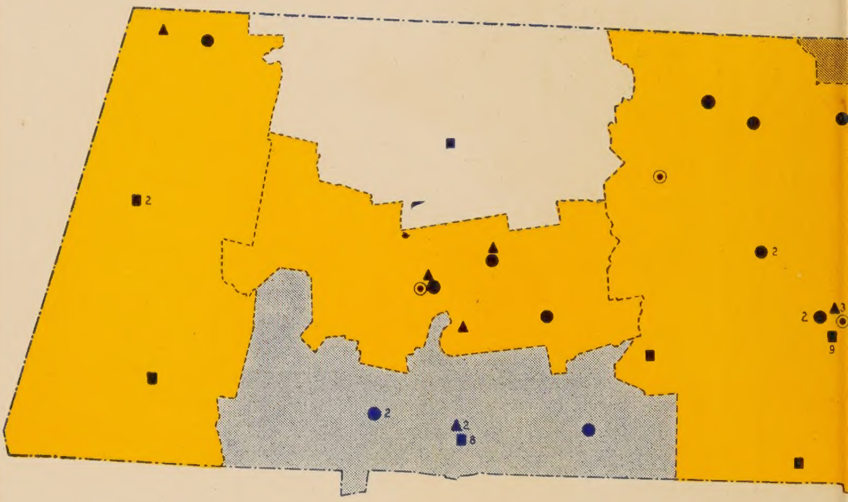

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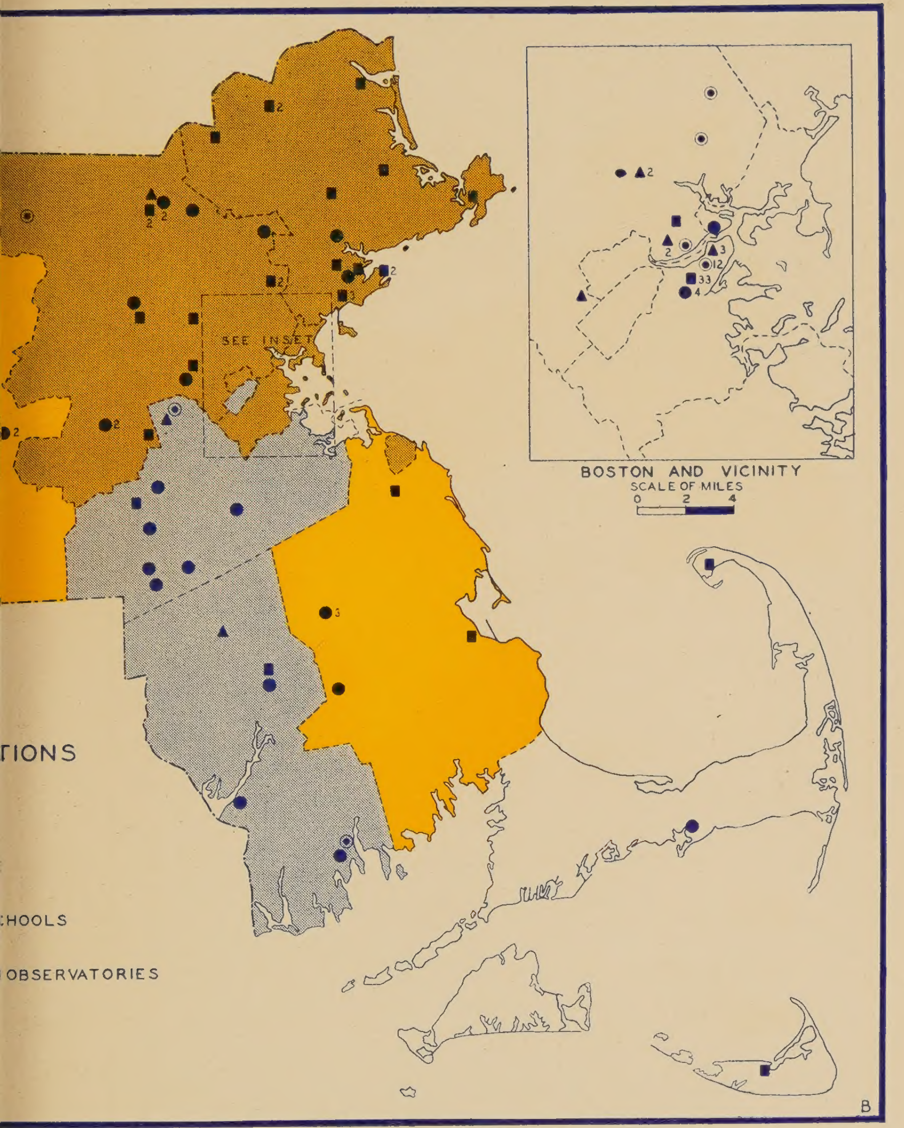
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Mrs Norman H. Freeman
9-13-68

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS (1890-1930)
By Frank E. Bridgman 1
- The General Court Today 1
- Senate and House Chambers 1
- Modern Methods 2
- Organization 2
- Resolutions and Orders 3
- Pairs and Petition 4
- Methods of Electing the Speaker 4
- Selection of Chaplain 5
- First Day's Business 6
- Advance Printing 6
- Reading of Papers 7
- Petitioners and Filing Fees 7
- Speedy Legislation in the Spanish War (1898) 8
- Questions' of Order 9
- Women Legislators 10
- Committee System 12
- Volume of Legislative Business 12
- Length of Sessions 13
- Impeachment Proceedings 14
- Change in the Quorum 14
- Mileage and Salaries 15
- Constitutional Recesses 16
- The Governor in Legislation 17
- Appropriation Bills and the Budget 18
- Effect of Biennial Elections 18
- Procedure Under Direct Legislation 19
- Emergency Legislation 21
- Long Terms of Service 22
- Quality of Membership 22
- Later Public Service 23
- Select Bibliography 25

CHAPTER II

PROBLEMS OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT (1890-1930)
By William E. Dorman 28
- Constitutional Reorganization of 1918 28
- The Fourth Department of Government 29
- More Recent Administrative Agencies (1900-1914) . . . 30
- Beginnings in Reorganization (1879-1918) 30
- The Commission on Economy and Efficiency (1910-1914) 31
- Reorganization by Popular Mandate (1917-1919) 31
- Commission on Administration and Finance (1921-1930) . 32
- Direct Legislation—Submission of Questions to the Voters (1881-1916) 34
- Public Opinion Law (1913-1920) 35

Application of the Initiative and Referendum (1919-1930) 36
Effect of Initiative and Referendum (1919-1930) 38
The Executive Veto 38
Effect of Appointing Power of the Governor 40
The General Court: General and Special Laws 41
Continuous Consolidation of the General Laws (1882-1930) 42
Uniform State Laws (1891-1930) 43
Sunday Laws (1904-1930) 45
Present Sunday Privileges (1692-1900) 46
Civil Service and the Merit System (1884-1930) 47
Extension of the Civil Service Laws (1887-1929) 47
Preferences and Removals (1896-1911) 48
Record of Public Charities (1863-1929) 49
Child Legislation (1890-1929) 50
Poor Relief 51
Prison Reform and Penology (1847-1870) 51
New Types of Institutions (1847-1927) 52
Prison Conditions (1919-1930) 53
Criminal Psychiatry and Penology (1904-1924) 54
Responsibility for the Mentally Diseased (1676-1886) . . 55
Reform of Care of the Insane (1898-1904) 56
Psychopathic Patients and Feeble-Minded (1909-1922) . 57
Summary of State Institutions for the Dependent (1900-1930) 58
Control of Motor Vehicles (1903-1929) 60
Authorization of State Highways (1803) 61
Construction of State Highways (1894-1928) 62
Problems of Highway Safety (1903-1929) 63
Compulsory Motor-Vehicle Insurance (1925-1929) . . . 64
Select Bibliography 65

CHAPTER III

BOSTON—THE MUNICIPALITY (1890-1930)
By Andrew J. Peters 68
Relation of the State to the City Government of Boston 68
State Control of Police 69
Annexations to Boston (1868-1909) 70
Charters (1822-1885) 70
The Charter of 1909 71
Race Elements in the Population 72
Metropolitan Boston 73
Control by the Commonwealth 74
Mayor Matthews (1890-1894) 75
Water Supply and Schools 76
Mayors Curtis, Quincy and Hart (1895-1902) 76
Mayors Collins, Fitzgerald and Hibbard (1903-1909) . . 77
Mayors Curley and Peters (1914-1922) 78
Mayors Curley and Nichols (1922-1929) 79
The Good Government Association (1902-1930) 80
The Finance Commission (1907-1930) 81
The Mayor Under the Charter of 1909 82
Charter Revision of 1924 83
The Segregated Budget (1915) 84
Administration of the Boston Schools (1890-1930) . . . 84
Water Supply (1893-1930) 85
Sewerage (1890-1930) 86

Boston Benevolent Funds (1790-1930) 87
City Planning (1870-1930) 88
Bridges and Tunnels (1890-1930) 89
The Parks (1875-1930) 90
Fire and Police Service (1895-1927) 91
The Public Health (1876-1930) 92
The Police Strike of 1919 93
Progress of City Government in Massachusetts (1890-1930) 94
Select Bibliography 96

CHAPTER IV

BENCH AND BAR IN MASSACHUSETTS (1889-1929)

By Robert Grant 99
- Status of the Legal Profession 99
- Standards of Admission to the Bar 100
- The Bar (1889-1929) 101
- Race Elements in the Bar 102
- Large Firms and Practitioners 103
- Admission to the Bar (1780-1901) 103
- Revised Requirements (1904-1929) 104
- Law at Harvard University (1815-1870) 106
- Modern Harvard Law School (1870-1930) 106
- Boston University Law School (1872-1930) 108
- Other Boston Law Schools (1906-1930) 108
- Associations of Lawyers (1761-1930) 110
- Massachusetts Bar Association (1909-1930) 111
- Organization of the Courts (1889-1930) 112
- The Superior Court (1890-1930) 113
- Justices of the Supreme Judicial and Superior Courts (1890-1930) 114
- Probate Courts (1919-1930) 115
- Other Courts (1912-1930) 116
- The Judicial Council of Massachusetts (1924-1930) 117
- Tenure of Office and Emoluments of Judges 118
- Tendencies in Litigation 120
- Automobile Cases 120
- Inheritance and Income Taxes 121
- Famous Murder Cases 122
- Trials of Prosecuting Officials (1921) 124
- Willett Case (1921-1924) 125
- Sacco-Vanzetti Case (1920-1927) 126
- Governor's Advisory Committee on the Sacco-Vanzetti Case (1927) 127
- Criticisms of the Sacco-Vanzetti Decision 128
- Select Bibliography 129

CHAPTER V

MASSACHUSETTS IN THE WEST

By Charles F. Thwing 132
- West and East (1628-1786) 132
- The Westward Movement (1786-1800) 132
- The Ordinance of 1787 133
- Service of Nathan Dane (1782-1835) 134
- Service of Manasseh Cutler (1787) 135

Character of the Northwestern Settlers (1787-1850) . 136
Massachusetts in the Northwest Territory (1787-1800) 137
Massachusetts in the Religious Life of the West (1790-1850) 138
Spread of Massachusetts Theology (1787-1850) 140
Work of the Beechers (1832-1860) 141
Other Religious Influences (1830-1850) 142
Educational Traditions (1689-1789) 143
Influences of Horace Mann (1830-1853) 144
Influence on Higher Education in the West (1800-1930) . 145
Yale and Harvard 146
Reform Movements (1830-1860) 147
Massachusetts in Kansas (1854-1860) 148
Influence on Science 149
Literary Influence 150
Medicine and Law 151
Journalism and Journalists 152
Librarianship 153
Art Museums and Experts 154
Architecture 156
Western Railroads 157
Western Railroad Managers 158
Financial and Operative Forces 159
The Union Pacific 160
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe 161
Charles Francis Adams 162
Mining Interests 163
The Agassiz Family 163
Massachusetts Influence Summarized 164
Select Bibliography 165

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL READJUSTMENTS (1889-1929)
By Michael E. Hennessy 168
Advance of Massachusetts (1889-1929) 168
A Democratic Governor (1890-1891) 169
Russell's Popularity (1891-1893) 170
Governor Russell and the Legislature (1891-1893) . . . 171
Massachusetts in Washington (1889-1895) 171
First Foreign-Born State Governor (1893-1894) 172
Effect of the Free-Silver Controversy (1896) 173
The Wolcott Administration (1896-1898) 174
Governor Crane (1899-1902) 175
The Bates Administration (1903-1904) 175
Senator Hoar 176
Bartlett-Guild Contest (1905) 177
Hearst in Massachusetts Politics (1906) 177
Whitney-Guild Campaign (1907) 178
Massachusetts in the National Campaign (1908) . . . 179
New Figures in Massachusetts Politics (1909) 180
Governor Foss (1910) 181
The Lodge Controversy (1911) 182
Local Controversy (1911) 182
Battle for Massachusetts Delegation (1912) 183
Massachusetts Progressives (1912) 184
Foss Breaks with the Democrats (1913) 185
Walsh the First Catholic Governor (1913) 186

Governor McCall (1915-1917) 187
Constitutional Convention (1917-1919) 188
Governor Coolidge (1918-1920) 189
The Boston Police Strike (1920) 190
Calvin Coolidge, Vice President 191
The Third Massachusetts President (1922-1929) . . . 192
Governor Cox 192
End of the Lodge Regime (1924) 193
Fuller's Courage Tested (1927) 194
Select Bibliography 196

CHAPTER VII

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS (1830-1930)
By Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley 199
Traditions (1783-1850) 199
Women Agitators (1830-1890) 200
Woman Suffrage (1859-1919) 202
Nineteenth-Century Champions (1830-1890) 203
Susan B. Anthony 203
Lucy Stone 204
Mary A. Livermore 205
Julia Ward Howe 205
Alice Stone Blackwell 206
Higher Education of Women (1830-1880) 206
Mount Holyoke College (1893-1930) 206
Boston University (1869-1930) 207
Smith College (1876-1930) 207
Radcliffe College (1876-1930) 207
Simmons College (1893-1930) 208
Wheaton College (1834-1930) 209
New Types of Child Education (1868-1930) 209
The Career of Helen Keller 209
Modern Woman 210
Women's Clubs (1870-1930) 211
Americanization in Massachusetts (1914-1930) 211
Religious Leaders 212
Social Reform 213
Marriage and Divorce 213
The Professions 214
Science 214
Medicine 216
Medical Instruction 216
Tuberculosis Education (1907-1930) 217
Aviation 218
Literature 218
The Arts 219
Sculptors and Painters 219
Art Collections 220
Industry 221
The Suffrage Controversy (1870-1912) 221
National Suffrage Movement 222
Campaign for Ratification of the Suffrage Amendment (1919-1920) 223
Massachusetts Ratification of the Suffrage Amendment (1920) 224
Federal Officials (1920-1930) 225

In Congress (1920-1930) 226
Members of the General Court (1920-1930) 226
Judicial Officials (1920-1930) 227
Publicists 227
Political Organization 228
The International Peace Movement 229
Select Bibliography 230

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE IN MASSACHUSETTS (1890-1930)
By H. W. Tyler 233
Antecedents and Conditions 233
Educational Commissions (1891-1909) 234
Later Commissions (1918-1928) 235
Effect of the Progress of Science (1889-1929) 236
Public Organization and Supervision of Education . . 237
State Department of Education (1909-1930) 237
School Boards and Superintendents 238
Schools for the Defective 238
Health in Education 239
State Educational Aid and Control (1919) 239
Statistics, Public and Private (1890-1930) 240
Elementary and Secondary Education 241
Science in General Education 242
Reaction of College Requirements on the Schools . . 243
Curriculum 244
Textbooks 244
Mental Tests of Pupils 245
Student Activities in Massachusetts High Schools . . 246
Junior High Schools 247
Junior Colleges 247
University Extension (1915-1930) 248
Newer Types of Schools 248
Normal School Training 249
Associations of Teachers 250
Vocational and Technical Education 251
Principles of Technical Education 252
Other Vocational Schools 253
Franklin Union (1906-1930) 253
Wentworth Institute (1904-1930) 254
Lowell Institute School for Industrial Foremen (1896-1930) 255
Higher Education in General 255
Transformation of the Old Line Colleges 255
Clark University (1888-1930) 257
Colleges for Women 257
Massachusetts Institute of Technology 258
Education for Business and Professions 259
Lawrence Scientific School (1862-1930) 260
Polytechnic Institutes 261
Massachusetts Agricultural College (1867-1930) . . . 261
Northeastern University (1896-1930) 262
Lowell Textile Institute 262
Research in Applied Science 262

Professional Schools 263
Science and Invention 263
New England Conservatory of Music 265
National Educational Service of Massachusetts . . . 265
Select Bibliography 265

CHAPTER IX

LIBRARIES PUBLIC AND PRIVATE (1890-1928)
By Charles F. D. Belden 267
Conditions Forty Years Ago 267
Outside Influence of Massachusetts 268
Rise of the Boston Public Library (1852-1895) 269
Contents and Circulation 269
The Public Library Collections 270
State Library of Massachusetts (1826-1930) 272
Massachusetts State Archives (1821-1930) 273
Town Libraries in 1890 274
Free Public Library Commission (1890-1925) 274
A Free Library in Every Town (1890-1930) 275
Helping the Small Libraries (1900-1930) 276
Library Work with Schools, Children and Foreigners 278
Library Buildings 279
Harvard University Library (1636-1930) 279
Harvard Special Libraries 280
Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library (1865-1930) 282
College Libraries 283
Boston Athenaeum (1807-1930) 284
American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1780-1930) . . 286
Massachusetts Historical Society (1790-1930) 286
American Antiquarian Society (1812-1930) 286
Special Societies 287
Social Law Library (1804-1930) 288
Theological Libraries 289
Libraries of Clubs, Societies and Museums 290
Special Libraries of Business Firms 290
Eminent Librarians 291
Public Service of Libraries to Massachusetts 292
Select Bibliography 293

CHAPTER X

CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT, EDUCATOR OF THE COMMUNITY (1834-1927)
By Albert Bushnell Hart 295
The Five Protagonists 295
The Boy Eliot (1834-1849) 295
The Harvard Student and Teacher (1849-1858) 296
Approach to the Presidency of Harvard (1858-1869) . . 297
Harvard Apathy (1869) 299
Educational Conditions in Massachusetts (1869) . . . 300
Status of Harvard (1869) 300
The Presidential Task (1869) 301
The Iconoclastic President (1869-1880) 302
The Human Element in the Eliot Reform (1869-1880) . 303
The President in the Faculty 303

Publishers 496
Famous Publishing Firms (1828-1930) 497
Educational Publishing 498
Music Publishing (1835-1930) 499
Present Output of Literature 500
Publications of Educational Institutions 500
Commercial and Technical Journals 501
Select Bibliography 502

CHAPTER XVII

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MASSACHUSETTS
By Rev. Robert Howard Lord, Ph.D. 504
Two Aspects of the Subject 504
Colonial Attitude Towards Catholicism (1630-1775) . . 505
Anti-Catholic Legislation (1647-1700) 507
Catholic Clergy in Massachusetts (1643-1674) 508
Catholic Immigrants (1640-1772) 508
The Acadians (1755-1775) 509
Results of the American Revolution for Catholics (1775-1801) 510
The First Catholic Parish (1788-1792) 510
Matignon and Cheverus (1792-1823) 512
The First Cathedral (1803) 512
The First Bishop of Boston (1808-1823) 513
Influence of Cheverus (1808-1823) 515
Bishop Fenwick (1825-1846) 516
The Nativist Movement (1829-1840) 517
The Burning of the Ursuline Convent (1834) 518
Effects of the Destruction of the Convent (1834-1835) . 520
The Darkest Years (1834-1837) 520
The Age of the Pioneer Priests (1830-1860) 521
Bishop Fitzpatrick (1846-1866) 523
Know-Nothing Times (1854-1860) 524
Archbishop Williams (1866-1907) 526
Growth of the Church (1866-1907) 527
The School Question (1888-1889) 528
Cardinal O'Connell, Second Archbishop of Boston (1907) 529
Material Progress (1907-1930) 530
Spiritual Progress (1907-1930) 531
The Dioceses of Springfield and Fall River (1870-1930) . 532
Educational and Charitable Institutions 533
Conversions to Catholicism 534
Catholics in Public Life (1841-1930) 535
A Persisting Problem 536
Select Bibliography 537

CHAPTER XVIII

MEDICINE IN MASSACHUSETTS (1620-1930)
Bay Walter L. Burrage, A.M., M.D. 539
The Task 539
Seventeenth-Century Practicioners 539
Eighteenth-Century Medicine 541
Public Interest 542
The Massachusetts Medical Society (1781-1930) 542
Licensing of Physicians (1781-1930) 543

Early Medical Education (1782-1860) 543
Recent Medical Schools (1914-1930) 544
Number of Physicians 545
Hospitals (1784-1930) 545
Training of Nurses (1872-1930) 546
Medical Journals (1812-1930) 547
Contagiousness of Puerperal Fever (1843) 548
Discovery of Surgical Anethesia (1842-1846) 548
The Test of Etherization (1846) 549
Appendicitis (1886) 550
Boston Medical Library (1875-1930) 551
Medical Examiner System (1877-1930) 552
State Department of Public Health (1847-1930) 553
Tuberculosis Sanatoria (1891-1930) 554
State Department of Mental Diseases (1848-1930) . . . 556
Diseases of Children (1888-1930) 557
Child Dentistry 558
Orthopedics (1844-1930) 558
Diabetes (1916-1930) 560
Cancer (1889-1930) 560
Medical Social Service (1905-1930) 562
Hospital Efficiency (1914-1930) 562
Liver Diet in Pernicious Anemia 563
Some Prominent Doctors 564
Select Bibliography 567

CHAPTER XIX

THE MASSACHUSETTS MILITIA (1889-1930)
By Frederic Gilbert Bauer 570
Colonial Militia (1630-1775) . . . .
Limited Service of Colonial Militia 571
Volunteer Companies (1700-1783) 571
Adoption of the Volunteer System (1815-1865) 572
Reduction of Force (1865-1889) 573
Characteristics of the Period (1889-1930) 573
Organization of 1889 574
Apathy of Preparedness (1865-1889) 575
Improvement in the State Service (1889-1898) 575
Training of the Militia (1889-1898) 576
Drills and Parades (1889-1898) 577
Gradual Improvement (1890-1898) 577
Massachusetts in Call for the War With Spain (1898-1899) 578
Second Infantry Service (1898) 579
Nineth Infantry Service (1898) 579
Sixth Infantry Service (1898) 580
Eighth Infantry Service (1898) 580
First Regiment of Heavy Artillery (1898) 581
Fifth Infantry (1898-1899) 581
Service of Other Organizations (1898) 582
Return of Battle Flags (1899) 583
Readjustment (1899-1906) 583
Field Maneuvres (1905-1913) 583
Firing Practice (1905-1915) 584
Joint Maneuvres (1912-1915) 585
Mounted Training (1903-1914) 586
Rationing Troops (1899-1914) 586

INSTRUCTION SCHOOLS (1910-1914) 587
FIRE AND STRIKE DUTY (1908-1912) 587
RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT (1903-1914) . . 588
FEDERAL RESTRICTIONS (1908-1915) 588
EFFECTS OF FEDERAL SUPERVISION (1903-1914) 589
THE NATIONAL DEFENSE ACT OF 1916 590
MASSACHUSETTS ON THE MEXICAN FRONTIER (1916) 591
TENURE OF OFFICE CONTROVERSY (1914) 592
THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE GUARD (1917-1919) 592
STATE GUARD IN THE POLICE STRIKE (1919) 593
POST-BELLUM ORGANIZATION (1919-1930) 594
PERPETUATION OF ORGANIGATIONS (1920-1930) 595
THE SERVICE IN 1930 596
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY 597

CHAPTER XX

MASSACHUSETTS IN THE WORLD WAR (1914-1919)
By John H. Sherburne 598
ATTITUDE OF MASSACHUSETTS (1914-1915) 598
INTEREST IN THE ALLIES (1915-1916) 599
SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY (January-April, 1917) 600
DECLARATION OF WAR (1917) 601
PREPARATIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS (February-March, 1917) 601
PRELIMINARY ARMING AND EQUIPPING OF STATE TROOPS (1916-1917) 602
RECRUITING AND GUARD DUTY (February-June, 1917) . . . 603
GOVERNOR MCCALL OFFERS STATE TROOPS (April, 18, 1917) . 604
THE STATE GUARD (1917-1919) 605
ACTIVITIES OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC SAFETY (1917) . . . 605
THE COMMONWEALTH DEFENSE ACT (1917) 606
FEDERAL PREPARATION FOR WAR (April-July 1917) 607
RAISING THE AMERICAN ARMY (1917-1918) 608
OFFICERS' TRAINING SCHOOLS (1917-1919) 609
ENACTMENT OF THE DRAFT (1917-1918) 609
THE DRAFT SYSTEM (1917-1918) 610
FEDERAL ORGANIZATION IN NEW ENGLAND (1917-1919) . . . 611
THE PEOPLE AWAKENED (1917) 612
WOMEN'S WAR WORK (1917-1918) 613
MOBILIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD (July-August, 1917) 613
TACTICAL REORGANIZATION (August, 1917) 614
THE YANKEE DIVISION (1917-1919) 615
MILITARY UNITS (1917-1918) 616
THE DIVISION IN FRANCE (1917) 616
ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE (February-November, 1918) . . . 617
SEVENTY-SIXTH DIVISION (1918) 618
OTHER MASSACHUSETTS ORGANIZATIONS (1918) 619
SPECIAL SERVICES (1917-1918) 620
MEDICAL SERVICE (1917-1917) 621
THE CITIZEN SOLDIER IN THE WAR 621
THE SERVICE RECORD OF MASSACHUSETTS 622
STATE RELATIONS WITH THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT DURING THE WAR (1917-1919) 623
NATIONAL PATRIOTISM AND SERVICE 624
FOOD ADMINISTRATION (1917-1919) 624

Settlement of Labor Disputes (1917-1918) 626
Halifax Disaster (1917) 626
Influenza Epidemic (1918) 627
Fuel Administration (1917-1918) 627
The Return of the Troops (1918) 629
Losses and Gains 629
Select Bibliography 630

CHAPTER XXI

THE FOURTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION (1914-1919)
By Augustus P. Loring 632
Political Awakening (1900-1915) 632
Convention Authorized (1913-1915) 633
Election of Members (1917) 634
Composition of the Convention (1917) 634
Organization of the Convention (1917) 635
Materials and Proposals (1917) 636
The Anti-Aid Issue (1917) 637
Anti-Aid Propositions (1917) 637
Anti-Aid Amendment Voted (1917) 638
Status of Universities (1917) 638
Ratification of the Anti-Aid Amendment (1917) 639
Absent Voting Amendment (1917) 639
Public Trading Amendment (June, November, 1917) . . 639
Proposals for the Initiative and Referendum (June-July, 1917) 641
The Proponents of the I. & R. (1917) 641
Opponents of the I. & R. (1917) 642
Replication of Arguments for the I. & R. (1917) 643
Relation of the I. & R. to the Constitutional Amendments 643
Loring Amendment to the I. & R. 644
The I. & R. Amendment Submitted (Oct. 1917) 644
Final Form of the I. & R. 645
Important Proposals Rejected in 1917 646
Second Session of the Convention (1918) 646
Natural Resources Amendment (1918) 647
Public Interest in Real Estate (1918) 648
Zoning Amendment (1918) 649
Compulsory Voting Amendment (1918) 649
Miscellaneous Proposals Adopted (1918) 650
Biennial Elections Amendment (1918) 651
Regulation of the General Court (1918) 652
Proposals on Labor and Labor Disputes (1918) 652
Proposals on Hours of Labor and Minimum Wage (1918) 653
Taxation (1918) 654
Proposals on Administrative Legislation (1918) 655
The Convention Was Representative (1917-1918) . . . 655
Preelection Agitation (1917-1918) 655
Ratification of the I. & R. (Nov., 1917) 656
Rearrangement of the Constitution (1918-1919) 657
Article 156 (1919) 658
The Rearrangement Adopted by the Convention (Nov., 1919) 658
Rearrangement of the Constitution Set Aside (1920) . 659
Rearrangement Held not to be the Constitution 660

Last Effort at Rearrangement 661
Men of the Convention 662
Justice Morton 663
Edwin U. Curtis 663
Martin M. Lomasney 664
Frederick Lincoln Anderson 664
John W. Cummings 664
Joseph Walker 665
Sherman L. Whipple 665
Charles F. Choate 666
George B. Churchill 666
Herbert Parker 666
Charles L. Underhill 667
Josiah Quincy 667
Albert E. Pillsbury 668
Robert Luce 668
Contributing Members of the Convention 668
Select Bibliography 669

CHAPTER XXII

THE COMMONWEALTH AT ITS TERCENTENARY,
By Albert Bushnell Hart 671
Historical Point of View 671
Massachusetts as a Part of the World 672
External Relations of Massachusetts 673
Massachusetts in the Midst of New England 674
The Massachusetts People 675
Immigration 675
Massachusetts Women 676
Personality in Massachusetts 677
Massachusetts Personalities 678
Massachusetts Government 678
Local Government 679
Federal Government 680
Massachusetts Religion 680
Literature and Education 681
The Professions 682
Aritistic Massachusetts 684
Political History of Massachusetts 684
Economic Development of Massachusetts 685
Massachusetts in War 686
Succession of Historical Topics 686
Bibliography 687
Index 688

APPENDIX A: List of Highest State and Executive and Judicial Officers (1890-1930) 689

APPENDIX B: List of Federal Officers from Massachusetts 1890-1930) 690

INDEX 693

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Map of Massachusetts Showing Distribution of Population and Educational, Scientific and State Institutions . . . . Front and Back Covers
Charles William Eliot . . . . Frontispiece
House of Representatives . . . . Facing page 2
Channing H. Cox . . . . “ “ 44
Patrick A. Collins . . . . “ “ 76
Nathan Matthews . . . . “ “ 76
Map Showing Accretions of Territory . . . . “ “ 96
Richard Olney . . . . “ “ 100
James M. Morton . . . . “ “ 100
Langdell Hall Portico . . . . “ “ 106
Moorfield Storey . . . . “ “ 120
View of Western Reserve College (1826) . . . . . “ “ 146
J. Murray Forbes . . . . “ “ 158
Samuel W. McCall . . . . “ “ 186
Amy Lowell . . . . “ “ 206
Mrs. Julia Ward Howe . . . . “ “ 206
Mrs. John L. Gardner . . . . “ “ 220
Courtyard at Fenway Court . . . . “ “ 220
Main Court of Massachusetts Institute of Technology “ “ 258
Reading Room in Baker Library . . . . “ “ 258
Boston Public Library . . . . “ “ 270
Library at Boston College . . . . “ “ 270
Justin Winsor . . . . “ “ 290
Sever Hall, Harvard University . . . . “ “ 300
Louis Agassiz . . . . “ “ 324
John W. Weeks . . . . “ “ 344
Proposed Federal Building . . . . “ “ 356
John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Building . . . “ “ 356
Clarence W. Barron . . . . “ “ 366
Hood Rubber Company Plant . . . . “ “ 386
Locomotive of 1890 Type . . . . “ “ 402
Freight Train on the Hoosac Tunnel Line, 1930 . . “ “ 402
Original Keith Plant . . . . “ “ 430
Composite Picture of the Walk Over Shoe Factories “ “ 430
No. 11 Factory of George E. Keith Company, Boston . “ “ 434
Temple Israel . . . . “ “ 458
Morgan Memorial . . . . “ “ 458
Trinity Church . . . . “ “ 462
The First Church of Christ, Scientist . . . . . . “ “ 462
The Boston Herald-Traveler Building . . . . . . “ “ 482
Edward Everett Hale . . . . “ “ 490
His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell . . . . “ “ 528
Boston College . . . . “ “ 530
John Boyle O'Reilly . . . . “ “ 536
Massachusetts General Hospital . . . . “ “ 546
Henry J. Bigelow, M. D. . . . . “ “ 550
The First Public Demonstration of Surgical Anaesthesia “ “ 550
Facsimile of Militia Record of 1804 . . . . “ “ 572
The New National Guard, 1930 . . . . “ “ 594

General Clarence R. Edwards . . . . Facing Page 614
Brigadier General Charles H. Cole . . . . " " 614
Brigadier General John H. Sherburne . . . . " " 614
Brigadier General E. Leroy Sweetser . . . . " " 614
Parade of the 26th Division in 1919 . . . . " " 628
Committee on Rules and Procedure . . . . " " 636
First Page of the Rearranged Constitution . . . . . " " 660
Martin M. Lomasney . . . . " " 664
Calvin Coolidge . . . . " " 678

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS (1890–1930)

By Frank E. Bridgman

Clerk of the Massachusetts House of Representatives

The General Court Today

The closing years of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth found the General Court of Massachusetts organized in the form prescribed by constitutional amendments approved in 1857. These amendments provided for a house of representatives of 240 members, replacing a body which had sometimes reached 700. This provision for a body uniform in size from year to year was one of the first of modern steps toward legislative efficiency.

The senate continued with forty members. Nine men, elected "from among the people at large," formed "a council for advising the governor in the executive part of the government."

Senate and House Chambers

The construction of the State House Annex, the corner stone of which was laid in 1889, enabled both Senate and House to abandon their old chambers in the Bulfinch State House, first occupied in 1798, for larger and more comfortable quarters. This change took the House, in 1895, into the Annex, at some distance from the Senate; thus the advantages of having the two branches on opposite sides of a corridor were lost. In 1897 the Senate convened in a temporary chamber provided by laying a floor in the upper (third floor) portion of Memorial Hall (Hall of Flags). In January, 1898, the Senate was established permanently in the former House Chamber.

An interesting incident in connection with the removal of the House to its new quarters concerns an historic representation of respectable antiquity. March 7, 1895, it was ordered "that the Sergeant-at-Arms be and is hereby directed to cause the immediate removal of the ancient 'representation of a cod-fish' from its present position in the chamber recently vacated by the House, and to cause it to be suspended in a suitable place over the Speaker's chair in this chamber." A committee of fifteen members duly proceeded to the old chamber, where the emblem was lowered, wrapped in an American flag, and was borne to the new home of the House. Duly repaired and painted, on May 6 it was ordered to be hung opposite the Speaker's chair.

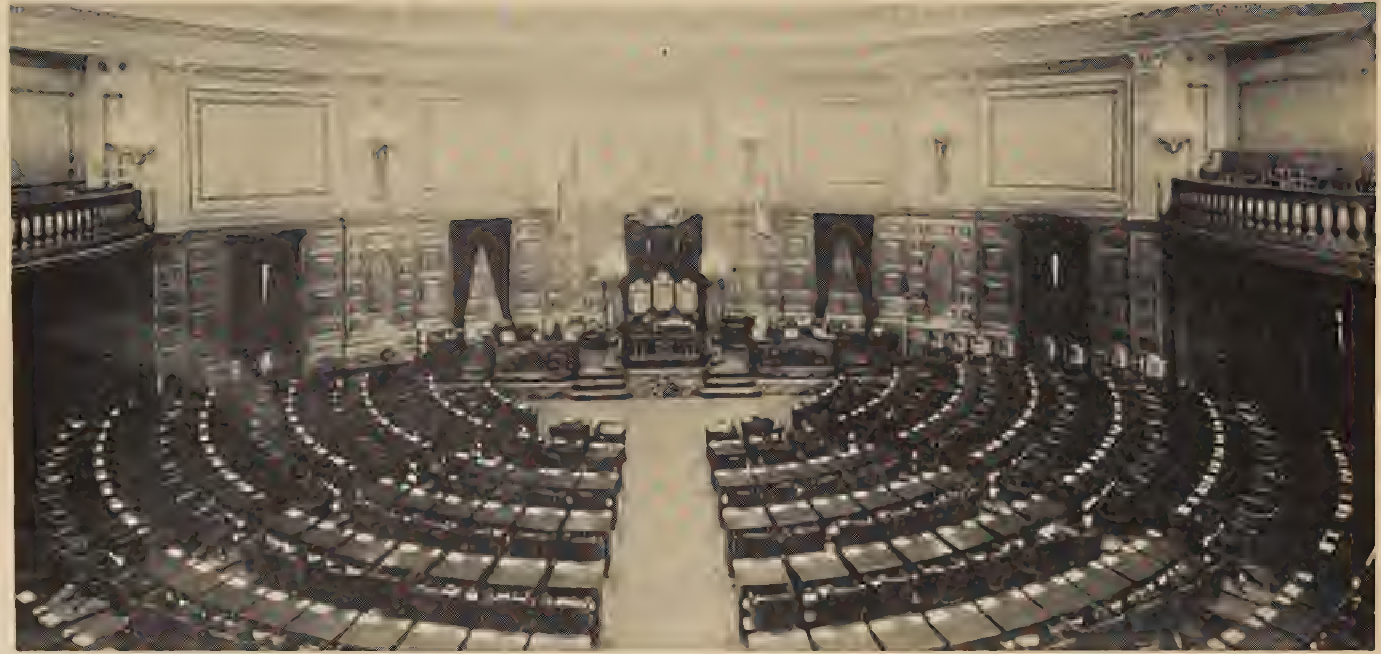
Modern Methods

Gone, also, was the election sermon, preached for the last time in connection with the organization of the General Court of 1884, thus terminating a custom inaugurated in early colonial days "to give them helpful Christian advice and direction at their entrance upon the important work of legislation for the ensuing year."

For forty years organization and procedure have been on modern lines, nearly all the frills and traditions of early days having been eliminated. An exception to this general trend may be noted in the continuance to the present day of the custom of appointing special committees of notification on the opening and closing days of the legislative sessions, in connection with joint conventions of the two branches and on other special occasions, which committees proceed to the discharge of their duties in the order of their names on the appointment roll, under escort of the sergeant-at-arms, dressed in black topped by a rosetted "stovepipe" hat, and carrying the mace as the historic insignia of his authority.

Organization

Although procedure in any legislative body will appear, to the new member and uninformed citizen, to be complicated and lacking in orderliness, nevertheless legislative processes are taken step by step in logical manner, and the experienced legislator learns how to speed up, with many and rapid suspensions of the rules.



From a photograph by [illegible] taken especially for this work.

House of Representatives, Boston

Honorable Walter H. Faunce of Kingston became a member of the House in 1925, at the age of ninety-two; and looked back forty-five years to his previous term of service in the House of 1880. Notwithstanding the reconstruction of buildings and chambers, he found the legislative family spaciously housed. Though many new rules and customs had sprung up, the old principles of parliamentary practice were in the foundations. Of course the rules had been modified in many important respects, and presiding officers did not hesitate to ignore old methods and establish new precedents when confronted by conditions demanding legislative short cuts and the speeding up of legislative business.

Mr. Faunce found practically the same number of legislative committees as in 1880; but only twelve of the joint committees of 1880 remained under their original names, while eighteen or twenty new committees had been established. Procedure had been so modified that he found himself at sea as to the details of presenting petitions and offering orders. At the opening of each sitting the Speaker no longer called for "petitions, memorials, remonstrances, and papers of a like nature, and reports of committees," while directing his gaze successively toward the members in the six divisions. Papers were no longer presented by members rising in their places in response to the Speaker's call, but were required by modern rules to be filed in the office of the clerk.

Resolutions and Orders

An old-time privilege was obliterated—that of offering an order from the floor at any time before the House proceeded to the consideration of the orders of the day—the clerk's office being the only port of entry. To make presentation of proposal the more difficult, he found the Speaker clothed with authority to withhold any order for a period of five days, with the result that many an order was merely withheld from presentation. For an order hastily or heatedly drawn might have an entirely different aspect and flavor after the ink had been drying three or four days.

Gone also was the power of any one member to cause postponement for one legislative day of consideration of certain measures presented to the House. Any motion to lay a matter on the table brought the House "whip" into instant action; for such methods of delay had been frowned on since 1904, and the House had not had a "table" for twenty years.

Pairs and Petition

Neither did Faunce find himself able to arrange a pair on any question that would hold in roll-call votes. Years ago that privilege had come to be grossly abused; on some occasions more than fifty pairs having been announced, often without the consent or knowledge of the absentee and not infrequently placing him on record on the wrong side of a question. To remedy this abuse, a rule was adopted by the House of 1909, under which might be filed with the clerk "the request in writing of the absent member to be paired upon the measure pending." This was superseded in 1910 by the existing rule that a pair may be announced only on behalf of a member "who is absent with a committee by authority of the House." The senate, however, has placed no restriction on the announcing of pairs.

In 1880 Mr. Faunce was able to present petitions and other propositions for legislation as late as the first Wednesday in February. He found that this limit had been shortened by various General Courts to ten days after the first Wednesday in January. Matters "deposited with the Clerk of either branch subsequently to five o'clock in the afternoon on the second Saturday of the annual session" are referred to the Committee on Rules, and whether that committee reports in favor of or against admittance, any such measure may be admitted for consideration and hearing only by a four-fifths vote in each branch.

Methods of Electing the Speaker

Faunce, in 1880, found the Speaker being elected by roll-call vote instead of the old-time way of appointing a special committee "to receive, sort and count the votes." For that method was substituted in 1911 a simple and workable method, as follows: "that the roll be called, and each member, in response to his name, shall give the name of the person for whom he votes." The desperate struggle to perpetuate the clumsy old method reveals the intricacies of parliamentary practice. First a point of order was raised against the proposed new method. The Chair overruled it. An appeal from the decision of the Chair led to a roll-call vote, 125 yeas to 109 nays. An attempt to substitute a committee of eight "to receive, sort and count the votes for Speaker," was rejected by a roll-call vote of 108 yeas to 127 nays. At last the new plan was adopted for that time.

Nevertheless, the Houses of 1912 and 1913 returned to the old method. The House of 1914, in which the transitory Progressive Party held the balance of power, resorted to the method used in 1911. Thereupon the first roll call resulted in a tie, the leading candidates for Speaker receiving 117 to 117. The second roll call was 117 to 116; the third, 118 to 114. An attempt to postpone the election for twenty-four hours was defeated by a roll-call vote of 104 yeas to 131 nays. A fourth roll call resulted in an election, by a vote of 123 to 109. Since that year the House has elected its Speakers by roll-call vote without opposition as to method.

Selection of Chaplain

In 1880 Faunce had voted for the Reverend Daniel W. Waldron of Roxbury for chaplain. As far back as 1641 and 1644, the magistrates and deputies had disagreed on the choice of the preacher of the election sermon, and the magistrates yielded in both instances. Waldron, however, was reelected annually for a continuous service of forty years (1879–1918). During that period there was no playing of politics in connection with the chaplaincy. Sharp competition for the office in former years was renewed after Waldron's death. Nor was this unusual.

In 1925 Faunce stood amazed when he heard the Speaker take it upon himself to announce the appointment of a chaplain. The House found it wise, on organization day, 1924, to vote "that the Speaker be authorized and empowered to appoint a Chaplain of the House for the present session." Nine days later the present rule was adopted, giving the Speaker permanent power to appoint a chaplain for the session.

First Day's Business

Faunce was surprised to hear the Speaker proceed, on the first day of the session, to announce his committee appointments. In earlier years it had been customary to delay this announcement for two or three days or even a week, both branches marking time meanwhile. Recently presiding officers have been appointing committees on the first day of the session, and urging the importance of prompt organization of committees, and assignment of early dates for public hearings on proposed legislation.

The custom of devoting the first day to purposes of organization only, and the second day solely to inaugurating the governor and listening to His Excellency's address, and then of adjourning to the following Monday, passed gradually. Miscellaneous business crept in by the presentation of petitions and orders. This innovation was embraced as a thoroughly progressive method of promoting an early start of legislative business. The General Court, in the closing days of the session of 1923, made radical changes in the rules governing the introduction of business.

Advance Printing

It was provided that members and members-elect might file with the clerks, at any time of the year, propositions for legislation, as well as orders, resolutions and other matters proposed for consideration; that the clerks, with the approval of the president or Speaker, should refer such papers to the appropriate committees; and that "Papers so deposited and referred previously to the convening of the General Court shall be printed in advance, . . . and shall be entered in the Journal during the first week of the session." It was provided, further, that "A bulletin of matters so referred shall be printed, under the direction of the Clerks of the two branches, as of the first day of the session."

These authorizations of advance printing and referring have greatly aided legislative committees in securing an early start on the annual grind of public hearings, and have constituted a long step toward the day when the entire legislative budget of business may be filed and printed in advance of the convening of the General Court.

READING OF PAPERS

The new rules authorized the dispensing with the reading of papers which were to be referred to committees. Contrast this modern short cut with the old-time method of meticulously reading at the clerk's desk the full text of every order and resolution, the endorsement on every petition and remonstrance, and the title of every bill and resolve. In colonial and revolutionary days such reading may have been useful; but since the printing of all documents became general, the reading has proved to be a waste of time and effort.

The Senate has been more conservative in this respect; but the House for years has been taking short cuts in this matter, and now is making full use of the "dispensations" allowed by the new rules. At present the House is moving toward a further modernizing of the rules in this direction, having already, by rule, made it unnecessary to read many of the papers sent down by the senate. In practice the House usually omits the reading of reports and bills which are to appear on the calendar.

PETITIONERS AND FILING FEES

In Massachusetts every petitioner to the General Court secures for his proposition a hearing before a committee and, with rare exceptions, an opportunity to have his measure debated in both Senate and House. The result has been sessions of considerable length in comparison with legislative sessions in other States. Critics who facetiously state that Massachusetts is legislating six months in every year, overlook the fact that the Massachusetts system gives generous opportunity to all petitioners for legislation. Perhaps since the adoption of the Constitution of 1780, the Commonwealth has been endeavoring to atone for the atrocious treatment, described in earlier chapters of this work, of colonial petitioners who humbly asked for certain privileges, long since granted, which the magistrates considered inimical to their authority. Those early magistrates demonstrated their power by fining, punishing, persecuting and banishing petitioners who were too presumptuously in advance of their day. It is possible that the "fining" of petitioners, in a different sense of the word, may be actualized within a few years. In 1920 it was enacted that petitions relating to mercantile corporations "shall be accompanied by a fee of twenty-five dollars, which shall be paid into the treasury of the commonwealth." This requirement was extended, in 1926, to petitions relating to public-service corporations.

During the session of 1925 a petition was filed in the senate accompanied by a bill providing that "Every petition to the general court seeking legislation shall be accompanied by a fee of one dollar for each page or fraction thereof, when printed, of the bill or resolve accompanying such petition." The Committees on Rules of the two branches, acting concurrently, reported a bill providing for a general filing fee of two dollars. This bill in the senate was rejected by 17 to 18 votes. The following year a similar bill in the House was rejected. The subject of filing fees is bound to recur.

Speedy Legislation in the Spanish War (1898)

The opening of the War with Spain in 1898 was the occasion of a dramatic illustration of unanimity in the passing of legislation. Not only were all rules suspended, but all other procedure was halted until a certain bill had taken its several readings in both branches, been enacted in both branches, and laid on the desk of the governor. On Friday, April 15, 1898, Governor Roger Wolcott sent the following special message to the General Court, which is an integral part of the history of the relation of Massachusetts to that war: "In the present grave and threatening condition of the relations of the Government of the United States with the Kingdom of Spain, growing out of the inhuman and unavailing warfare in the island of Cuba, I deem that the time has come when it is my duty to ask that your honorable bodies place in my hands the means to enable me to meet with promptness and efficiency whatever demands the exigencies of possible war may require the national government to make upon the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"Whenever in the past heroism and sacrifice in a just cause have been demanded, Massachusetts has generously given of her blood and treasure. She will not falter now.

"I ask that $500,000, or such part thereof as may be necessary, may be appropriated, to be expended under the direction of the Commander-in-Chief in defraying the military and naval expenses which the existing emergency may render requisite and proper."

The message was referred by the house to the Joint Committee on Ways and Means. In the senate the message was likewise read and referred in concurrence. Almost immediately thereafter the committee reported in the House "An Act making an appropriation to defray certain military and naval expenses," which took its several readings without delay in both branches. It was then, as is customary, engrossed on parchment in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and speedily returned to the house for enactment. It received the signature of Speaker John L. Bates, and was immediately sent to the senate, where it was enacted, signed by President George E. Smith, and rushed to the executive office. In twenty-five minutes from the time the governor's message was received in the House, the engrossed bill was being signed by His Excellency. This act of ten lines stands as Chapter 347 of the Acts of 1898.

Questions of Order

It is commonly supposed that legislative sittings are enlivened and sometimes greatly delayed by the frequent raising of points of order, both of the serious kind and those made for evident purposes of filibuster. In Massachusetts during recent years, delay by far-fetched points of order has been rare. The Senate and House Journals of 1929, for example, reveal only three Senate points of order during a session of over five months, and nine in the House. The average for forty years may be estimated as eight in the Senate and eighteen in the House. Twenty-three points of order were raised in the Constitutional Convention of 1917-19.

Occasions on which decisions of presiding officers have been overruled have been extremely rare. During thirty-six annual and four special sessions of the General Court, and all the sittings of the Constitutional Convention, not one such occasion can be found. Appeals from decisions may have averaged one a year. President John Lewis Bates of the Constitutional Convention, when that body was about to adjourn its 1917 session, said to the members: "You have been willing to accept every decision, right or wrong. You have acquiesced in every petty tyranny in which the Chair has indulged." This attitude has long been the spirit of legislators in Massachusetts. Doubtless presiding officers have been so keen to carry on this reputation unsullied, that their rulings have been impartial and fair, carefully and correctly made.

Women Legislators

The Nineteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution was proclaimed, August 26, 1920, as "valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution." The General Court of 1920 passed an emergency statute providing that "Every female citizen having the qualification of male voters . . . shall have the right to vote in any city, town or state election, or primary or caucus," this act to take effect "upon the adoption of the proposed amendment to the federal constitution which provides that the rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." This legislation was approved on June 2, became effective on August 26, and enabled the women of Massachusetts to participate with full privileges in the fall elections of 1920. The Massachusetts Constitution was so far forth altered; and a formal amendment was made November 4, 1924, on which date Article LXVIII of the Amendments was approved.

The following year, in order to put at rest the question as to whether or not women were authorized to hold public office, it was enacted that women "shall be eligible to election or appointment" to all State and county offices, positions, appointments and employments. In November, 1922, two women were chosen as representatives to the General Court, and six others have been chosen subsequently. The names of these eight women, who deserve a place in this history, will be found in the chapter of this volume relating to the public activity of women.

Precedents are established by first happenings. Not every legislator can establish a precedent; but on February 18, 1926, Miss M. Sylvia Donaldson of Brockton not only established a precedent, but made important legislative history, when requested by Speaker John C. Hull to preside over the deliberations of the House. A part of the Journal record for that date is as follows:

"The Speaker then appointed Mr. Jewett of Lowell and Mrs. Hart of Lynn a special committee to escort Miss M. Sylvia Donaldson of Brockton to the chair.

"Miss Donaldson being in the chair, Mr. Speaker Hull addressed the House as follows:

" 'Madame Speaker: For the first time in the history of The General Court of Massachusetts a woman has been called to the Chair in one of its branches, and is now presiding over the House of Representatives. Yours, Madame Speaker, is a distinct and signal honor, . . . and while this tribute paid to you this day is personal and deserved because of your now nearly four years' faithful and efficient service in this Chamber, it is also general, and you now stand there as the representative of all the women of this great Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and happily and signally demonstrate the fact that to-day neither the ballot, nor public office, nor the highest gift within the power of this House, is denied to any citizen "on account of sex."

" 'Your colleagues are glad to confer this honor upon you, and in their behalf I offer you and all the women of the Commonwealth our heartiest congratulations. . . . and may I say to you, and through you to all the women of the Commonwealth, that as the men have in the past welcomed the women to the privileges and duties of suffrage and of public office, so do we to-day welcome you and them to the pleasant and honored privilege of presiding over "the greatest deliberative body in the world",—and I use that expression advisedly and quote the words of one qualified to judge.

" 'Madame Speaker, we who are about to subject ourselves to your guidance do so with full confidence in your integrity, ability and efficiency. Madame Speaker, we salute you!' "

Committee System

The Massachusetts General Court has long made frequent use of the joint-committee system. Legislative measures are introduced into either Senate or House (not both) and are referred to committees composed of members of both branches. Committees report in either branch (not both) "having reference to an equal distribution of business between the two branches, except that money bills shall be reported to the House."

The number of joint committees in 1890 was thirty-two, and in 1929 was thirty. During these years the total had not exceeded thirty-three nor fallen below thirty. In addition, the Senate has five standing committees of its own, and the House seven.

These committees are required by rule to report on all matters referred to them, and this rule is not suspended or ignored. Not one matter in a thousand, duly referred, fails of report. Nor are matters referred to committees in any haphazard manner. The rules provide that matters shall be referred "to the appropriate committees," and the system is so nearly ironclad that the actual work of referring has come to be one of the perfunctory duties of the clerks.

Volume of Legislative Business

The General Court of 1890 considered approximately 1,300 propositions. By 1906 the annual number had increased to above 1,400; but for several years thereafter, with one exception, substantial increases were shown, until a maximum of 2,744 propositions were filed in 1914. The succeeding dozen years evidenced a gradual although irregular falling off in the volume of business, the records for 1927 showing approximately 1,400 propositions referred to committees. In 1928 and 1929 these figures again were increased slightly.

What percentage of measures filed for consideration becomes law? In 1890 the number of acts and resolves totalled 535. In 1929 the number was 442. The average for the fifty years beginning with 1880 was 610. During the most prolific ten years of this period (1910-19) the average was 837. The last five years show a substantial decrease in the number of measures "coming through" into law, the average being 430 per annum.

Another question frequently asked: What percentage of matters referred by the General Court to the next annual session is taken from the files for consideration during that subsequent session? It is commonly supposed, that all matters referred to the next annual session automatically become a part of the docket of measures for consideration in such subsequent session. On the contrary, no measure is taken from the files except upon the request of a member or member-elect; and the request must be made previously to "five o'clock in the afternoon on the second Saturday of the annual session" or it becomes subject to a rule requiring a four-fifths vote in each branch for suspension. Figures for the recent ten-year period show that only 20 per cent of such referred measures are taken from the files for consideration at the next annual session, though many are reintroduced, in the same or in modified form, as new measures. Previously to 1924 it required a motion from the floor to take a matter from the files. Beginning with that year, any member or member-elect may make the request to the clerk.

Length of Sessions

The annual legislative sessions from 1890 through 1929, inclusive, averaged 163 days from the first Wednesday in January to the date of prorogation—an average of about 23 weeks. Sittings customarily have been held on the first five week days, the Monday and Friday sittings often being curtailed by the late arrival and early departure of members residing in distant cities and towns. The date of prorogation has averaged about June 14. The sessions of 1911, 1919 and 1928 continued for 206, 206 and 204 days, respectively. Prorogation on July 28 in the year 1911 was the latest date of sitting since the political year was established in 1831, to begin on the first Wednesday in January.

The shortest session during this forty-year period was that of 1927, which, for the first time since 1880, reached prorogation in April, 114 days from the first Wednesday in January. The General Court is not exempted by the Constitution from sitting on legal holidays, although it seldom does so. The 1919 and 1930 sessions began on January 1st, though that date had been a legal holiday since 1917.

Impeachment Proceedings

In 1928 the house of representatives learned the meaning of those impressive words of the Constitution: "The house of representatives shall be the grand inquest of this commonwealth." For the first time since 1821 the House was face to face with impeachment proceedings. Precedents one hundred and seven years old were examined, and were found to conform with the procedure followed in recent years by Congress and in various States.

Upon an order duly presented and adopted, a special committee of nine members was appointed to investigate the acts and conduct of an elected State officer. Three months later the committee reported certain findings and conclusions, together with a resolution of impeachment "for misconduct and maladministration in his said office as disclosed in the evidence and findings submitted to this House," and "that this House do proceed to impeach . . . at the bar of the Honorable the Senate of this Commonwealth." The resolution was adopted on a roll-call vote of 196 yeas to 18 nays. The special committee then was directed "to prepare and report articles of impeachment." Whereupon the State officer submitted his resignation to the General Court. Articles of impeachment were reported, however; but resolutions were substituted therefor declaring that by reason of said resignation "there is now neither necessity nor occasion for further proceeding for his removal"; that "such proceedings are hereby discontinued"; and that the articles of impeachment "be placed on file without further present action thereon."

Change in the Quorum

The forty-year period beginning with 1890 has seen 41 amendments of the Constitution approved by the voters (Articles XXX–LXX), most of them on matters submitted by the Constitutional Convention of 1917–1919. Ten of these affected procedure in the General Court; and 16 modified the powers of the General Court, largely in the direction of granting that body wider jurisdiction.

Article XXXIII (approved November 3, 1891) made a majority of the members of each branch of the General Court "a quorum for the transaction of business." But it has yet to be determined whether "a majority of the members" should be interpreted to mean a majority of all possible members, of all elected members, of all qualified members, of all members voting, or of all members present when a vote is taken. The House settled this matter for itself by adopting (February 8, 1892) the following new rule: "One hundred and twenty-one members shall constitute a quorum for the organization of the House and the transaction of business." The House always proceeds to business at the appointed hour without regard to the number of representatives present, except on those rare occasions when a count of the House is requested. The Senate rules make no mention of the quorum, but in actual practice the president does not proceed with the business of a sitting until twenty-one senators have appeared.

Mileage and Salaries

Down to 1893, under the Constitution, "The expenses of travelling to the general assembly, and returning home, once in every session, and no more, shall be paid by the government." The General Court in that year adopted a "table of distances" of the several cities and towns from the State House, and authorized by statute a payment of two dollars a mile for travelling expenses, that sum to include all travelling expenses for the session. In 1924 the scale was advanced to $4.20 a mile—making a maximum of $640. Members from Boston receive $21 flat.

Salaries of legislators in 1890 were $650 a year. In 1892 Governor Russell approved an act to increase the compensation to $750. The act further provided that: "No railroad corporation shall issue to the governor, lieutenant-governor, any member of the council, any judge of the supreme judicial court or the superior court, probate court, municipal or district court, or county commissioners, or any member or member-elect of the legislature, any free pass, or any ticket entitling him to transportation at a less rate of fare than is demanded of the public generally."

In 1911 the compensation of legislators was increased to $1,000 over the veto of Governor Eugene N. Foss; in 1919 to $1,500 over the veto of Governor Calvin Coolidge; and in 1929 to $2,000 over the veto of Governor Frank G. Allen. In each instance it was provided that the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House should receive double the compensation of other members. No distinction has been made between the compensation of senators and representatives. These salaries are "for each regular annual session," and are in addition to the mileage allowances.

Constitutional Recesses

The Constitution of 1780 gave both Senate and House the power "to adjourn themselves," but added the proviso that "such adjournment shall not exceed two days at a time." Under this restriction the General Court frequently recesses from Thursday to Monday (Sunday not being taken into consideration).

One of the amendments of the Constitutional Convention (approved November 5, 1918) provides that "The general court, by concurrent vote of the two houses, may take a recess or recesses amounting to not more than thirty days; but no such recess shall extend beyond the sixtieth day from the date of their first assembling." Proponents of methods to shorten the legislative sessions, and especially to speed up committee work during the early weeks, had for some years been suggesting that a few weeks given early in the session to committee work only, would result in keeping the Senate and House calendars full, thereby inducing to longer daily sittings and to earlier prorogation.

The Constitutional Convention experimented with this method in 1917, holding but one sitting during a period of three weeks. The General Court, however, has been loath to give the matter a trial, and only once has availed itself of the provisions of this amendment. On Friday, February 18, 1927, it was voted to "take a recess, under the provisions of

Article LII of the Amendments to the Constitution, from the hour of adjournment to-day until Wednesday next (February 23) at two o'clock P. M." This recess, of course, was not for the benefit of committees, but solely to make it unnecessary to hold a sitting on the Saturday or Monday preceding the holiday.

The Governor in Legislation

Other amendments submitted by the Constitutional Convention (approved November 5, 1918) gave additional power to the governor in connection with his constitutional authority to approve or disapprove legislative measures. (1) "The governor, within five days after any bill or resolve shall have been laid before him, shall have the right to return it to the branch of the general court in which it originated with a recommendation that any amendment or amendments specified by him be made therein." (2) The governor received power to "disapprove or reduce items or parts of items in any bill appropriating money. . . . As to each item disapproved or reduced, he shall transmit to the house in which the bill originated his reason for such disapproval or reduction, and the procedure shall then be the same as in the case of a bill disapproved as a whole."

His Excellency promptly took advantage of this new power and returned five such bills in 1919. Since that time an average of six bills have been so returned, the yearly number varying from one to seventeen. In most instances the governor's recommendations were adopted; occasionally the General Court has preferred to reject the bill rather than amend it.

The power to disapprove or reduce items in appropriation bills has been exercised on one occasion only. Upon the general appropriation bill of 1925 Governor Alvan T. Fuller placed the following endorsement at the end thereof: "I disapprove Items 274b, 365a, 485a. I reduce Item 269 to $60,000; Item 271 to $150,000; Item 362a to $586,000; Item 442 to $586,940; Item 606 to $50,000. The remainder of this bill I hereby approve." Thus another precedent was established for the use of a constitutional power.

In taking action on these eight items under the constitutional provision that "the procedure shall then be the same as in the case of a bill disapproved as a whole," the question was stated in each instance: "Shall the Item pass, notwithstanding the objections of His Excellency?" On each of the eight roll-call votes the governor was sustained.

Appropriation Bills and the Budget

In 1889 the General Court passed 26 appropriation bills. Ten years later the number was 88, boards and commissions having increased rapidly in number. In 1909 the number was 103, the custom of enacting a separate bill for each division of government still prevailing. This method continued until the number reached 110 in 1917. The following year the number was reduced to 17, the department and sinking fund appropriations being combined in a single bill "making appropriations for the maintenance of departments, boards, commissions, institutions and certain activities of the Commonwealth and for interest, sinking fund and serial bond requirements."

In 1918, also, the General Court passed a bill establishing a budget system for the Commonwealth, which placed in the hands of the governor the duty of submitting to the General Court a classified budget embodying "all estimates, requests and recommendations for appropriations or other authorizations for expenditures from the treasury of the commonwealth . . . and . . . definite recommendations of the governor as to the financing of the expenditures recommended and the relative amounts to be raised from ordinary revenue, direct taxes or loans." At the annual election of 1918, the voters approved Amendment LXIII of the Constitution, establishing this system as a constitutional requirement.

Effect of Biennial Elections

Ardent opponents of biennial elections prophesied disastrous results in their effect upon legislators and legislative sessions—that fewer members would be reelected, and that legislation, therefore, would be in less experienced hands; that the first session of a legislative term would be short and perfunctory, and the second session long and contentious. The records do not bear out this prediction.

At the last five annual elections (1915–1919) an average of 148 members of the House were returned to their seats, while of the 92 new members, 19 had had previous experience. At the first five biennial elections (1920–1928) an average of 136 members of the House were returned to their seats; while of the 104 new members, 18 had had previous experience in the General Court.

During the first ten years under biennial elections the opening session of the two-year legislative term averaged 130 days, the second session 166 days.

The number of measures filed for consideration averaged 1,574 during the first session and 1,686 during the second. The number of acts and resolves becoming law averaged 484 during the first session, and 527 during the second.

Procedure Under Direct Legislation

Elsewhere will be outlined the influence on legislation in Massachusetts of the Initiative and Referendum Amendment of the Constitution, approved November 5, 1918. But its effect upon legislative procedure should be noted here.

This amendment prescribed new duties for the General Court, duties requiring a method of procedure not theretofore contemplated. Each initiative petition comes through the hands of the secretary of the Commonwealth, who shall, "upon the assembling of the general court, transmit it to the clerk of the house of representatives, and the proposed measure shall then be deemed to be introduced and pending."

Procedure in committee is prescribed in detail, as follows: "The petitioners and all parties in interest shall be heard, and the measure shall be considered and reported upon to the general court with the committee's recommendations, and the reasons therefor, in writing. Majority and minority reports shall be signed by the members of said committee." Initiative petitions are the only class of measures upon which committees are required to report the reasons for their recommendations.

If an initiative petition proposes an amendment of the

Constitution, "such proposal shall, not later than the second Wednesday in June, be laid before a joint session of the two houses, . . . shall be voted upon in the form in which it was introduced, unless such amendment is amended by vote of three-fourths of the members voting thereon in joint session. . . . Final legislative action in the joint session upon any amendment shall be taken only by call of the yeas and nays, . . . and an unfavorable vote at any stage preceding final action shall be verified by call of the yeas and nays." No initiative petitions proposing an amendment of the Constitution have yet been filed down to the end of 1929.

It was provided, also, that proposed amendments of the Constitution "introduced into the general court by a member of either house" should be considered likewise in joint session, provided consideration thereof "is called for by vote of either house." This proviso makes it easy to shelve amendments so introduced; and the records show that very few of them have been called up for consideration in joint session. An elaborate rule (Joint Rule 23) was adopted to cover the many necessary stages of procedure on which the amendment was silent.

For ninety-eight years (1821–1918) proposed amendments of the Constitution had been handled by the General Court in much the same manner as bills and resolves. Amendments, in fact, were embodied in resolves; and after the third reading, the question, instead of coming on the passing of the resolve to be engrossed, was put on agreeing to the Article of Amendment. This, under the Constitution, required a majority vote in the Senate and a two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives. The Amendment of 1918 provided for a majority vote in joint session "of all the members elected," thus destroying the veto power of either house over the other, and taking away the power of a minority of one third of the members of the House to block any proposed constitutional amendment.

When it comes to authorizing initiative petitions for proposed laws, the new provision simply states that "a vote shall be taken by yeas and nays in both houses before the first Wednesday of June upon the enactment of such law in the form in which it stands in such petition." This requirement eliminates the possibility of rejection by the General Court on any of the various stages preceding the usual final question on enactment.

EMERGENCY LEGISLATION

Article XLVIII contains one other provision which affects procedure to such an extent that amendments of several rules were necessitated. The General Court was authorized to declare certain laws of general application to be emergency laws. "A law declared to be an emergency law shall contain a preamble setting forth the facts constituting the emergency, and shall contain the statement that such law is necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, safety or convenience. A separate vote shall be taken on the preamble by call of the yeas and nays, . . . and unless the preamble is adopted by two-thirds of the members of each house voting thereon, the law shall not be an emergency law."

As a result, 71 bills were enacted as emergency laws in 1919, 65 in 1920, 47 in 1921, and 39 in 1922; a total of 222, on each of which the emergency preamble was adopted by the required yea-and-nay vote. In about four-fifths of the bills the vote was unanimous. These roll-call votes consumed time that might perhaps have been given to more important matters. During the legislative session of 1918 there were, on all matters, 107 roll-call votes in Senate and House. In 1919, during which the emergency preamble was used for the first time, there were 367 roll-call votes. Hence steps were taken in 1920 to establish a less rigid procedure with reference to preambles. An amendment (Article LXVII) was approved November 7, 1922, providing that a separate vote should be taken on each emergency preamble, but need not be by roll call unless that method of voting was requested by two members in the Senate or five members in the House. Therefore, beginning with the session of 1923, preambles have been adopted by rising vote, and in only one instance has a roll call been requested.

Long Terms of Service

Thomas Power ("Tay Pay") O'Connor, who died in 1929 during his forty-ninth year of service in the House of Commons, and David Lloyd-George, who is serving his thirty-ninth year in that body, have had no counterparts in the recent history of the General Court. In colonial days and later there were men of merit who served as legislators for a generation or more. During the forty-year period under consideration several State senators made noteworthy records. Walter McLane, of Fall River, served seventeen consecutive years. Samuel Ross, of New Bedford, served five years after fifteen in the House, not consecutive. Alvin E. Bliss, of Malden, served nine years following nine non-consecutive years in the House, and later became councillor. George C. Chamberlain, of Springfield, served twelve years, following four years in the House, all consecutive, and then entered the Council.

In the House Henry Achin, Jr., and Victor F. Jewett, from the same district in Lowell, served their nineteenth consecutive year in 1927; Roland D. Sawyer, of Ware, his seventeenth; and Michael H. Jordan, of Lawrence, his fifteenth. Not long since, Edward F. Harrington, of Fall River, completed sixteen consecutive years of service, and John Mitchell, of Springfield, and Chauncey Pepin, of Salem, fifteen each. Between 1877 and 1910, inclusive, James H. Mellon, of Worcester, served nineteen years in the House. Senators who afterward served in the House for long terms are Andrew P. Doyle, of New Bedford, and Martin Hays, of Boston, each with a total of twenty years, the latter still in service; and Martin M. Lomasney, of Boston, and William P. Hickey, of South Boston, each with a total of eighteen years, the latter still in service.

Quality of Membership

Dr. Ezra W. Clark, of Brockton, another veteran legislator, who died in 1928 during his sixteenth year of service (five in the Senate and eleven in the House, not consecutive) said in 1926: "I came here for the first time in 1905, and I am confident that we have a better body of men here today than we had in those days." Congressman Robert Luce, America's master student of legislative history, procedure and principles, was a member of the Massachusetts House for nine years. In his book *Legislative Assemblies* he says "Error in the comparisons of legislative bodies at different periods, comes from contrasting selected groups of members. One important factor is overlooked, one all-important factor—the base-line from which measurements are to be taken. . . . The statesmen of one epoch may so tower above the average of intelligence and ability as to seem demigods. Men of like capacity might at another period hardly rise above the crowd."

Again, he remarks: "Wiseacres shake their heads and say, 'We have no Legislatures now like those in which were Lincoln or Hoar, Henry or Marshall.' Yet in every Legislature to-day are men who ten or twenty years from now will be famous in their turn. The Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1895 and 1896 was not conspicuously better than at any other period in a generation. The surviving members of those two years held a reunion in 1916. It was found that one of them had become Governor; five had been sent to the Governor's Council, and five to Congress; one had been made a Federal Judge and eleven had become Judges of State courts; six had been chosen Mayors, four District Attorneys, one Attorney General, and one State Treasurer; forty had served in the State Senate, one as its President; ten had become bank presidents; many of the others had achieved responsible positions in professional or business life. The record was not exceptional. It would be duplicated by the twenty-year story of every Massachusetts Legislature within the memory of man, and by that of the Legislature in many another State."

Later Public Service

The following former members of one or the other house of the General Court later became lieutenant governors: John Q. A. Brackett of Arlington (1887–1889); Roger Wolcott of Boston (1893–1896); John L. Bates of Boston (1900–1902); Louis A. Frothingham of Boston (1909–1911); Robert Luce of Somerville (1912); David I. Walsh of Fitchburg (1913); Grafton D. Cushing of Boston (1915); Calvin Coolidge of Northampton (1916–1918); Channing

H. Cox of Boston (1919–1920); Alvan T. Fuller of Malden (1921–1924); Frank G. Allen of Norwood (1925–1928); William S. Youngman of Boston (1929–1931). Of these Brackett, Wolcott, Bates, Walsh, Coolidge, Cox, Fuller, and Allen later became governors. Calvin Coolidge of Northampton was President of the Senate (1914–1915); Lieutenant Governor (1916–1918); Governor (1919–1920); Vice President of the United States (1921–1923); and President of the United States (1923–1929). Governor McCall served in the Legislature, but not as Lieutenant Governor.

Former members of the Massachusetts legislature who have served in recent years in the Senate of the United States are Henry Cabot Lodge, of Nahant; David I. Walsh, of Fitchburg; William M. Butler, of New Bedford, and Frederick H. Gillett, of Springfield. A large percentage of the Massachusetts Representatives in Congress have served in the General Court. William Tyler Page, Clerk of the National House, is convinced that Massachusetts Representatives showed a high degree of efficiency in parliamentary training and legislative experience, and were unusually careful observers of the rules of Congress.

To the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth have gone Senators John Crawford Crosby, of Pittsfield, and Charles Francis Jenney, of Hyde Park. Of the present justices of the Superior Court, Louis Sherburne Cox, of Lawrence, and Frederick Joseph Macleod, of Cambridge, served in the Senate; John Mellen Gibbs, of Waltham, in both Senate and House; and Elias Bullard Bishop, of Newton, William Adams Burns, of Pittsfield, Joseph Walsh, of New Bedford, and Walter Leo Collins, of Boston, in the House.

Many members of both branches have received appointment as heads of State departments, members of State commissions, trustees of State institutions, and judges of lower courts, and to important positions in municipal and mercantile affairs and to posts of honor in the Federal service.

Among those former members who have served prominently in other spheres may be mentioned Martin M. Lomasney, Charles H. Innes, Augustus P. Loring, John H. Sherburne, Edward L. Logan, Henry L. Shattuck and Eliot Wadsworth.

The most distinguished member of the General Court during these forty years was Calvin Coolidge of Northampton—Representative in 1907–1908; Senator, 1912–1915; President of the Senate, 1914–1915; Lieutenant Governor, 1916–1918; Governor, 1919–1920; Vice President of the United States, 1921–1923; President, 1923–1929.

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CHAPTER II

PROBLEMS OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT
(1890–1930)

By William E. Dorman
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Constitutional Reorganization of 1918

No structural change in the state government was made after the reorganization of the executive council in 1855 and the establishment of the present system of representation in the General Court in 1857, until nineteen amendments to the constitution were ratified in 1918. But two of these amendments were intended to have any substantial effect on the framework of government,—the forty-eighth, establishing the popular initiative and referendum, and the sixty-sixth, requiring administrative reorganization. The "I & R" delegated to the people powers of legislation never before possessed by them, although the language of the amendment purported to "reserve" these powers. It very materially modified the implications of the thirtieth article of the Declaration of Rights, recognizing three departments of government of equal rank. If the people were to become partners in the legislative branch, this fundamental equality would tend to disappear. But the doctrine of Montesquieu, which John Adams wrote into this most frequently cited provision of our fundamental law, had already suffered seriously in our constitutional development. In the half century prior to 1918, Massachusetts had developed a fourth department of government. An elaborate system of administrative agencies had grown up whereby government had discovered a veritable "fourth dimension." This new administrative branch disclosed a radical departure from the precepts of Article 30, for it not only had been vested with executive powers, but many of its units were making rules and regulations having the force of enacted law and were sitting quasi-judicially in cases affecting their application to private rights. This threefold character of the administrative function has been recognized by the courts, although the courts themselves religiously restrict their own activities to their traditional sphere.

To the extensive and varied functions of these administrative officials have, in the last few years, been added another, —a direct participation in legislation in consequence of their being called upon by the governor to share in the exercise of the executive veto.

The Fourth Department of Government

Massachusetts has led her sister states in the development of this "fourth department." The offices of secretary, treasurer, attorney-general and adjutant-general were established by statute in the first year under the constitution,—offices that had their origins in colonial and provincial polity. But sixty years later, the state began to lay the foundation of the modern system of administration. In 1837, Massachusetts founded the state board of education, with Horace Mann at its head; in 1838, the bank commissioner; in 1855, the insurance commissioner; in 1863, the board of state charities; in 1869, the railroad commission,—with Charles Francis Adams at its head, and in the same year, the state board of health and the bureau of statistics; in 1879, the harbor and land commission, the commissioners of prisons and the district police; in 1884, the civil service commission; in 1885, the board of cattle commissioners and the board of gas and electric light commissioners; in 1886, the commission on fisheries and game and the board of conciliation and arbitration; in 1889, the metropolitan sewerage commissioners; in 1890, the free public library commissioners and the tax commissioner and commissioner of corporations; in 1892, the commissioner of public records; in 1893, the metropolitan park commission; in 1894, the board of registration in medicine; in 1895, the metropolitan water board; and in 1898, the state board of insanity and the state board of charity, as separate boards. These, with several minor agencies and boards of trustees of various state hospitals and institutions, brought the number of permanent administrative functionaries up to fifty-six in the year 1900.

More Recent Administrative Agencies (1900–1914)

The period from 1900 to 1914, when the commission on economy and efficiency made its monumental report, were unusually prolific in accretions to state officialdom, for it increased the total of administrative agencies by about forty. These years saw the establishment of the office of state forester in 1904; the commission for the blind in 1906; the board of bank incorporation in 1906; the commissioner of weights and measures, the board of boiler rules and the trustees of the General Insurance Guaranty Fund in 1907; the art commission in 1910; the supervisor of loan agencies, the board of appeal on fire insurance rates, the directors of the port of Boston and the state board of retirement, in 1911; the commission on economy and efficiency and the industrial accident board in 1912; the two boards of parole, the minimum wage commission, the homestead commission, the board of labor and industries, and the teachers' retirement board, in 1913; and the fire prevention commissioner of the metropolitan district and the state forest commission, in 1914.

Beginnings in Reorganization (1879–1918)

Let it not be supposed that the consolidation of these multifarious functionaries that occurred in 1919 was the first. In 1879, the legislature consolidated the state board of health and the board of state charities, which then had charge of the insane; not until 1898 was their work finally distributed among three boards. In 1901, the metropolitan sewerage commissioners and the metropolitan water board were united as the metropolitan water and sewerage board. In 1916, the directors of the port of Boston and the harbor and land commissioners were succeeded by the commission on waterways and public lands. In the same year, the prison commissioners and the two parole boards were superseded by the Massachusetts bureau of prisons. In 1914, the state board of insanity was reorganized and again in 1916, under the name of Massachusetts commission on mental diseases; and in 1914 the state board of health, under the name of the state department of health. In 1917, the administrative machinery was further supplemented by the new bureau of immigration and in 1918 by the drainage board.

The Commission on Economy and Efficiency (1910–1914)

Then occurred the reaction. In the early years of the century came the movement for scientific management in business. The idea quickly spread to affairs governmental. In 1910, President Taft's Efficiency and Economy Commission began its work in the Federal Government; and soon the states proceeded to order studies and inquiries looking to increased efficiency and economy in the conduct of public business. Massachusetts was among the first to take action, establishing the Commission on Economy and Efficiency by chapter 719 of the Acts of 1912. Reorganization, consolidation and coordination of state departments and institutions, improved methods of administration and classification of employees were among the subjects commended by the legislature to the commission. In 1914, the commission presented to the governor and council its notable report on the functions, organization and administration of the state government. It disclosed the existence of approximately one hundred distinct administrative agencies in the state government. In more than a third of the states, similar bodies were at work and the idea of increased effectiveness through consolidation, correlation and coordination of governmental activities was resulting in administrative reorganization.

Reorganization by Popular Mandate (1917–1919)

It was to be expected that the trend toward administration consolidation would engage the attention of the constitutional convention of 1917. Elsewhere in this work is noted the adoption of the sixty-sixth article of amendment to the constitution, requiring that on or before January first, nineteen hundred and twenty-one, the executive and administrative work of the commonwealth should be organized "in not more than twenty departments, in one of which every executive and administrative office, board and commission, except those officers serving directly under the governor or the council, shall be placed. . ."

In response to this mandate, the General Court, in 1919, enacted that the executive and administrative functions of the Commonwealth, except such as pertain to the governor and council, and such as are exercised and performed by officers serving directly under the governor and council, should thereafter be performed by the departments of the secretary, treasurer and receiver-general, auditor and attorney-general, and by the following sixteen new departments: the Department of Agriculture; the Department of Conservation; the Department of Banking and Insurance; the Department of Corporations and Taxation; the Department of Education; the Department of Civil Service and Registration; the Department of Industrial Accidents; the Department of Labor and Industries; the Department of Mental Diseases; the Department of Correction; the Department of Public Welfare; the Department of Public Health; the Department of Public Safety; the Department of Public Works; the Department of Public Utilities; the Metropolitan District Commission. The act disposed of about ninety administrative units by placing them under the governor and council, or one of the nearly twenty departments.

Commission on Administration and Finance
(1921–1930)

The reorganized state departments had been in action scarcely two years before a special investigating commission on state administration and expenditures, established by the legislature of 1921, known as the Webster Commission, was recommending a further consolidation of departments. It urged that in place of the twenty administrative and ten executive departments, there be fifteen administrative and four executive departments. It also recommended that the heads of the nine large administrative departments should constitute, with the governor, an administrative cabinet in order to bring the governor into more intimate contact with administrative problems and to promote the adoption of common administrative policies. None of these suggestions were adopted by the legislature, but the commission's recommendation for the establishment of a commission on administration and finance was put into effect by the General Court in 1922 and the commission was appointed late in the same year. The supervisor of administration was abolished and his duties to prepare budget data for the governor, to classify and standardize salaries and to supervise the state printing were transferred to the new commission. In addition, the bookkeeping functions of the state treasurer and the accounting functions of the auditor were transferred to the comptroller's bureau of the new commission. The commission was to consist of four commissioners and was to be organized in three bureaus, —a comptroller's bureau, a budget commissioner and a purchasing agent. Serving under the commission was to be a division of personnel and standardization, under a director, to take charge of the classification of appointive offices and positions in the state service, except those in the judicial and legislative branches. The division was also to undertake department research "tending to greater co-ordination and standardization of administration." Thus, the ten-year movement which began with the establishment of the Commission on Economy and Efficiency in 1912 had flowered to substantial achievement. A combination of forces looking toward a better administrative policy resulted from legislation between 1918 and 1922, which included the setting up of a budget system, the consolidation of state activities into twenty departments, and the systematic control of personal service and the expansion of powers of former governmental agencies through the creation of the commission on administration and finance. These various factors are so interwoven that to none of them can be given entire credit for the record of the past decade in governmental efficiency; but their combination has produced a notable result. The commission on administration and finance, acting for a succession of chief executives anxious for the best business administration possible, and using the new machinery provided by the legislature, has placed Massachusetts in the forefront of all American commonwealths in the efficient handling of governmental problems. One of the first policies adopted was the so-called "pay-as-you-go policy" by which it was decided that the Commonwealth, as such, would not issue bonds but would finance its needs from current income as these needs were demonstrated. In 1901, the net direct debt of the Commonwealth was, in round numbers, $11,700,000. This debt steadily rose until it reached its peak in 1919, at $40,400,000. The application of business principles to government halted the increase in the net direct debt at that point and from 1919 to the present date there has been a steady decline, until at the beginning of the fiscal year 1930, the net direct debt was the extremely low figure of $11,181,000. The net state debt, therefore, at the beginning of 1930, was approximately 28% of that in 1919 and showed a reduction in ten years of 72%. The result of this debt reduction has been the reduction of the interest payments from a high peak of over $2,000,000 in 1919 to $890,000 in 1930, or a saving in the one item of interest on the direct debt of nearly $1,200,000.

In 1922, the last year under the old policy of partial control of state printing, the total cost for paper and printing was $662,000. This was reduced so that in 1927 it reached a low figure of $328,000—or less than one-half the cost five years earlier. These are some of the outstanding results of the definite application of business principles to government; and for these results the commission on administration and finance takes at least a partial credit.

Direct Legislation—Submission of Questions to the Voters (1881–1916)

In 1894 a majority of the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court advised the legislature that a general act could not be made to take effect throughout the Commonwealth upon its acceptance by the voters of the state. The measure which the legislature desired to submit was one granting women the right to vote in municipal elections. In 1881 they had been granted the right to vote for school committee. Since then, the question that raised the issue has been settled in favor of the women, but the General Court, after having enjoyed for a period of five years the right to submit a general bill to a state-wide referendum, was deprived of that privilege when Article XLII of the Amendments to the Constitution, adopted in 1913, was repealed in 1918 by the amendment establishing the initiative and a different kind of referendum. In short, the voters were then authorized to challenge by popular vote an act of the legislature, but the legislature itself was deprived of the right of submission which the people had conferred upon them at the election of 1913. No constitutional grant was ever deemed necessary to empower the legislature to submit to the voters of a city or town a local act for acceptance or rejection. The legislature has also frequently exercised the right to pass a general act to take effect in the cities and towns accepting it. But four acts were submitted to a state-wide referendum under the forty-second amendment during the five years of its retention in the constitution. All were affirmed. One granted a Saturday half-holiday to the state-employed laborers, and another made New Year's day a legal holiday. In 1914, the voters ratified an act abolishing "party enrollment" of voters for primaries, only to approve its revival two years later. The results of the two votes on party enrollment show how important is the form of the question submitted. The legislature referring the question of reenacting party enrollment did not in terms present the converse of the question first submitted, but presented the issue under the persuasive description: "Shall an act passed by the General Court in the year nineteen hundred and sixteen, entitled, 'An Act to prevent the voters of one political party from voting in the primaries of another political party' be approved and become law?"

Public Opinion Law (1913–1920)

In 1913, the legislature passed the celebrated "public opinion law" providing for the submission to the voters of senatorial and representative districts, on petition of a certain number of voters in each, of questions of "public policy." This advisory referendum is based on the provision of the Declaration of Rights, securing the right of the people "to give instructions to their representatives"—an echo of the town meeting of the revolutionary days. While an expression of opinion registered under this device, unlike the popular initiative, places nothing upon the statute book, a preponderant vote on a live issue is sure to exert great influence upon the attitude of the senator or representative whose constituents express their views. In 1928, the opponents of constitutional prohibition took advantage of the law to obtain an expression of opinion as to whether the senators of certain districts should be instructed to memorialize Congress to take action for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. The time-honored practice of the General Court in memorializing Congress on federal questions has had the effect of rendering the public opinion law applicable to questions of national interest. Thus, the intelligent Massachusetts electorate is converted by this law into a plebiscitary laboratory on all manner of political questions. In 1926, the voters in the Malden representative districts registered their disapproval of the entry of the United States into the League of Nations. But when the voters in certain districts were asked to express their views on non-contributory old-age pensions or on the question of tax-exempted property,—matters of state policy, —the interest was slight.

In 1920, the public opinion law of 1913 was supplemented by an act providing for the permissive submission to the voters of amendments to the federal constitution, pending their ratification or rejection by the legislature. This act has never been utilized, but the General Court in 1924, when confronted with the proposed "child labor" amendment to the federal constitution, referred the advisability of ratification to the voters in a manner slightly differing from that laid down in the 1920 act. The negative vote returned resulted in the rejection of the amendment at the 1925 session. Another "straw vote" was ordered for the election of 1924,—that on retaining "daylight saving," so called. The majority in favor of retention was substantial.

Application of the Initiative and Referendum (1919–1930)

In their effect on legislative procedure the Initiative and Referendum clauses have presented many perplexing problems of statutory drafting. Whether a pending bill falls within their scope and may not, therefore, take immediate effect without an emergency preamble is a question frequently arising. The "I. & R." amendment has exerted a wider influence on Massachusetts legislation collaterally than directly.

Through the referendum, eight acts of the legislature have been submitted to the voters beginning in 1919, with an equal number accepted and rejected. A prohibitory liquor enforcement act has been rejected and another sustained; an act providing censorship of moving-picture films has been rejected and likewise an act imposing a tax on gasoline sales. Notwithstanding this popular verdict against such a tax, the legislature four years later, convinced that the question had been misunderstood, again enacted such a tax and the measure escaped a referendum. The voters have also vetoed under the referendum an act, aimed at labor organizations, rendering voluntary associations suable. Acts authorizing savings banks to place deposits on interest monthly, requiring district attorneys to be members of the bar and regulating "immigrant banks" have been upheld.

Initiative petitions on seven different measures have reached the General Court since 1919. More has been placed upon the statute books by the initiative than has been barred by the referendum. The first was a bill to authorize the licensing and sale of certain nonintoxicating beverages. The legislature in 1920 had passed the bill on an ordinary petition, only to be vetoed by Governor Coolidge. Its supporters promptly availed themselves of the initiative. The legislature of 1920 failed to pass it over the veto, but the people promptly adopted it by a close vote. Because of Federal legislation under the Eighteenth Amendment, it has never been in effect. Another initiative bill dealt with legalized Sunday professional sports. An initiative measure seeking to substitute for the absolute civil-service preference given to veterans a mild percentage preference was defeated by the voters in 1926. The initiative measure making Armistice Day a holiday was enacted by the legislature, as submitted in 1928.

The initiative has also resulted in the enactment of two measures without submission to popular vote, due to passage by the General Court of "legislative substitutes" that proved acceptable to the petitioners,—in 1920, an act for the purchase of State forests and in 1924 one for the psychiatric examination of certain prisoners.

In 1927 occurred a most ingenious attempt to secure, under an initiative law, an expression of popular opinion or "straw vote" on the question of repealing the Eighteenth Amendment to the federal constitution. Two popular votes, in case of legislative refusal to pass the initiative bill, were contemplated. The people were to vote that they be directed to vote on the expediency of such repeal,—a popular vote to have a popular vote. The justices of the Supreme Judicial Court advised the General Court that such a proposal was not within the purview of the Initiative and Referendum Amendment. Those desiring to obtain a popular expression on the question of constitutional prohibition thereupon proceeded with greater success under the "public opinion law."

Effect of Initiative and Referendum (1919–1930)

The net result of the insertion of the I. & R. amendment through the year 1928 has been the enactment of five initiative measures, one of which has never been effective and three of which were substantially enacted by the General Court without popular vote, and probably would have been passed in any event. The measure providing for professional Sunday sports is the outstanding achievement of the popular initiative. The referendum defeated motion-picture censorship and delayed the adoption of the gasoline tax. The referendum provisions of the amendment have seriously complicated ordinary law-making processes necessitating the specific adoption of emergency preambles and taxing the guessing powers of legislators and their advisors, as well as of the courts.

The Executive Veto

Students of state government in the United States have deplored the absence of a strong executive with general control of the administration. This criticism has been less applicable to the Massachusetts governorship than to that of most of the other states. In Massachusetts, as elsewhere, the supreme administrative authority has been the legislature. The framers of our constitution were careful to establish a "government of laws and not of men," not only as affecting the making of laws but also their administration. The Massachusetts legislature has always been a great organ of administration,

—state, county, metropolitan district and municipal, and a large part of its annual output, though in the form of acts and resolves, consists of nothing more than administrative orders, directions and dispensations.

The governor, through his veto, has always been a powerful factor in all the activities of the general court, both legislative and administrative. In 1918, he was given by constitutional amendment the affirmative power to recommend amendments to measures submitted by the legislature and also the right to veto items in appropriation bills. In practice, these extensions of his constitutional powers have proved of slight importance, due to the governor's extra-constitutional relations with the general court. Although the measures are few which occasion division in the legislature on party lines, the position of the governor as a party chief inevitably makes him a leader in law-making, especially when, as is usually the case, his party is in control of the general court. While there is no provision in the original state constitution, corresponding to that in the federal constitution authorizing him "from time to time to give to the legislature information," such a power has developed in our unwritten state constitution and much important legislation has been enacted based upon the inaugural addresses and messages of the governor.

Another feature of our extraconstitutional growth anticipated the fifty-sixth amendment of 1918 and has resulted in its rarely being used. In recent years, the governor has exercised a powerful influence over legislation by requesting that bills be "recalled" by the Senate for the purpose of suggested amendment. This is a far more convenient process than that provided by the fifty-sixth amendment, for it commits the governor to no particular form of change, it relieves his advisors of the responsibility of formulating and drafting the suggested amendment and is sometimes resorted to for the purpose of defeating a measure without an executive veto. This process is also availed of for the purpose of giving the governor more time than the five days provided in the constitution for the consideration of measures submitted for his approval. This practice of "recalling" bills will doubtless be of less frequent occurrence whenever the governor and the legislative majority are of a different political faith. During the dozen years that the fifty-sixth amendment has been a part of the constitution, the governorship and the general court have been in uninterrupted control of a single party. Under other political conditions, the amendment may prove more useful.

Effect of Appointing Power of the Governor

The governor also exercises a powerful influence by his constitutional and statutory power of appointment. But four State administrative officers, other than the lieutenant-governor and executive council, are elective: the state secretary, the state treasurer, the attorney-general and the auditor. The governor's non-participation in their selection does not materially reduce his administrative control. The powers of the auditor have nearly all been transferred to the comptroller,—appointed and removable by the governor and council; those of the state secretary are largely of a ministerial and routine character; the treasurer's most important duty may be performed only with the approval of the governor and council, while others have been transferred to the comptroller; and the marked decline in recent years in the caliber of lawyers elected to the office of attorney-general has necessitated the appointment of a competent force of assistant attorneys-general whose compensation is fixed by the governor and council. The vesting by statute in the governor and council of the right to remove as well as to appoint department heads and even many of their subordinates, authorizing the division of personnel and standardization of the commission on administration and finance, a department directly under the governor's control, to classify for salary and other purposes the great bulk of administrative officers and positions under rules and regulations approved by the governor and council, the greatly extended authority of the governor over appropriations and finances by the budget and borrowing amendments to the constitution, the growing tendency of the general court to extend the rule-making power of administrative boards and officials subject to the approval of the governor and council,—have made the governorship a dominating position in the conduct of the state's business. The official machinery provided by the constitution and the legislature have made it possible for strong and efficient governors to achieve much for the welfare of the state. And by this same machinery the office has been made safe for mediocrity. One of the most irksome of the executive constitutional duties has been the granting of reprieves, pardons and paroles. The establishment of the board of parole, which also acts as an advisory board of pardons, and the recent enactment of legislation empowering the courts to grant reprieves, constitute important features in the recent history of the executive branch.

THE GENERAL COURT: GENERAL AND SPECIAL LAWS

Recent changes affecting procedure in the General Court have been set forth elsewhere in this work. The most serious criticism that can be brought against our General Court, pronounced by the late Professor Reinsch, in his "American Legislatures and Legislative Methods" as "in all respects nearest the people, and most responsive of any American legislature to intelligent public opinion" is its practice of passing so many local and special laws. This weakness is tersely put by Dr. Hanford of Harvard University: "About half of the actual output of the legislature, and even a larger proportion of the bills introduced, consist of special and local measures authorizing cities and towns to borrow beyond their debt limits; granting pensions to specified local employees; changing the name of city officers; creating public utility, charitable, and educational corporations; regulating the location of garages in a particular city; authorizing a specified charitable society to acquire property; authorizing a particular city to sell or lease certain land held by it for playground purposes; authorizing the registration of Mary Jones as a chiropodist without examination, etc. Then, too, there are numerous measures regulating the details of administration which should fall within the jurisdiction of some department or commission. In 1923, out of a total of 494 acts, there were 259 general acts and 235 special ones."

From 1915 to 1923, inclusive, 2819 general acts were passed, as against 2606 special acts. The criticism is not new. In 1872, Governor Washburn, and in 1882 Governor Long, in their inaugurals, called attention to the evil. But much has been accomplished to correct it, and hardly a session passes without the enactment of a group of laws designed to lessen the volume of special legislation. The subject engaged the attention of the recent constitutional convention and the English system of "provisional orders" was considered; but without result. President Gaspar G. Bacon of the Senate has recently given great impetus to the reform by introducing a group of bills, several of which have been enacted, which will avoid the necessity of much particular legislation. One of these directs the Senate and House counsel and department heads, as opportunity offers, to recommend the passage of general laws in place of special.

Continuous Consolidation of the General Laws (1882–1930)

With the exception of the adoption of the initiative and referendum and the introduction of the budget, the most far-reaching legislative reform in recent years has been "the continuous consolidation of the general laws." Governor Long in 1882, as a means of avoiding the periodic revision of the statutes that had come to occur about every twenty years, recommended the appointment of "a permanent officer—perhaps the assistant attorney-general—to edit the general laws of each session, and also to prepare from year to year, and keep on hand in manuscript, for the use of the Legislature, just such a consolidation of the general laws, with marginal notes and other details, as is now, at great cost and delay, made at long intervals. . . . When, fifteen or twenty years hence, it shall become desirable to print and publish a revision of the statutes, that work will be already done."

Not until the special session of 1920 was Governor Long's suggestion put into effect, by a measure signed by Governor Calvin Coolidge. The committee on rules of each branch was authorized to appoint "a skilled person," to act as counsel to the Senate and House of Representatives. These officials were to assist members and committees of the legislature in drafting bills, particularly the committees on bills in the third reading. They were to tabulate annually the changes in the laws, prepare the annual index, submit to the General

Court necessary changes and corrections in the laws and keep a master copy of all the laws as changed, for public inspection. They were to draft all bills proposed for legislation as general statutes in the form of specific amendments to the General Laws. Since 1920, their duties have been enlarged to include recommendations for the repeal of obsolete laws and the substitution of general for special laws. Department heads have been required to submit to the counsel drafts of legislation proposed in their annual reports. From time to time, the General Laws and their amendments, together with a revised index, probably will be republished in lieu of the old style revision.

Writing of the new plan in the Massachusetts Law Quarterly for February, 1922, Speaker Benjamin Loring Young, who was chiefly instrumental in putting the plan into effect, declared that "no general consolidation should ever be needed in the future. At convenient intervals of ten years or thereabouts, the official copy of the laws, corrected each year by the Counsel to the Senate and House of Representatives with a permanent index also corrected to date, can be issued at comparatively slight expense . . . and with little delay or inconvenience to members of the Bench or Bar." Thus was taken an "important step forward in the mechanics of law making."

That Massachusetts is still maintaining its leadership among the states in meeting new problems by effective legislation is well illustrated by the fact that the Massachusetts act of 1923, providing that the operation of an automobile upon the public ways of the state by a non-resident should be deemed equivalent to an appointment of the registrar of motor vehicles as his attorney for service of process, was sustained by the United States Supreme Court and has been copied in twenty states.

Uniform State Laws (1891–1930)

Massachusetts was among the first of the states to establish, in 1891, commissioners on uniformity of legislation throughout the United States. In 1889 the National Bar Association established a committee on uniform state laws, consisting of one member from each state. The first Massachusetts commissioners were appointed for two years. The life of the commission was extended under various acts until 1908, when it lapsed. New commissions for five-year terms were created in 1909, 1914, 1919 and 1924. In 1902, the membership was increased from three to five, to permit of two additional members, one representing the working classes and the other the manufacturers. This act further urged uniformity of legislation "making eight hours a legal day's labor throughout the United States."

The Commissioners on Uniform State Laws were finally constituted a permanent body by Chapter 200 of the Acts of 1924, appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the council, for five-year terms. They are required "to examine subjects upon which uniformity of legislation in the various states of the United States is desirable, but which are outside of the jurisdiction of the Congress of the United States," to "confer upon these matters with the commissioners appointed by other states for the same purpose"; to "consider and draft uniform laws to be submitted for approval and adoption by the several states"; and generally to "devise and recommend such other or further course of action as may tend to accomplish such purposes." Their annual reports disclose a remarkable record of constructive achievement. By 1928, Massachusetts, on their recommendation, had enacted the following uniform laws:

Uniform Negotiable Instrument Act,	(1898)
Uniform Sales Act,	(1908)
Uniform Warehouse Receipts Act,	(1909)
Uniform Stock Transfer Act,	(1910)
Uniform Bills of Lading Act,	(1910)
Uniform Foreign Wills Act,	(1911)
Uniform Desertion Act,	(1911)
Uniform Child Labor Act,	(1913)
Uniform Marriage Evasion Act,	(1913)
Uniform Partnership Act,	(1922)
Uniform Limited Partnership Act,	(1923)
Uniform Fraudulent Conveyance Act,	(1924)

Various other acts recommended by the national conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws would doubtless

From a photograph by Boris, Boston

CHANNING H. COX

have been adopted by Massachusetts had it not been found that Massachusetts legislation had already attained to the standard which they sought to make uniform. Instances of this creditable commentary on the leadership of Massachusetts in many fields of legislation are afforded by the Uniform Fiduciary Act; the Uniform Veterans' Guardianship Act; the uniform act for the extradition of persons of unsound mind; the proposed acts, four in number, relating to registration, licensing, operation, and theft of motor vehicles; and the uniform child labor act. The commissioners were also instrumental in securing the passage, in 1929, of a declaratory judgment act, in respect to rights under written instruments, though not the uniform act recommended by the national conference.

SUNDAY LAWS (1904–1930)

With the exception of church disestablishment, no Massachusetts legislation more forcibly typifies emancipation from the tenets of puritanism than those relating to the "Lord's day." The word "Sunday" rarely appears in the statutes; the chapter of the General Laws controlling activities on the day set apart for worship and respite from toil has always been entitled, "Observance of the Lord's Day." Were John Winthrop with us today, he could, without violating the laws designed to enforce the Fourth Commandment, attend for a price a Sunday-evening cinema, provided that it was duly licensed, "in keeping with the character of the day and not inconsistent with its due observance."

In 1900, it was lawful to hold and attend on the Lord's Day a concert of sacred music or an entertainment given by a religious or charitable society, the proceeds of which were to be devoted exclusively to a charitable or religious purpose, or a free open-air concert given in a common or other public place by a city or town or under license from the local authorities.

In 1904, the public conscience was somewhat shocked when the supreme court held lawful a licensed vaudeville entertainment at Revere Beach conducted under the auspices of a Jewish congregation in Boston, it appearing that only the net proceeds were paid over to the synagogue for religious or charitable purposes. Doubtless the legislature did not intend to open the door for the giving of theatrical performances for the diversion of the public on the Lord's Day. Probably no one thought it possible that a religious or charitable society would give such an entertainment to obtain money for a charitable or religious use.

Governor Bates promptly sent a special message to the legislature and legislation was speedily enacted closing up the loopholes in the law.

Twenty-four years later the people of Massachusetts, by a vote of 803,281, adopted, under the initiative, an act authorizing professional outdoor sports and games on the Lord's Day, conducted for the profit of their sponsors under public licensed regulation, in such cities and towns as accepted it. This act of direct legislation was preceded by another in 1920, providing for local option on licensed outdoor amateur Sunday sports and games, barring admission fees and the conducting of any collection or business enterprise.

Present Sunday Privileges (1692–1900)

The General Court has, from colonial days, kept in force a general prohibition penalizing the keeping open of one's shop, warehouse or workhouse on Sunday, or the doing of any manner of labor, except works of necessity and charity. This provision, with its marginal citations, beginning in 1692, stands inviolate in the General Laws. The following section consists of almost an entire page, enumerating the dispensations. Since 1900 the legislature has made lawful the following acts performed on Sunday: the sale of tobacco by newsdealers and others; the retail sale of cream, soda, confectionery and fruit, and of ice cream and its delivery; the digging of clams and the dressing of fish; unpaid labor on yachts and boats; amateur photography; the sale of catalogues of art societies; the sale of kosher meat and of fish, fruit and vegetables to meet religious requirements of our Jewish people; the operation of motor vehicles and the sale of gasoline, oil and accessories for use in motor vehicles, aircraft and motor boats; sale of meals to be eaten off the premises; war-time cultivation of land and the raising of agricultural products; retail sale of bread; parades with music on memorial Sundays by organizations of veterans and on Firemen's Memorial Sunday by organizations of firemen. The legislature has also authorized the police authorities to issue permits for the performance of necessary work on the Lord's Day in order to prevent serious loss, damage or suffering. Local authorities may license retail dealers in ice cream, confectionery, soda water, or fruit to keep open their places of business on Sunday.

Civil Service and the Merit System (1884–1930)

In 1883 Congress passed the so-called Pendleton Act "to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States." The year following, Massachusetts enacted the first law "to improve the civil service of the commonwealth and the cities thereof;" and at the same time established a State commission to administer the act. Massachusetts was the first State to establish a single commission with jurisdiction over municipal as well as State positions. The act of 1884 authorized the commission to make rules of general or special application, classifying offices in State and city service which were to be filled by competitive and noncompetitive examinations. County positions have never been included in the law. In 1894, towns of over twelve thousand population were authorized to accept the act. In 1901 all towns having regular police and fire forces were authorized to accept the law as affecting such forces, and each year the legislature passes numerous acts extending the provisions of the civil service laws to specific officers in both cities and towns. In 1930, 39 cities and 52 towns were under the Civil Service Laws. When a town becomes a city, all classified positions automatically become subject to civil service. In 1930 over 42,000 persons were serving throughout the State in classified positions. In 1930 there were 69 employees in the office of the civil service commission.

Extension of the Civil Service Laws (1887 – 1929)

The commission early adopted a conservative policy in extending the classified service, requiring qualifications which could be ascertained by simple and uniform tests. In 1887 cities were authorized to make appropriations to defray the expense of administering civil-service rules. Extensions of the rules to city positions have frequently resulted on application of the cities themselves. In 1896 the law was amended in its application to the labor service, providing that it should not take effect in cities of less than 100,000 population except on acceptance by the mayor and city council.

From time to time, general legislation has been passed requiring certain technical positions to be classified; such as employees having charge of steam boilers, and of heating, lighting or power plants maintained by the State, sealers of weights and measures, and inspectors of plumbing. Certain officers and employees have been expressly exempted from the law; such as judicial and elective officers, department heads, officers elected by the legislature, including Senate and House counsel. Such exemptions are constantly being made.

PREFERENCES AND REMOVALS (1896–1911)

The veteran's preference, first established in 1896 and amplified in 1919, has been a conspicuous feature of the merit system. The names of veterans of all wars, who pass an examination, are placed at the head of the eligible lists and must be certified for appointment before civilians. In 1922, disabled veterans capable of service were given a special preference; and the law has since been sustained by the Supreme Judicial Court. A legislative report found that of the total number of appointments since 1919, about half were of veterans.

The merit system had been established ten years before persons in the classified service were given any general security against dismissal. In 1904, legislation was enacted providing that no person therein should be removed or reduced in rank or compensation, except for just cause, for written reasons, and providing a hearing. In 1911, a court review was provided. In 1890, the removal of police officers had been similarly regulated; and in 1894 the removal of veterans in the public service, whether under civil service or not, was restricted. The court appeal now available to practically all in the classified service is ample guaranty against unjustifiable removal or demotion or other unwarrantable treatment.

Record of Public Charities (1863 – 1929)

The late Frank B. Sanborn, first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, introduced his famous report on the public charities of Massachusetts, made to the Massachusetts Centennial Commission in 1876, with these words: "The record of public charity in . . . Massachusetts for a hundred years, if written out with appropriate detail of incident and development, would be one of the most important chapters of our political and social history. For it would show by what steps, and in what inherited and traditional ways, the noble spirit of the Puritan statesmen who founded Massachusetts has manifested itself in charitable methods, in public institutions, in the general habit and tendency of our population; until we have established in this little corner of the world, not, perhaps, the best system of public charity, but the best foundation and atmosphere for such a system that can be seen at the present time among a people so numerous and heterogeneous as ours, anywhere on the inhabited globe. And this is in due fulfilment of the philanthropic purpose declared by . . . John Winthrop, who, in 1629, before he departed from England to rule over his infant colony, proposed a new viewpoint in the matter of poor relief."

No series of public documents are more justly celebrated than those of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities. Governor Andrew appointed, as its third chairman, Samuel Gridley Howe, who served for five years. The Board of State Charities was established in 1863 on the recommendation of a special commission (appointed in 1858) "to investigate the whole system of public charitable institutions of the Commonwealth." The underlying plan was that of "centralizing policy and decentralizing administrative detail." This supervisory system of public charities Massachusetts was first among the States to inaugurate. As early as 1639, there was established by statute that "most fundamental principle of public aid in Massachusetts," which is that "responsibility for the relief of persons in distress lies upon the community where the distress is found." This principle still finds expression in the opening section of Chapter 117 of the General Laws: "Every town shall relieve and support all poor and indigent persons lawfully settled therein whenever they stand in need thereof."

Child Legislation (1890 – 1929)

In 1675, following the descent upon Boston and other coast towns of persons rendered homeless by King Philip's War, the Province began its policy of aiding the unsettled poor, whence developed the class of State paupers. Poor relief has to this day continued to be for the most part of local function; but the State has continued to make reimbursement, at varying rates, for support accorded the "unsettled poor." In the closing years of the last and in the opening years of the present century, the State discarded the distinction between settled and unsettled poor in respect to indigent insane and dependent children, and assumed their support regardless of settlement. An early accomplishment of the Board of State Charities was the establishment of the State Primary School at Monson and the concentration there of the children in the State almshouses. In 1887, the legislature provided that local overseers of the poor should place their children in families; and in 1905 the State board was authorized to do so at the expense of any delinquent town. By this and later legislation, almshouses throughout the State have been practically emptied of children. This system of placing its minor wards in families, with constant investigation and visitation by the Division of Child Guardianship (of the Department of Public Welfare, successor to the State Board of Charity), is known the world over as "the Massachusetts plan of child placement."

A more recent step to safeguard its dependent children was the establishment by the State in 1904, at Canton, of the Massachusetts Hospital School for crippled children, followed in 1920 by provision for State minor wards of a hospital under the same board of trustees. The establishment of the

Boston juvenile court and the enactment of the Juvenile Delinquency Law in 1906, providing for the separate handling of juvenile cases and the treatment of children under the age of seventeen as juvenile delinquents rather than as criminal offenders; provision for the licensing and regulation of lying-in and maternity hospitals for the protection of infants, following the prior regulation and licensing of boarding-houses for infants, in pursuance of the humane policy that, "wherever a child is born, in other than the parents' home, there the watchfulness of the state follows" (stated by Robert W. Kelso); and the enactment in 1913 of the law providing aid to mothers and their dependent children in order to keep the family intact—are more recent instances of the State's solicitude for its children.

Poor Relief

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of poor relief in Massachusetts in recent years is the change in the public attitude toward its recipients. "So great is the contrast between the methods of olden times and the public opinion of to-day," writes Kelso, "that government is busy seeking to redefine its nomenclature of poor relief in milder phrase, and to profess, somehow, a complete denial of the existence of paupers." Thus, within a few years, the legislature has eliminated the word "pauper" from the statutes and has substituted more humane descriptions: such as, "persons in need" and, for State paupers, "dependent persons who have no legal settlement." There is no longer a "State Board of Charity," but a "Department of Public Welfare." "Overseers of the poor" have become local "boards of public welfare"; "almshouses" have given way to "infirmaries," and the "workhouse" is no more. Likewise the word "lunatic" has disappeared from the statutes.

Prison Reform and Penology (1847–1870)

Prison reform in Massachusetts, as in other States, has always had for one of its chief objects that "intelligent classification which is the basis of modern treatment of lawbreakers." Up to 1870 there had been no State control over county penal institutions, other than the State laws requiring their establishment. When a board of prison commissioners was first established in that year, they were empowered to classify all prisoners in respect to sex, age, character, condition and offence and, to this end, to transfer prisoners between the county jails and houses of correction.

Prior to the establishment of county correctional institutions, convicts and persons held for trial—both male and female, the young and the old, hardened criminals and first offenders—were confined together in such inadequate and unsanitary jails as the counties had provided. The only phase of the prison problem suggestive of classification was the confinement of long-term convicts at the Charlestown State Prison, established in 1805.

Prior to the establishment of the first State board in 1870, the Board of State Charities, created in 1863, was required to investigate annually all places in which insane persons were confined. This subjected to State inspection county jails and houses of correction, in nearly all of which lunatics were detained. But no power of control was conferred upon the board.

New Types of Institutions (1847–1927)

The establishment in 1847 of the Lyman School for Boys, at Westborough, for the purpose of receiving delinquent boys under fifteen years, was followed in 1854 by the authorization of a similar institution for girls at Lancaster, called the Industrial School for Girls. Later came the Industrial School for Boys at Shirley (1908) for the commitment of delinquent boys over the age of fifteen years; the creation of the reformatory for women at Sherborn, in 1874; the Massachusetts reformatory for younger male offenders at Concord, ten years later; the prison camp at West Rutland in 1904, in order to furnish outdoor employment to male prisoners; the addition of the hospital section in 1907, to segregate and care for tubercular prisoners; and the use of the State farm for the confinement of convicted inebriates. All these reforms represent a slow but steady effort of the State to provide for the institutional classification of prisoners. Finally, the beginnings of the State prison colony at Norfolk under an act of

1927 (chapter 289), and the building of a custodial wall and buildings by the labor of prisoners, with a view to their use as a State prison, with the consequent future abandonment of the old State prison at Charlestown, will effectually remove many obstacles to prison reform in Massachusetts.

Prison Conditions (1919–1930)

A special commission of 1919 characterized confinement in the "group of cell-blocks" that made up the State prison as a "cruel and unusual punishment." "For purposes of reformation the facilities afforded . . . are hopeless. If punishment is the basis, they are inhuman." It also emphasized the impossibility of proper classification of the inmates at the reformatory for women, where used to be found "girls under twenty, comparatively young in crime, thrown by the nature of the housing quarters into contact with the psycopathic individual and the feeble-minded woman who has behind her decades of anti-social conduct—a record of prostitution, with its consequent promiscuous spread of venereal diseases, of illegitimacy and of crime." The facilities at the Massachusetts reformatory were also found ill-adapted to that "grouping of the inmates according to age, degree of offence, mentality or possibility of reformation" essential to the application of modern methods.

The commission found that the existence of 21 jails and houses of correction under 14 independent boards of county commissioners was the chief obstacle to making anything but punishment the object of confinement. The impossibility of adopting any comprehensive and unified system of penal administration with the control of over 34 correctional institutions divided among 15 boards led to an insistent demand that those of the counties be consolidated under State control, just as the care of the insane had been consolidated in 1900. Governors urged this reform, and it was once endorsed by a plank in the State platform of the Republican party (1920). However, the movement has made no progress in the legislature, and the counties are still in control of their penal institutions.

Years before, the State authorities had been empowered to transfer prisoners between State and county institutions.

In 1918 the physical examination of county prisoners, under specifications promulgated by the State health authorities, was required. In 1924 the legislature, impelled by an initiative petition, made mandatory the psychiatric examination of prisoners serving sentences of more than thirty days in all jails and houses of correction by psychiatrists of the State Department of Mental Diseases.

Criminal Psychiatry and Penology (1904–1924)

Though the advocates of modern principles of penology failed to attain their goal in respect to classification, they have achieved much in the application of the science of psychiatry to the problems of the lawbreaker. In fact, Massachusetts is recognized as a leader in the "practical application of psychiatry to the penal machinery." In 1913, the municipal court of the city of Boston was the first adult court in the country to set up a psychiatric clinic.

In 1904 the legislature provided for the appointment by courts hearing criminal cases of two experts in insanity, to examine prisoners of doubtful sanity, with the possibility of commitment to a State hospital. In 1918, the presiding judge was authorized to request the Department of Mental Diseases to assign a member of a State hospital staff to examine into the mental condition of persons coming before the court. The most notable contribution of Massachusetts in the application of mental tests to prisoners on trial was the enactment of the Briggs Law in 1921, conceived by Dr. L. Vernon Briggs, making the mental examination of certain persons held for trial a matter of precedural routine. Under its provisions, all persons indicted for capital offences and certain others indicted for felony are required to be examined by the Department of Mental Diseases, and the report becomes admissible evidence. The act, perfected from year to year, is one of the many outstanding contributions of Massachusetts to modern legislation, and has been the subject of much discussion throughout the country.

An account of the achievements of Massachusetts in the field of penology would be incomplete did it fail to take note of its well-conceived system of granting permits to be at liberty, skilfully administered by its Board of Parole, which also serves the governor and council as an advisory board of pardons; of its recently instituted system of paying wages to prisoners engaged in the industries conducted in State penal institutions; of the establishment in 1906 of the Boston juvenile court, and provision for juvenile sessions in other courts; of the establishment of the indeterminate sentence, based upon the theory that modern punishment takes account of the offender as well as the offence; of its system of aid to discharged prisoners; of its provisions for departments of defective delinquents in penal institutions, with authority in the courts to sentence mental defectives thereto; and lastly of its notable system of probation, whereof the history and results are ably set forth in the report of the Commission on Probation submitted to the General Court in 1924.

Responsibility for the Mentally Diseased (1676–1886)

Massachusetts legislation took notice of the insane as early as 1676, when the duty of caring for dependent lunatics was conferred upon the selectmen. In 1694, overseers of the poor were made to share in this duty, while justices of the peace were empowered to dispose of the property of insane persons. Until the opening of the McLean Asylum in 1818 as a part of the Massachusetts General Hospital (chartered in 1811, a private institution aided by the State), the insane were cared for in almshouses, penal institutions, and private houses.

The question of providing special accommodations at the cost of the Commonwealth for the insane seems to have been first agitated in the legislature in 1829 by the Hon. Horace Mann, then of Dedham; and the result of the discussion that followed was the appointment of a committee, of which Mann was chairman, to make investigations as to the "practicability and expediency of erecting and procuring, at the expense of the Commonwealth, an asylum for the safe keeping of lunatics and persons furiously mad."

The result of the report of this committee was the establishment of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, now known as the Worcester State Hospital. "For more than thirty years, the state laws had authorized the confinement in jails and prisons of such lunatics as should, in the opinion of two magistrates, be judged 'dangerous to the peace or safety of the good people.' Such confinement as the laws authorized shut out nearly every chance of improvement." The foundation of the Worcester hospital marked the beginning of a group of State hospitals for the insane that have amply justified all the encomiums that have been bestowed upon them and their administrators.

Centralized supervision of the insane and of the four state institutions then existing was provided in 1863, when the Board of State Charity was established. This board was replaced in 1879 by the Board of Health, Lunacy and Charity. In 1886 the State Board of Health was created as a separate organization, leaving to function until 1898 the State Board of Lunacy and Charity. In that year was established the first State board whose sole concern was to be the care of the mentally afflicted. The board was reorganized in 1914 and its authority over the institutions under its supervision much extended. Two years later it was again reorganized as the Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases, to become, under the general departmental reorganization act in 1919, the Department of Mental Diseases, presided over by a skilled specialist known as the Commissioner of Mental Diseases.

Prior to the establishment of the State Board of Insanity, Massachusetts had been a pioneer in enlightened legislation affecting the mentally diseased. In 1881 provision was made for the reception into State institutions of voluntary patients as "boarders." This provision was extended to epileptics in 1895. In 1909 provision was made for the commitment to appropriate institutions of drug addicts. In 1886, provision was made for the segregation of insane criminals at Bridgewater. Massachusetts was the first to adopt, in 1885, the "family care" system of boarding out patients in private families, with adequate provision to secure their proper treatment. Provision was made in 1883 for temporary absence on leave of patients in State institutions.

Reform of Care of the Insane (1898–1904)

The year 1898 is a notable one in the history of Massachusetts policy toward the care of the insane. Not only was the State Board of Insanity established, but it was directed to report a plan for the State care and support of all the insane poor. There were then under the supervision of the board four general classes of persons: the insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, and inebriated or dipsomaniacs. Drug addicts later became a fifth class. These charges till then were located in State insane hospitals and asylums and other institutions more or less under State control (such as the Boston Insane Hospital, private institutions for the insane, city and town almshouses) and in private families in care of the State Board of Insanity or local overseers of the poor. Of those cared for at public expense, over 5,000, or 67.5 per cent, were at the charge of cities and towns.

On the recommendation of the board, the State undertook complete responsibility for the support and care of all the insane poor, and provided for transfer from local almshouses to the State hospitals and asylums. This policy became effective January 1, 1904, necessitating the purchase by the State of the Boston Insane Hospital.

Another event rendering the year 1898 notable was the founding of the Massachusetts Hospital for Epileptics, now known as the Monson State Hospital. Four years later, the idea of outdoor treatment of patients was given impetus in the establishment of the first State colony for the insane, opened at Gardner in 1902, and has since extended so that most of the State institutions have such colonies.

Psychopathic Patients and Feeble-Minded
(1909–1922)

While Massachusetts has always been in the forefront in methods of treatment and cure of mental diseases, its outstanding achievement in the twentieth century has been the development of methods of prevention. In 1909, the legislature made provision for psychopathic service; and in 1912 the psychopathic department of the Boston State Hospital was established for "scientific research as to the nature, causes and results of insanity," to be given over in 1920 entirely to this phase of treatment under the title of Boston Psychopathic Hospital.

Control of Motor Vehicles (1903 – 1929)

The most prolific source of legislation in Massachusetts in recent years is undoubtedly the motor vehicle. A joint special legislative committee, appointed in 1924 to investigate and study the various problems relating to the control, supervision and regulation of motor vehicles and kindred matters, pointed out that in the fifteen previous years the General Court had ordered no less than eleven special investigations, "each having to do with some particular phase or phases of the problem." To these must now be added seven more, making a total of eighteen such investigations authorized through the year 1929.

The legislature has been called upon each year to amend or supplement the elaborate code directly regulating the equipment, operation and registration of motor vehicles, the examination and licensing of operators, the scale and disposition of fees, while "the problems brought about by the tremendous increase in their use have multiplied very rapidly." The attempt to solve these problems has resulted in a multiplicity of enactments in other fields of lawmaking. The problem of the "drunken driver" impelled the legislature to regulate judicial procedure and to control the exercise of judicial discretion in order to insure a jail sentence for second offenders; a process involving numerous modifications in our criminal laws. The use of the motor vehicle by criminals and the ease of a quick "get away," combined with the fact that "every farmer's house and every crossroads general store . . . is today only about one-eighth as far from the great city as it was twenty or twenty-five years ago," has compelled Massachusetts to establish its very effective motor-cycle constabulary.

The ever-growing volume of accidents caused by operators found to be "execution-proof" led to the establishment in 1925 of the first and only system of compulsory motor-vehicle liability insurance to be adopted: a system that has resulted in almost as much debate as prohibition, and has led to the annual submission to the legislature of scores of petitions and bills seeking its amendment or repeal.

The use of the motor vehicle has led to the establishment of one of the most superb highway systems in the country, and has also provided the means of providing the cost of that system through registration and license fees, fines collected from offending operators, and lastly from the proceeds of the tax on gasoline. Among the State functions set in action by motor traffic are traffic rules and regulations, State and local; signals and warning signs; direction signs on through highways; parking problems; modifications of the law of the road; snow removal from important routes; abolition of railroad grade crossings; regulation of corporations organized to finance the purchase and insurance of automobiles; location and building of garages, filling stations, and oil refining and storage plants, with the accompanying menace of fire and explosion; the transportation of persons and property by the bus and the truck, acting as common carriers and licensed and supervised as such; necessary changes in the Sunday laws; the rise of the wayside refreshment stand, the roadhouse, the overnight camp, bringing welfare, sanitary and safety problems; the consequent decline of the street railway; and the impairment of railroad revenues. Our motor-vehicle code is chiefly Chapter 90 of the General Laws, but scores of chapters relating to other subjects have required amendment because of the motor vehicle.

Authorization of State Highways (1893)

In 1900, the State highway project was six years old. It is usually associated with the motor vehicle, but the bicycle was its godfather. In 1892, the advocates of good roads secured the passage of Chapter 338 of the Acts of that year, establishing a temporary commission "to improve the highways of this commonwealth." Governor Russell appointed to this commission George H. Perkins, representing the bicycle enthusiasts, William E. McClintock, a skilled highway engineer, and Professor Nathaniel S. Shaler of Harvard, an eminent geologist whose expert knowledge of available road material and other scientific data proved of great value to the work of the commission. The act directed the commission to advise as to methods of construction and maintenance of State or county highways, road-building materials, routes, plans, and estimates of costs. The commission's report disclosed that the roads of the State outside municipal centers were in a "deplorable condition," and that State or county aid was essential to their improvement. It demonstrated that large annual sums could be saved by their improvement.

The legislature responded to this report in 1893 by establishing the Massachusetts Highway Commission, and the three members of the investigating commission were appointed to begin the work of carrying into effect their recommendations.

In 1894, the study of road materials obtainable in various parts of the State was continued, and the different sources of supply were indicated on topographical sheets. The tests of the materials then begun have been continued to the present time. The first State appropriation was made in 1894—the sum was $300,000. A maximum limit of about two miles a town was fixed upon, in order that the object lesson of what good roads really meant might be as widespread as possible. The first State highway layout was in Ashby. Cities and towns desiring the application of State funds were required to procure waivers of land damages. The commission soon evolved a system of construction designed to unite the more important cities by trunk lines of large traffic capacity.

Construction of State Highways (1894–1928)

The first appropriation for the work of the Highway Commission was made in 1894, the sum of $300,000 enabling actual construction to begin in August of that year. This amount was raised by borrowing on sinking-fund bonds, maturing in 20 years, bearing interest at 3½ per cent. Through the first decade of highway construction, the total bonds issued amounted to $4,525,000, the maturities varying from 25 to 30 years. In 1904, the State abandoned the sinking-fund bond and adopted the policy of issuing serial bonds. In 1916 the practice was discarded of borrowing money for State highways. The total amount of money that had been borrowed for the general work of the commission was $11,767,000. At the end of the fiscal year 1928 there were outstanding only $2,850,520 in highway bonds.

As the fees for registering vehicles and licensing operators began to assume large proportions, it was realized that a method of financing highway improvements was at hand that would dispense with the necessity of drawing on the general revenue. These fees in 1894 amounted to $17,684. In 1908, when they were pledged to disbursement for highway purposes, they had grown to $121,488.50. In 1909 court fines assessed on offending motorists were added to the highway fund.

Governor Draper in 1909 recommended that the registration fees be graded so that the high-powered, heavy and speedy machines, causing the most damage to the highways, should pay higher registration fees; and on such a basis a scale of fees was established. It has been revised from time to time with a view to adjusting the fees to benefits received and to wear and tear on the roads caused by the various types of cars. In 1910 (the first year showing combined receipts from fees and fines) the motor-vehicle account was credited with $168,734.50. In 1928, the account had mounted to $13,919,618.24. While the great bulk of these fees and fines have been used, after deducting the expenses of the Highway Commission and later of the Registry of Motor Vehicles, in administering the motor vehicle laws and in the construction and maintenance of State highways, the legislature has authorized their expenditure also on county highways and local ways in conjunction with local appropriations, and on metropolitan parkways and boulevards. Finally, by way of assuring the motorist that the proceeds of the steadily increasing charges imposed upon him would be spent for his benefit, the Highway Fund was established in 1925, whereby the proceeds of motor-vehicle fees and fines and of the tax on gasoline are pledged to the expenditure for better roads, both State and local, together with a share in meeting the expenses of the State constabulary in highway patrol.

PROBLEMS OF HIGHWAY SAFETY (1903–1929)

The outstanding problems in the recent history of the motor vehicle have been those of highway safety and traffic congestion. A large proportion of motor-vehicle legislation looks to the first of these objects. It began with the imposition of speed limits in 1903. In later years, it has centered about the "drunken," "hit-and-run" and "reckless" drivers, proper braking requirements, the elimination of glaring headlights, the examination of applicants for licenses, and increases in the force of investigators and examiners under the registrar of motor vehicles.

The installation of automatic signal systems, the establishment of through ways and the "boulevard stop" system, combined with changes in the law of the road regulating the movement of vehicles at points of intersection, represent attempts to cope with these problems.

The most notable achievement in this class of regulations was the adoption in 1929 by the Department of Public Works, acting under Chapter 357 of the Acts of 1928, of a *standard signal code* formulated by experts from the Erskine Traffic Bureau of Harvard University. Massachusetts thus became the first State to make official provision for uniformity in traffic devices. The State also turned to Harvard for expert assistance when it laid the foundations for its great system of State highways.

Compulsory Motor-Vehicle Insurance (1925 – 1929)

In most cases where Massachusetts leads the way in legislative pioneering, other States follow. Compulsory liability insurance for motorists is an exception. The Massachusetts idea has been widely debated throughout the country, but other States are hesitant to adopt it. For several years prior to 1917, bills were introduced into the legislature requiring owners or operators of motor vehicles to procure insurance against damage to persons or property that might be caused by negligent operation. Before undertaking to legislate on the subject, the General Court resorted to the time-honored method of ordering a recess investigation by the Highway Commission. Its findings were adverse.

In 1924 a well-drafted bill passed the house of representatives, and was referred by the senate to another recess investigating committee, which reported favorably. "We think it not alone the right, but the duty as well, of the commonwealth to insist that those whom it permits to operate on the public ways a machine so dangerous as the self-propelled vehicles of the present day give adequate guarantees that judgments which may be obtained against them shall be collectible, at least with respect to those arising from personal injuries."

The legislature of 1925 responded by enacting the celebrated Chapter 346 of the Acts of that year, which provided, as conditions for registration of a motor vehicle by its owner: (1) an insurance policy insuring liability to pay a judgment for personal injuries or death up to certain amounts, if caused by the negligent operation of his vehicle; or (2) a surety bond of like import; or (3) a deposit of cash for the same purposes, with the Division of Highways.

Ever since its enactment, this statute has been a storm center in and out of the State House. Under its provisions, the insurance commissioner has classified premium rates based not only on the type and power of vehicles but upon territorial zones founded upon loss experience. Motorists in localities like Chelsea and Revere, where accidents have been frequent, have been required to pay higher premium rates than motorists in rural districts where accidents are less frequent. This and the feeling that, if the State is to require motor-vehicle liability insurance, it ought to provide ways and means of furnishing it at cost, has resulted in the agitation for insurance by a so-called "State fund," with a monopoly of compulsory insurance. The sponsors of the movement, led by Frank A. Goodwin the first registrar of motor vehicles, filed in 1929 an initiative petition seeking legislation establishing a form of compulsory quasi-public insurance, but the scheme was declared unconstitutional by the justices of the supreme judicial court in an opinion to the senate received April 16, 1930.

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Massachusetts is celebrated for the high quality of its official administrative reports. Complete files of all departmental reports are available in the State Library and other libraries. Current copies may be obtained from the public document division of the department of the State secretary in the State House. The secretary, from time to time, publishes a list of available documents.

Reports of special investigating boards and commissions contain voluminous material of great value, relating to all phases of State activities, especially during the last forty years. Much of their subject matter up to 1904 is covered in the *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States of the United States,* by Adelaide R. Hasse, librarian of the department of public documents of the New York Public Library, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Since 1895, they have been covered by an excellent card index prepared by Frank W. Cole, in charge of the legislative document room in the State House. The Cole index also covers all opinions rendered to the General Court by the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, beginning with 1895.

CHAPTER III

BOSTON—THE MUNICIPALITY
(1890–1930)

By Andrew J. Peters
Former Mayor of Boston

Relation of the State to the City Government of Boston

In many directions, and especially in the taxing power, the State Legislature places restrictions upon the city of Boston. Boston, alone of all the cities of the Commonwealth, is subject to an arbitrary tax limit imposed upon it by the legislature. This arbitrary tax limit is without justification; for the citizens of Boston can, and eventually will, correct any abuses that may exist in their city government. They have at no time been given a complete opportunity to prove their competence to exercise this functional authority, of which they have been deprived by the State. The appropriation and expenditure of municipal funds for municipal purposes is a purely local function which should lodge entirely in the hands of the citizens, with the other powers under the State-granted charter.

Under the present arrangement, the tax limit for purely municipal purposes, after excluding school and county expenditures, is far too small for absolutely necessary expenses. Hence the Mayor must annually appeal to the Legislature for the needed temporary increase in the tax limit for the year. This annual trip to the Legislature wastes much of the Mayor's time, and delays the actual passage of the budget by the city council until several months after the time contemplated by the charter of 1909. Without questioning the capacity of the committee and experience of members of the Legislature before whom the plea for an increase in the tax limit must be made, it is obvious that the duly constituted executive officers of the city are better qualified to judge the specific needs of the city. If they are not so qualified, the remedy lies in the hands of the voters; as in every other city and town in the State.

In other instances the city authorities are invaded by agencies created by and solely responsible to the state officials. First came the creation of the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission in 1899. In 1898 Boston's water system was taken over by the Metropolitan Water Commission. Shortly after, the Metropolitan District Commission was created to care for the system of Metropolitan Parks and their policing. The diversion of these functions to the various Metropolitan commissions might be justified on the ground that they serve other communities besides Boston.

A brief review of the cost to the district of the various Metropolitan Commissions during 1928 shows a total assessment on the forty cities and towns concerned of $8,304,000. Of this sum, Boston's share was $4,421,000, or more than fifty-three per cent. On the other hand, this diversion is a strong argument for the unification of the many cities and towns contiguous and adjacent to Boston into one governmental body. Such a metropolitan city could demand the return of the control of all these State agencies to the people they serve, to whom they should be responsible.

State Control of Police

For some years prior to 1878 control of the Police Department had been split in an unsatisfactory manner between the Mayor, the City Council and the head of the Police Department. In 1878 a law authorized the Mayor (with the approval of the City Council) to appoint three police commissioners to serve for three years. The commissioners were of necessity under strong political pressure and the plan was not wholly successful. A new law, passed in 1885, gave the Governor authority to appoint three citizens of Boston, from the two principal political parties, as a board of police. From that time on the police were never again responsible to the city authorities, although the city is entirely responsible for the cost of maintenance of the department.

The purpose of this new step was obviously to eliminate political influence on the part of the City Council. This was, however, an unfavorable time to take such a step, inasmuch as by the terms of the charter of 1885 the Mayor was given for the first time complete control of department heads. The tendency of later charter revisions has been toward greater centralization of responsibility in the chief executive; but even under these more enlightened conditions, the city has never been given the opportunity to demonstrate its capacity for running the affairs of its police department.

In 1906 the single commissioner form of control was evolved, but the commissioner continued to be a state appointee. In the minds of the informed there is little doubt that, had the Police Commissioner been responsible to the Mayor at the time of the police strike in 1919, much confusion and the consequent loss of life and property might have been avoided.

Annexations to Boston (1868–1909)

The first annexation of any contiguous community, after the incorporation of the city, did not occur until 1868, when the town of Roxbury became part of the city. Two years later, in 1870, Dorchester became a part of Boston, and in 1874 Brighton, West Roxbury and Charlestown were absorbed by the greater city. It cannot be said that the city gained anything by any of the annexations except in the case of Charlestown, which controlled the Mystic waterworks. Soon the question of a further water supply was pressing, and they were a distinct asset to Boston.

No further annexations occurred until 1909, when Hyde Park became a part of Boston, much to the benefit of the former. Without exception the districts annexed have been the gainers because of the benefits of improved streets, better sewerage and water systems, and the multiple advantages which the larger city can bestow and which would have been out of reach of the smaller community.

Charters (1822–1885)

Notwithstanding the first charter was granted by the General Court to the City of Boston in 1822, sixty-three years elapsed before the citizens fully outgrew the tradition of the town form of government, viz., voters retained a direct control over their government through the medium of the town meeting. Although the first charter provided a Board of Aldermen and a Common Council, those bodies enjoyed only delegated authority; direct control and responsibility remained centered in the legislative body.

In 1854 a revised charter was an advance toward the true city form of government as we know it; but not until the adoption of the Charter of 1885 were the executive powers taken from the Council and transferred to the mayor. To be sure, the mayor had nominal authority to appoint all administrative officers; but always subject to the approval of the Board of Aldermen, which proved to be a great weakness.

The charter expressly provided that the City Council should not interfere in any manner with the work of the executive in the way of employing labor, making contracts, purchasing materials, etc., but the members of the council could not be penalized for ignoring the prohibition.

Even after the mayor received a real executive power by the Charter of 1885, interference with the executive branch of the government by the legislature grew rapidly worse. To the two legislative branches were annually elected no less than 87 persons. The result was a very inferior type of legislators who could be expected to contribute little but trouble to any form of government.

Matthews, in his valedictory address in 1895, pointed out the evil effects of the existing system, and urged complete revision of the legislative branch, and a change in the duration of service of elective officials. He insisted that the legislative branch "should be reconstructed by abolishing the present bicameral system and substituting a single legislative body." A more responsible class of aspirants for positions in the City Council would appear, if the term of service were longer and the work of legislation restricted to a single body.

The Charter of 1909

The municipal history of the City of Boston, during the years from 1890 to 1930, is a story of civic experimentation, with steady and substantial progress toward the achievement of a sound form of government. That Boston, in company with other large cities in America, has had its share of unworthy chief executives cannot be construed as a criticism of the form of its government; and today Boston has a governmental structure, basically the most sound of any large city in the United States.

Criticism can fairly be made of several features, which are not satisfactory to the believer in the true form of local self-government. Interference by the Commonwealth in matters which should be for purely local decision is habitual. The Police Department, for instance, is headed by the Police Commissioner, who is appointed by the Governor and solely responsible to him. The School Committee is elected directly by the people, and over its appropriations the Mayor has little control. Nevertheless Boston has a splendid charter, and with a keener appreciation by the electorate of its duty at the polls, the opportunities provided by the Charter for better government can be realized.

The Charter of 1909 was the most radical change in Boston's form of government since it obtained its first charter in 1822. In the many succeeding steps which led up to the adoption of that charter, Boston was fortunate to have many citizens who gave unstintedly of their time and energies to bring about much-needed reforms. The man who stood out before all the rest, at that period, in his work for the community, was the Hon. Nathan Matthews; and it is in the year 1890, with his first of four successive one-year terms as mayor, that this chapter opens. At that time the population of Boston was 448,477 according to the Federal census. At the last decennial census in 1920 Boston's population was given as 748,060, or a growth of about 58 per cent in thirty years.

RACE ELEMENTS IN THE POPULATION

In the last forty years, the population of Boston has undergone very slight changes in its racial composition. In 1890 the native white population was 64.7 per cent of the whole; while thirty years later, (the latest figures available) the percentage was 65.7 per cent. In 1890 those native whites of native parentage totalled 30.4 per cent; while in 1920 the percentage dropped to 24.3, a direct reflection of a considerable immigration during the intervening thirty years. With the restrictions recently imposed on immigration by the Federal Government, Boston should, within the next decade, show a decided increase in the percentage of those of native parentage.

During the thirty year period, by far the greatest number of immigrants were from Ireland, the 1920 census showing for Boston a foreign born population of Irish birth of 57,011. The same census showed a total of 38,000 of Italian nativity, and the same number of Russian birth; while those of Canadian birth, exclusive of French Canadians, totalled more than 40,000.

Boston's population may be considered as cosmopolitan as that of any city in America; and it has as low a rate of illiteracy as any large city in the country, which may rightly be considered a tribute to Boston's school system.

METROPOLITAN BOSTON

Some thirty-one cities and towns surround Boston; from almost any natural viewpoint these form a single community. The population spreading out from the original scattered centres, has expanded and coalesced in many places so that the town boundaries retain little local significance.

This undefined district has one main water supply, one general park service, a principal sewerage service, each administered by a single board. All of the foregoing are so-called metropolitan bodies, appointed by state officials and in no way directly responsible to the cities and towns which they serve. The district has one Fire Prevention Commissioner; and for the City of Boston a Police Commissioner is appointed by the Governor. But this district, having so many vital interests in common, is also subject to a multiplicity of local governing bodies which have little or no communication with each other. It is a cumbrous and complicated arrangement which in no way serves the best interests of the district at large, but leaves the officials of the State sovereign in their control. It resembles the condition which obtained in London and New York, before they effected the mergers which have confirmed their positions as the commercial capitals of the world.

At the next federal census in 1930, Boston, the area within the actual physical limits of the city government, will probably show a population of well over 800,000; whereas Boston is really the business centre of a population of 1,800,000 people, all of whom should be now, and eventually will be, united in one governmental unit. Only under such a consolidation of interests will Boston be presented in the proper light to the world.

Boston as a municipal corporation possesses its powers of self government in the form of a Charter from the Legislature. In tracing out the successive charters and amendments to them, it is not difficult to detect a distrust on the part of the Legislature of the ability of the citizens of Boston to manage their city's affairs for the common good. Whether the rapid influx of a new racial element into the Boston electorate, with the consequent increase in Democratic voters, has influenced the actions of Massachusetts Legislatures, which are normally Republican, is a matter of pure conjecture.

Control by the Commonwealth

Year after year, mayors of Boston have struggled against attempts by the General Court to deprive Boston of its local control in many ways. Boston is still the only city in the Commonwealth which has had a restraining hand placed on its finances by the legislative branch of the state government, in the form of a tax limit.

In general a city government is the agency for local self-government, with the responsibility for the discharge of municipal duties; and is also charged by the State with the execution of certain duties which are primarily those of the Commonwealth, such as the supervision of elections, the care of the public health and the work of the assessors. Thus a few city departments are partly or wholly concerned with the execution of state laws, while the others are created under the charter-given powers for the discharge of functions purely municipal in character. This general theory has been recognized by the Commonwealth throughout the State except in the case of Boston. The history of the relationship of the State legislature to the city government of Boston seems to one who has served as a mayor of Boston, a continual effort of the State to usurp Boston's rightful municipal authority. Nevertheless, Boston is no less able to govern itself than any other city in Massachusetts.

Mayor Matthews (1890–1894)

Nathan Matthews, Jr., Democrat (born 1854, died 1928), served as mayor four successive one-year terms, from 1890 to 1894. No mayor before him, and no mayor since, has probably had such an insight into the organization and functions of city government, or has possessed his grasp of municipal finance. He was a natural student of government. To quote from his valedictory address: "Called to the chief magistracy of the city without previous service in the Government, and believing that the first duty of a public officer charged with the disbursement of millions of dollars of the public money was to search the printed reports of the city Government for accounts that would show the cost from year to year of equipping and maintaining the various departments. I was amazed to discover that there practically were none." In his study of the methods of the various departments, he found similar conditions. As a result of his four years' service as mayor, the present city government has made great advances toward placing the city's business on a plane more nearly approximating that of a well run business corporation.

Matthews, however, had no illusions as to the possibility of a city government being run as a business proposition. Hence, in closing his valedictory, he said: "The theory that the affairs of a city should be managed like those of an ordinary business corporation is attractive and widespread; but it is founded on the fallacy of supposing that a municipality is a business corporation. Municipal corporations are organized not to make money, but to spend it; their object is government, not profit."

Matthews was outspoken in his condemnation of that which to him seemed improper or wrong. He cared nothing for a political following. His was not a selfish motive. He was one of the first vigorous advocates of consolidations of overlapping departments. He was a firm advocate of a longer term of office for the Mayor, and the policy of having department heads and subordinate officers hold office until resignation or removal, all of which innovations were included in the Charter of 1909.

In 1892, at the suggestion of Mayor Matthews, the City Council passed an ordinance prohibiting city employees from being members of political committees. He opposed the bicameral system in the legislative branch of the city government, and strongly advocated the appointment by the mayor of the election commissioners.

Water Supply and Schools

One of his most important contributions was the development of the water supply of Boston. The city initiated a municipal water system in 1848; and from time to time additions had been made to the water supply which seemed adequate for many years to come. Mayor Matthews appreciated the urgency of a largely increased reserve supply. The General Court finally authorized the State Board of Health to make a thorough inquiry into future sources of water supply, which resulted in the construction of the great Boylston reservoir in Clinton.

Matthews secured the appropriation for the Mechanics Arts High School, opened in 1893.

The outstanding achievement of his service to the city was the promotion of the Tremont Street subway, which was the first underground street railway line in the United States. The diffusion of the subway in America since 1895 is a tribute to Matthews.

Mayors Curtis, Quincy and Hart (1895–1902)

Edwin Upton Curtis, Republican (born 1861, died 1922), served one term as mayor in 1895, following the ideas of his predecessor. Through his efforts the necessary legislation was obtained to authorize a Board of Election Commissioners,

From the Municipal Register for 1903

Patrick A. Collins

Courtesy of Henry Edwards Scott and
A. W. Elson and Company

Nathan Matthews

the members equally divided between the two great political parties, all appointed by the mayor.

Joseph Quincy, Democrat (born 1859, died 1919). A legislative act of 1895 increased the term of mayor to two years. Quincy was the first to be elected for the increased term; and upon the expiration of his first term he was re-elected for a second, retiring from office at the end of 1899. His has been the only family to contribute three sons, all of the same name, to the mayoralty; the second and eleventh mayors of Boston also having borne the name of Josiah Quincy.

Quincy's administration gave impetus to the rapid growth of playgrounds, gymnasia and bathing facilities for the public. It was almost a fetish with him that the poor should have as ample facilities for recreation as the rich. Quincy was an ardent advocate of the management of city departments by unpaid boards. His expenditures of unusual sums to better the condition of less fortunate citizens proved the fallacy of a philanthropic administration.

Thomas Norton Hart, Republican (born 1829, died 1927), served a term of two years from 1900 to 1902. He succeeded in bringing about the creation, outside the School Committee, of a Schoolhouse Commission appointed by the mayor. The creation of this department was a long step forward in eliminating a serious political condition in the School Committee; but nearly thirty years later (1929) it was superseded by a new system.

MAYORS COLLINS, FITZGERALD AND HIBBARD (1903–1909)

Patrick Andrew Collins, Democrat (born 1844, died 1905) was the second mayor of Boston born in Ireland. He had served on the State Legislature, in Congress, and as Consul General at London. He died in the course of his second term.

Collins had the confidence and respect of the citizens of Boston, irrespective of party, and honestly endeavored to check the rapidly growing tendency to extravagance in city government. He likewise protested against the ever-growing tendency of State interference in Boston's purely municipal affairs.

John Francis Fitzgerald, Democrat (born in Boston, 1863) served during 1906–1907. Contending that the street department had become too complicated a task for one head, Fitzgerald secured the passage of an ordinance splitting the department into six different departments, which necessitated five additional department heads. The ordinance was repealed two years later. Many new bathhouses were constructed during this administration. Mayor Fitzgerald secured the creation of the first Finance Commission, later superseded.

George Albee Hibbard, Republican (born in Boston, 1864; died 1910), effected considerable economy in expenditures; and during his two years' incumbency reduced the number of employees in the departments under the control of the mayor by almost one thousand. The voters of Boston in November, 1909, adopted a new City Charter which, in place of the Charter of 1885, changed the mayor's term to four years, and made drastic changes in the form of the legislative branch of the city government.

The first mayor under the new charter was John F. Fitzgerald, who had served in the previous year. During his second administration (1910–1913) the Public Works Department was created by ordinance, absorbing the former Street, Water and Engineering Departments. The Department of Ferries and Bridges was also brought within the department at a later date.

For the first time since 1874, the bounds of the city were enlarged. Hyde Park was annexed to the city of Boston, January 1, 1912, by previous vote of the electorate of the two communities. At the very close of Fitzgerald's administration, the City Planning Board, consisting of five unpaid members, was created by ordinance.

Mayors Curley and Peters (1914–1922)

James Michael Curley, Democrat (born in Boston, 1874) served his first term of four years from 1914 through 1917, and when running for reelection in the fall of the latter year was defeated by Andrew J. Peters. The latter was not a candidate for reelection at the end of his term, and Mayor

Curley was elected to succeed him. The construction of Avery Street was the outstanding achievement of Curley's first term.

Andrew James Peters, Democrat (born in Boston, 1872). The election of Peters for the four-year term from 1918 to 1922, was a protest against the results of the personal and political influences which had too long been dominant at City Hall, and which tended to build up a personal and political machine. The mayoralty of Boston offers great opportunities for service, and carries with it responsibilities too great for thought of personal or political advancement. Both the letter and the spirit of the Charter of 1909 contemplated the choice of a municipal administrator rather than a political leader to preside over the work of this great city. Peters actively aided in the passage by the legislature of a charter amendment, which made the mayor of Boston ineligible for a second term immediately after the expiration of the four-year period for which he was elected. Taking office when our country was in the midst of war, the administration was confronted with many difficult problems as to ways and means. The finances of the city were in a most critical condition, with insistent demands for street and other public improvements. The preceding mayor had granted wholesale increases to city employees, and authorized the expenditure of practically every dollar of unappropriated cash in the city treasury. Work was immediately started to put the streets in order. During this administration, 313 miles of roadway were constructed or resurfaced. The most important single undertaking was the construction of Stuart Street, from Washington Street to Huntington Avenue. This development has added much revenue to the city by increase in taxable property.

Mayors Curley and Nichols (1922–1929)

James Michael Curley, Democrat (second term). The widening of Cambridge Street from Scollay Square to Charles Street was the notable accomplishment of Mr. Curley's second term; this widened thoroughfare has given some relief to the congestion of traffic moving to Cambridge.

Malcolm Edwin Nichols, Republican (born in Boston

1876). Long a student of government, Nichols gave a sound and progressive administration. Notable among the changes in the laws governing Boston obtained by him was the elimination of the 155-foot building-limit height, making possible a greater utilization of building space in downtown Boston. The widening of Exchange Street during this administration and the creation of a Traffic Commission aided in the steps toward a solution of traffic congestion. The Boston Port Authority, a body authorized by an act of the Legislature at the instance of Mayor Nichols, should be of great service in protecting and developing Boston's port facilities.

THE GOOD GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION (1902–1930)

At the turn of the century Boston was flooded with reform organizations. Many of the leading citizens and commercial organizations felt that Boston faced a serious crisis in its methods of municipal expenditures.

As Boston increased in population, wealth and importance, the details of administration and the opportunities of corrupt government grew in still greater proportion. Hence the formation in 1902 of the Good Government Association of Boston. Its purpose, to quote from its own statement, was "to increase public interest in municipal affairs, to offer constructive suggestion to promote efficiency in government, and to secure the election of honest and capable men to municipal offices." It quickly became evident that the purposes of the Association and that of the Public Information League were identical, and the latter coalesced with the new organization.

The Good Government Association is a non-partisan, independent political committee, in consonance with the spirit of the provisions of the Charter of 1909. Shortly before each election it mails to each voter a report upon the records of all candidates for mayor and City Council. Some mistakes have been made in these characterizations; but the honesty and sincerity of purpose of those directing its activities have been beyond question. They have always labored for the best interests of the city as they saw them and have strengthened the forces for better government.

Besides the helpful information given the voters when an election is imminent, the association deserves great credit for promoting the forerunner of the present Finance Commission, when conditions were probably at their worst in the municipal conditions of Boston. Later on, during the first term of Curley, this association again was instrumental in bringing about a pronounced reform—the segregated budget.

Since the adoption of the present Charter of 1909, 33 of the 52 elected candidates for the City Council were previously endorsed by the association.

THE FINANCE COMMISSION (1907–1930)

During the year 1906, the financial condition of the city and the methods employed in the administration of the city's business called for reform. Protests to the chief executive of the city brought no results. Hence the Good Government Association appealed to the Legislature to institute a complete investigation of city finances, to be used on a basis for administrative reform.

Threatened with the creation of a State investigating committee, the mayor requested the City Council to grant authority to him to appoint such a commission. The authority was given by the Council, and the first Finance Commission came into existence early in 1907.

This original Finance Commission consisted of seven men, and was appointed from the leading commercial and labor organizations of the time. It continued in existence until the end of 1908. The Charter of 1909, under which the City of Boston operates (with some minor exceptions) today, was the result of the investigations of this commission. It provided for a permanent Finance Commission, as a recognized department of the city government, responsible not to the mayor but to the appointing power—the Governor—with the advice and consent of the Council of the Commonwealth. Under the city charter the Commission is charged with the duty to investigate all matters relating to the raising and spending of money, and the methods of financial administration of the City of Boston and the County of Suffolk. The theory underlying the creation of this Commission was undoubtedly sound, but its influence has been generally negative.

Had the Finance Commission not been in existence, some of the Mayors of Boston might have been even more careless in the expenditure of funds under their control.

THE MAYOR UNDER THE CHARTER OF 1909

When entrusted with the task of framing a new city charter, the Finance Commission of 1907 sought to correct these evils by several expedients. The legislative and the executive branches of the government were to be completely divorced. Appointments by the Mayor were no longer to be subject to confirmation by the legislative branch. Instead they were to be certified by the Civil Service Commission. For any interference in executive matters by the Council, a heavy penalty was provided.

The new charter provided that all appropriations should be met from sources other than loans, must originate with the Mayor; and the council could no longer increase any item or add new ones. The Mayor was given an absolute veto power over all acts of the council, extending to a veto of any item in a bill requiring expenditure of money and to any part of an item. These provisions were the most important steps ever taken toward the realization of a businesslike form of government.

The mayor, in the final analysis, thus became a real chief executive, entirely responsible to the people for the wise expenditure of funds. His veto power cut all of the strings which had formerly tied his hands in his attempts to restrict foolish and unwise expenditures; while the provision giving the Mayor sole authority to originate the great bulk of appropriation measures, relieved him of much harassment by the city council in its playing of petty politics.

Chief among the new charter provisions was the abolition of the bicameral organization of the city council and the substitution in its place of a council of nine members, elected at large, each for a term of three years, three to be elected each year, while the term of the Mayor was increased to four years, with a provision allowing a recall by popular vote at the end of two years.

Charter Revision of 1924

Another important change provided by the new charter was the abolition of party designations in municipal elections. For some years prior to the adoption of the new charter, the Republican party had been growing weaker in numbers; and it had become obvious that only a Democrat had any chance of being elected to a major office. Under the charter still in force, Boston's municipal elections are nonpartisan, at least in name; and the electorate seems satisfied.

The elimination of the party designation in Boston has resulted in attracting as candidates men who would probably never have considered seeking the office of Mayor under the old system.

With the reorganization of the legislative branch of the city government into a City Council of nine members, logrolling and similar practices were stopped. The better class of men who were attracted to positions in the Council, insisted on a pay-as-you-go policy, and brought about the introduction of the segregated budget system, to be described later.

In 1923 dissatisfaction again arose over the conduct of city affairs, and a Charter Revision Commission was appointed. This process, however, received a severe setback, because in 1924 a change was made in the form of the Council. The Commission reported a plan for the division of the city into five boroughs or districts, each of which was to send three representatives to the council. The Legislature put the matter to the vote of the people; but the form of the referendum finally submitted in 1924 limited the choice of the voters to the new borough plan or to the old system of election by wards, which had proven itself a complete failure in Boston after a trial of many years. The politicians had done their work skillfully. No opportunity was given the voters to retain the system of electing the council at large. The plan for the election of the council by wards prevailed, although only twenty-five per cent of the ballots cast in the election were marked for that plan, and more than fifty per cent indicated no choice whatsoever.

The result was inevitable. At the next council election, the first under the reversion to election by wards, 114 candidates fought for election to the 22 berths! The calibre of the council was immediately lowered and has so continued to the present time.

THE SEGREGATED BUDGET (1915)

Reference has been made to the segregated budget. In 1915, largely through the efforts of the better informed members of the City Council, led by James J. Storrow, an ordinance was passed which required the submission of departmental appropriations to the City Council, in a form which provided for the final appropriation of certain sums for specified purposes. Authorization for transfer from the purpose for which they had been appropriated to another required the sanction of the City Council, which necessarily brought the matter to public attention.

The adoption of the segregated budget proved to be a long stride forward in the economical management of the city's expenditures; for it made it possible for the Mayor to keep a more strict surveillance on the final disposition of funds, while it also curbed to a great extent the disposition of department heads to spend all of their appropriation, which previously had been made largely in one lump sum for each department. Publicity always acted as a wholesome restraint on waste and extravagance.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE BOSTON SCHOOLS (1890–1930)

Boston is the educational centre of the country, and in many phases of education, Boston now shows the way. In addition to several colleges located within the city limits, of which mention will be made later, neighboring cities contain Harvard University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Radcliffe in Cambridge, Wellesley College in Wellesley, Tufts and Jackson Colleges in Medford, and Boston College in Newton.

The Boston public schools are under the control of an elected School Committee of five members. The appropriation power of the School Committee has been a veritable thorn in the side of many Mayors. While the city Charter provides that the Mayor's veto of any appropriation of the School

Committee can be overridden only by a vote of four of the five members, experience has shown that the committee is jealous of its power and usually finds the four-fifths, with the result that in more than one instance, when the School Committee has been swayed to vote for some innovation, other equally necessary municipal projects were necessarily postponed to provide the funds for the school projects, demanded by the School Committee.

Boston is second to none in its recognition of the modern advance in ideas on education and in liberal provision for educational needs. As far back as 1893 the Mechanic Arts High School was opened and other specialized schools have come rapidly along, including the Boston Trade School, High School of Commerce, Trade School for Girls, Boston Clerical School and Teacher's College. The growth of Boston's school system since 1890 is evidenced by the fact that in 1890 the yearly expenditure for school purposes was about $3,000,000, which constitutes about one-sixth of all municipal expenditures; in 1928 they amounted to approximately $20,000,000 and constituted almost one third of municipal expenditures.

WATER SUPPLY (1893–1930)

Looking backward, the efforts of the authorities of Boston to secure an adequate supply of pure water for its citizens seems almost to have been a mad race with the spectre of water famine. New supplies were continually being added; but almost immediately the spectre reappeared.

This problem was never intelligently approached until Mayor Matthews made it his particular concern. No rivers, lakes, or natural sources of water supply, adequate to the needs of a large population, existed in the eastern part of New England. It has been necessary, therefore, to create the supply by means of storage or impounding basins. In addition to Lake Cochituate, the original source of the supply procured by the city in 1846, five large basins had been built, previous to 1890, along the upper reaches of the Sudbury River. The work had been enormously expensive, the net cost of the Cochituate waterworks having been nineteen million dollars up to 1890; and another storage basin was in process of construction. Even then it was obvious that before many years it would be necessary to go farther away for additional water supply.

Mayor Matthews petitioned the legislature of 1893 to appoint a State commission to investigate the subject. Eventually the legislature passed an act (1895) authorizing the appointment by the Governor of three commissioners to construct, maintain and operate a system of metropolitan waterworks. The district to be served by the new water system included the cities of Boston, Chelsea, Everett, Malden, Newton and Somerville; and the towns of Belmont, Hyde Park, Melrose, Revere, Watertown and Winthrop. Other cities and towns have voluntarily come into the service of the district. In 1900 the final settlement for the transfer of the Boston waterworks to the Metropolitan Board was made, the city of Boston receiving for its work a little short of fourteen million dollars.

Under legislative authority the Metropolitan Water Board took the waters of the Nashua River above Clinton and built the great Boylston Reservoir, covering an area of more than twelve square miles, which involved in its construction the removal of six mills, four churches, eight schoolhouses, four hundred and ninety two dwelling houses and two cemeteries. This reservoir was not completed until 1907.

A further step is very desirable. The water supply of the great district now served should be controlled by the district which it serves. If ever a Greater Boston, an actual amalgamation of the various cities and towns into one central government, is brought about, that greater city will be in a position to insist upon the local control of such an indispensable public necessary.

Sewerage (1890–1930)

Hand in hand with the water supply of any community goes the sewerage system. For obvious topographical reasons Boston was a difficult and expensive city to drain. It has not the benefit enjoyed by New York, Philadelphia, London and other cities of strong flowing river or tidal currents; its surface consisting in great part of rock, and also in great part of filled land rising a few feet only above tidewater. The soil can be made fit for occupation by a dense population only through the most elaborate and expensive arrangements for the disposal of sewage and surface drainage.

By 1890 the city was served by an effective system of sewers, including direct and intercepting sewers. Thus the menace to health, which for many years had existed because of the drainage of sewers into the Back Bay Fens and into the harbor itself in the immediate vicinity of the wharves, was entirely eliminated.

One of the most difficult problems with which the city had to deal was that of surface water, which could not, because of the topography of the city, be carried off by existing drains in time of heavy rains. Hence it became necessary to install an entirely separate system for carrying off surface water. The improvement in the Charles River Basin was one of the most pressing reasons for resorting to this separate system.

Boston is connected with both the north and south metropolitan systems, controlled by the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission. It is fair to say that the city has now complete and successful arrangements for the disposal of surface drainage and sewage; but that result has been attained only at an enormous cost.

Boston Benevolent Funds (1790–1930)

During the period covered by this chapter, the City of Boston has been the recipient of three notable public bequests.

The first, the Franklin Fund, is the proceeds of a bequest of one thousand pounds left to the "Inhabitants of the Town of Boston in Massachusetts" by Benjamin Franklin, who died in 1790. He calculated that in one hundred years the thousand pounds, if put at interest, would grow to one hundred and thirty one thousand pounds, "of which" he says, "I would have the managers then lay out at their discretion one hundred thousand pounds in Public Works, which may be judged of most general utility to the Inhabitants." In 1894 the city received $329,300.48, being 100/131 of the fund. In 1904 the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth appointed a board of managers of the fund.

Several years later the Franklin Union was organized as an independent industrial school and technical institute for adults, affording persons working at a trade an opportunity to increase their knowledge and improve their condition. It has been aided by a bequest of $100,000 from the estate of the late James J. Storrow in 1927.

By the will of the late George F. Parkman, real estate properties worth between five and six million dollars were left to the city, the income therefrom to be expended for the maintenance and improvement of the Common and other parks.

While the Parkman Memorial bandstand on the Common appears to be the only memorial associated with the name of the giver of so much of recreation and pleasure to the citizens of Boston, the Franklin Park Zoological Garden, costing almost $600,000 up to 1929, and the Marine Park Aquarium, costing $150,000, were both made possible by the Parkman Fund.

The late George Robert White, who died in Boston in January, 1922, left a sum of five million dollars to the city of Boston, to be held as a permanent charitable fund, the net income only to be used to create works of public utility for the use and enjoyment of the inhabitants of the city of Boston. Under the direction of the Board of Managers, a number of health units have already been erected in the more congested districts of the city.

City Planning (1870–1930)

The city of Boston has never been able to free itself from a network of streets of great irregularity in width, angles, grades and connections. These irregularities are very unfavorable to the expeditious movement of traffic, although large sums have been spent in street widenings, and in the construction of completely new radial highways.

As far back as 1870, the need of some sort of definite plan of street laying out was felt; but the Board of Street Commissioners appointed to care for that need had no actual power to lay down street lines before the actual taking over of such streets for highway purposes. A more systematic method of street plotting was imperative; and in 1891, after an agitation lasting for more than twenty years, the Board of Survey came into being through an act of the legislature, and completed its work in 1897.

In 1914, the City Planning Board was created by ordinance. It is composed of five members, who serve without compensation; and it is its duty to carefully study the resources, possibility and needs of Boston, and to make plans for the development of the municipality.

One of the greatest achievements of the Board was the adoption of a zoning law by the city in 1924. The purpose of this law is to find legal means of avoiding undue concentration of population; to provide adequate light and air; to lessen congestion in streets; to secure safety from fire, panic and other dangers; to facilitate the adequate provision of transportation, water, sewerage and other public requirements; and to promote the health, safety, convenience and welfare of the inhabitants of the city of Boston. Changes in the zoning law may be made with the consent of the Board of Zoning Adjustment.

Bridges and Tunnels (1890–1930)

The important place of bridges in the cost of running the city of Boston may be gathered from the number of bridges. The city wholly maintains 62. One large division of the Public Works Department has exclusive charge of the bridges and two municipal ferries; and the cost of maintenance of this division approximates $400,000 annually, exclusive of the cost of operation. The bridges across the Charles above tidewater include several large and expensive structures between Boston and other cities—built and maintained at joint cost.

The Legislature of 1929 passed an act authorizing the construction by the city of Boston of a tunnel under Boston Harbor, connecting East Boston with the city itself. This enabling act was accepted by the Mayor and the City Council shortly after it was approved by the Governor; and work will shortly be started on the project. The cost, estimated at $16,000,000, will be paid by the city; but it is expected that the tolls will eventually amortize the cost, as in the case of the Holland Tunnel in New York. The East Boston Tunnel will doubtless give great relief to the traffic congestion now existing on the routes to the North Shore.

The Parks (1875–1930)

To the public parks our citizens turn for their recreation and our children for their health. Civilization advances in proportion as we are able to raise the children of one generation on a plane of health and vigor a little higher than that on which their parents stood. No taxes are levied, no public money is spent, with greater public approval than the contributions to that end. In most sections of Boston, the only safe places where a child may play are those furnished directly by the municipality.

Not until 1875 did Boston begin to develop a park system. In that year the voters accepted an act authorizing the city to establish a system of parks; and two years later the Back Bay Fens were purchased. For the next sixteen years, until Mayor Matthews' first administration, although more than $6,000,000 had been spent on parks, there was practically nothing to show for the expenditure. Much of the work was still under construction, and a policy of spending too little each year had been adopted. At the instigation of Mayor Matthews, larger appropriations were made and completed parks rapidly came into existence.

Today Boston has as fine a system of public parks and playgrounds as any city in the country. Twenty four parks covering 2,652 acres, to say nothing of many public baths and gymnasia are located throughout the city. In fact, the first municipal gymnasium in the United States, so far as is known, was opened in East Boston in 1897. The total valuation of city properties dedicated to recreation, is more than $69,000,000, which is far in excess of that of any other city in this country, except New York.

Included in Boston's park system is the Arnold Arboretum, sometimes referred to as the tree museum of Harvard University, containing extensive collections of such trees and shrubs as will live in this climate.

Fire and Police Service (1895–1927)

The control of the Fire Department of Boston was in the hands of three commissioners until 1895, when this inefficient system gave place to one commissioner with complete control. The department has been the victim of political agitation both at the State House and at City Hall, supposedly in the interest of the firemen. Associations have been formed for the purpose of securing from the State Legislature, by means of political influence and intimidation, unreasonable privileges, which the city authorities properly refused to grant.

For many years a social club within the department, called the Russell Club, has been utilized to secure additional privileges for its members. The cost of maintaining the fire department rose rapidly, though the work of the men grew no harder. Mayor Curley in 1916 granted them one day off in three, which added almost $200,000 to the cost of the department. The firemen also successfully agitated for the two-platoon system, which provided for two distinct shifts of firemen, and naturally made necessary a substantial increase in the working force. During Mayor Curley's second administration, the high pressure pumping system, completed in 1921, resulted in a substantial reduction in fire insurance rates.

The original transfer of control of the police from city to state, came about in 1885, when the Governor received authority to appoint a Board of Police consisting of three citizens of Boston from the two principal parties. The idea underlying the new law was that, by making the commissioners state appointees, they would not be so liable to political influence on the part of the City Council. It was however, but another step away from local self-government.

State interference in the policing of the city, a matter, after all, of purely local concern, has been resented by most of the Mayors of Boston. Mayor Matthews in his valedictory said: "The Board of Police should be abolished; the police force should be restored to the control of the city, and placed in charge of a chief or superintendent appointed by the Mayor, and responsible through him to the people of the city; and the license granting powers of the Board [referring to liquor Licenses] should then be vested in a special license board . . . .

The transfer of a purely local concern, such as the police force of a city, to the control of the Commonwealth is a violation of the principle of local self-government and a constant source of irritation to the people. The gain in efficiency, if any, is not commensurate with the breach of principle involved."

The three-commissioner system in police affairs did not work out well; and in 1906 by an act of the Legislature, the work of the department was turned over to a single commissioner appointed by the Governor.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH (1876–1930)

The first business of any city is the protection of the public health. The development of public health measures has made such rapid strides of late years that the protection given the City of Boston in quite recent times, seems astoundingly inadequate. With the better understanding in recent years of modern health work, the morale of those in charge has become considerably higher.

The decrease in the death rate in Boston from almost 30 in 1,000 in the late seventies, to 14 in 1,000 in the nineteen-twenties evidences some increase in efficiency in health work; and it may also be attributed in some degree to the splendid hospital facilities, both municipal and otherwise now enjoyed by the citizens of Boston.

A very important contribution to the public health, the watering of streets, did not receive the attention of the municipal authorities until Mayor Matthews' administration. Theretofore all watering had been done by private contractors under special agreements with house owners.

Under Mayor Matthews a special street watering system was inaugurated, to develop a systematic method of watering the streets at public expense. Not until 1900 did the city assume the entire cost of this service.

The Health Department continued under the guidance of three commissioners until 1914 when it was placed in charge of one executive, the Health Commissioner, who is required to be a qualified physician and expert in sanitation,—a long step forward in the direction of increased efficiency.

To what importance the Health Department has grown may be more clearly seen by mentioning its various divisions, such as Medical, Child Hygiene, Sanitary, Food Inspection, Laboratory, Quarantine, Vital Statistics, Records and Accounts, and the head of each division must be specially qualified for the work in his own particular field.

THE POLICE STRIKE OF 1919

The Boston police strike had its origin in the attempt of the Boston police as a body to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. The crisis in the early evening of September 19, 1919, was thus described by Mayor Peters in an official statement to the City Council: "In ordinary times the responsibility for maintaining order in Boston does not fall upon the elected officials of the city, but in case of riot or tumult the Mayor is invested with certain emergency powers. In the course of the recent strike of patrolmen, when such riot and tumult occurred, I exercised my authority promptly, and as I believe, effectively. At an early stage of the difficulty I appointed a Citizens' Committee which labored earnestly but ineffectually to get the police to give up their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and not to strike. On Monday September 8th, it became clear that a strike was impending and that unless prompt measures were taken, the lives and property of citizens were in danger. That evening in company with members of the Citizens' Committee, I saw the Governor and urged him to intervene, pointing out to him that I had no authority to act.

"On Tuesday about noon, believing that as Mayor of Boston I was entitled to know what provision had been made by the State officials for the preservation of law and order in the city in case of a strike, I consulted the Police Commissioner. Mr. Curtis (the Commissioner) said that he had the situation well in hand, had made adequate provisions for any emergency and assured me there was no occasion for alarm. I asked him whether it would not be wise to have the State Guard mobilized in order that sufficient forces might be on hand in case of an emergency. Police Commissioner Curtis stated in no uncertain terms that he did not wish their aid at that time.

"The Governor also pointed out to me plainly that no one had any authority to interfere with the Police Commissioner.

"I had no alternative but to give the Police Commissioner a chance to demonstrate whether he had adequately provided for the situation. The events of that night demonstrated that he had misjudged it. As early as possible the following morning, Wednesday, I took over the control of the Police Department, ordered out those state troops located within the city of Boston, and requested the Governor to order out an additional 3,000 men. The Adjutant General was notified over the telephone that he would shortly receive orders calling out the State Guard and asking him to proceed in accordance with this information. At the same time the commanding officers of the 10th Regiment, the First Motor Corps and the cavalry troop were called to my office and they immediately notified the officers of their regiments that their organizations were to be mobilized. The first of the troops were on the streets by four o'clock that afternoon, and by Thursday morning order had been restored. Thursday afternoon the Governor (Coolidge) assumed control of the State Guard."

It should be said that during the major portion of the period covered by this chapter, the history of the police force of Boston has been clean and efficient, with the exception of the blot of the strike of 1919.

In 1890 the cost of maintaining the police department was one million dollars. In 1928 it was almost five million dollars, with every indication of increasing cost. The annual increases have been due not only to conditions within the department but also to increasing public needs. Under an act of 1907, an addition of 100 men to the force was necessary to give the men one day in fifteen off from duty. From time to time there have been increases in pay, not only made necessary but reasonable because of the increased costs of living, while the needs of additional men for traffic control have placed a real strain on the personnel of the department.

Progress of City Government in Massachusetts
(1890–1930)

In his *American Commonwealth* Lord Bryce states that it is his opinion that our municipal governments are the least successful of our governmental agencies of democracy. In this he is undoubtedly correct; but city administration has been faced also with the most difficult problems. City administrations are not only brought in more direct contact with the citizens, but spend a larger amount of the citizens' money than either the nation or the state.

Between 1910 and 1920 the population of the United States as a whole increased 15 per cent. The population of the sixty principal cities of our country showed an increase during the same time of 25.7 per cent. The ten largest cities of the country contain a seventh of the total population. Everything points to a continued relative increase in the population of our cities as compared to the country as a whole. This means that the problem of municipal government will be of ever increasing importance in the government of our country.

A municipal government is no such problem as the ordinary corporation. The purpose of the ordinary business corporation is to make money: the problem of the municipal government is to spend it. The task of municipal government is not only to govern fairly and to administer to the people without favor, but it is also affirmatively to help the people with their various problems. The scientific city budget, with moneys all accounted for in detail and contracts awarded on merit and not by favor, is well installed and will be improved and extended.

Children in our schools should be taught what our government means, and in what its strength lies. They should be brought up to realize that democracy is not simply a form of government from which benefits can be taken, such as freedom of action, freedom of religion, protection of property, and those other great advantages which we have; but that it can survive only if the citizens recognize that they owe it duties as well.

The growth of our cities has been rapid. The development of municipal government has been slow and will at times seem to halt, and often we cannot help but feel, when we see the selection of some unfortunate choice as administrator of one of our cities, that municipal government is going backward. While progress is intermittent and better government meets periods of discouragement, a survey of our cities for the past twenty-five or thirty years shows on the whole that their government has improved; and that we have evolved a form of municipal administration reasonably efficient and responsive to the people's will. Boston has kept pace in this progress and we trust that in the future she will continue to make her contribution to a higher standard of municipal administration in our country.

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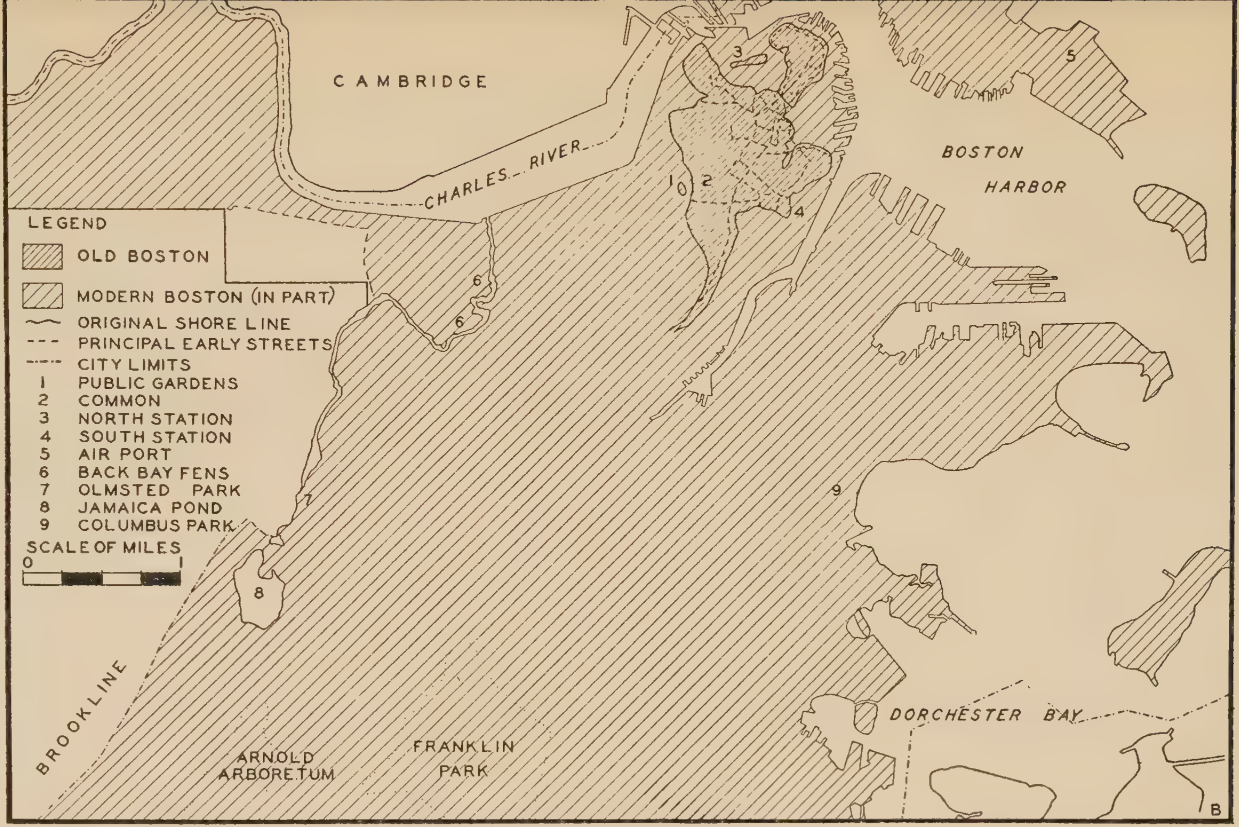
CAMBRIDGE
CHARLES RIVER
BOSTON HARBOR
DORCHESTER BAY
BROOKLINE
ARNOLD ARBORETUM
FRANKLIN PARK
LEGEND
OLD BOSTON
MODERN BOSTON (IN PART)
ORIGINAL SHORE LINE
PRINCIPAL EARLY STREETS
CITY LIMITS
1 PUBLIC GARDENS
2 COMMON
3 NORTH STATION
4 SOUTH STATION
5 AIR PORT
6 BACK BAY FENS
7 OLMSTED PARK
8 JAMAICA POND
9 COLUMBUS PARK
SCALE OF MILES
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Courtesy of the Bostonian Society of Boston

MAP SHOWING ACCRETIONS OF TERRITORY

CHAPTER IV

BENCH AND BAR IN MASSACHUSETTS (1889–1929)

By Robert Grant

Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk (1893–1922)

Status of the Legal Profession

The forty years covered by this title were conspicuous for the effect of the growth of population and rapidly mounting infusion of foreign blood on the composition of the bar and the ability of the courts to handle a set of fresh problems, due partly to new mechanisms of industry and transit, partly to change in social attitudes. Peculiarly applicable to the awakened legal consciousness of the Massachusetts of this period is a passage from the paper "The Causes of Popular Dissatisfaction with the Administration of Justice" by Roscoe Pound, then of Lincoln, Nebraska, before the American Bar Association in 1906: "Justice, which is the end of law, is the ideal compromise between the activities of all in a crowded world."

There was no dearth of eminence at the Massachusetts bar. Yet Sidney Bartlett of Boston, who died in 1889 in his ninety-first year and was engaged in active practice until a few days before his death, had virtually no successor as the leader of that bar by acclaim in the old-fashioned sense, though William Gordon Russell and Richard Olney, both of Boston, each had some claim to that dignity. This title became merged in the recognition that each of a number of lawyers throughout the Commonwealth was entitled to be thought of as not inferior to his fellows. This signified no falling off either in legal sagacity or acumen. On the contrary the problems resulting from the large affairs of intensive industrialism and a tendency to congregate in cities called for a more alert and resourceful order of ability than ever before, and made the law a more arduous if more remunerative profession.

The attorney practising alone or with a single associate, usually his junior, found himself in competition with large firms averaging twenty members and occasionally over fifty, equipped for every legal emergency. Simultaneously the lawyer who did his work with his own pen or the aid of a single clerk became archaic from the advent of the telephone and stenographers able to transfer the spoken word to a typewriter.

If the Massachusetts Bar has lost caste it is for reasons partly within and partly independent of itself. Among the former should be mentioned the uncertainty, delay, and expense of legal procedure; the injustice of deciding cases upon points of legal practice, which are the simple etiquette of justice; and the flagrant tendency to treat the judge as a mere umpire before whom counsel may fight out their differences at any length, as if to score as in a game were the true goal of litigation, instead of to present the real issue in the shortest time.

Standards of Admission to the Bar

Chief among the reasons for the alleged deterioration of the bar, for which the bar is only indirectly responsible if at all, have been the low educational requirements fixed for aspirants for membership. They have resulted in the admission of an increasingly large proportion of candidates of inferior quality during the period covered, especially since 1915, in which year the legislature prescribed that an applicant for admission to the bar "who has fulfilled for two years the requirements of a day or evening high school or a school of equal grade, shall not be required to take any examination as to his general education," provided he has passed the written test as to his legal knowledge set by the Board of Bar Examiners. This criticism, which is not accepted by everybody, will be considered further under the heads of Legal Education and Law Schools in Massachusetts. Commenting on the situation, as it sees it, the Judicial Council of Massachusetts in its *Second Report* (1926) remarks: "So far as we know there are no educational standards which must be maintained throughout the state in the evening high schools and, consequently, the clause which we have quoted . . .

From a photograph by Baro, Boston

RICHARD OLNEY

From a photograph by
Blank and Stoller, N. Y.

Courtesy of James
M. Morton, (Jr.)

JAMES M. MORTON

means that there shall be no measurable standard of education whatever. This means that Massachusetts ranks very low among the States of the Union in respect to the educational requirements for admission to the bar, far below Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Montana, South Dakota and most of the other states. . . . Raising the standards might place obstacles in the way of deserving young men who are too poor to obtain a proper preliminary education. This does not take into account the public interest, and overlooks the patent fact that it is the people in humble circumstances who suffer most from untrained lawyers."

The Bar (1889–1929)

The population of Massachusetts in 1890, according to the State census of that year, was 2,238,943. The Decennial Census of 1925 reports a total of 4,144,305, an increase of nearly one hundred per cent during the approximate limits of the forty years under consideration. From the Federal Census of 1880 it appears that there were 1984 lawyers in Massachusetts, four of whom were women. Yet in Lelia J. Robinson's case (131 *Massachusetts Reports* 376, decided September, 1881) it was held that under existing statutes "an unmarried woman is not entitled to be examined for admission to the bar as an attorney and Counsellor." This restriction was removed, however, by Statutes of 1882, Chapter 139. By 1890 the number of lawyers in the State had risen to 2589. The State Census of 1915 showed a total of 4,906, inclusive of judges and justices, and of these attorneys 47 were women. The last exact figures appear in the Federal Census for 1920, since which there has been no official tabulation either national or State of the numbers of the profession. Those figures show a total of 4954, of whom 4851 were male and 103 female attorneys. It would further seem from inquiry of the clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth that there must be at present (1928) well over 5000 members of the Massachusetts bar, of whom 200 are women.

Even more rapid than the growth in general population and in the membership of the bar has been the change in the racial origins of each.

RACE ELEMENTS IN THE BAR

The ascertainable proportion of the foreign-born to the total population almost doubled between 1850 and 1915 as shown by the 1915 Census of Massachusetts: 83.5 per cent native and 16.5 per cent foreign born in 1850, in comparison with 68.8 per cent and 31.2 per cent in 1915. "The largest foreign born element in our population next to those of Irish birth were the natives of Russia,—including those born in Finland and Lithuania, but excluding those born in Russian Poland,—numbering 123,450, and the next largest were the Italians who . . . have increased 141.6 per cent in ten years and now number 122,129."

The effect of these foreign groups on the composition of the bar has become increasingly significant. Prior to 1889 the lawyers of the Commonwealth, except for a considerable number of Irish extraction, were of the so-called native stock, and their characteristics might be said to have been homogeneous. The admission to the bar of capable and trustworthy representatives of Italian, and a little later of Jewish, birth or extraction provided litigants, who were newcomers and unable to speak English, with the means of protection, and their pioneer advisers with a remunerative livelihood. This service speedily encouraged imitation and then competition, partly to meet a genuine need and partly from racial pride. Ambition among the most quick-witted of each group to become lawyers kept pace with its growth to numerical importance, so that today every element of the population formerly classed as alien, including besides the groups already enumerated Armenians, French Canadians, Greeks and Syrians, is represented at the bar and gaining in representation. In order of numbers of the attorneys of foreign extraction the descendants of the Irish still stand first, the Jews now stand second, and the Italians third. At the same time this influx of the foreign-born has interfered with neither the leadership nor the prosperity of the older and established legal firms. Nor do the citizens of foreign extraction by any means universally have recourse to attorneys of their own blood.

Large Firms and Practitioners

Though there are still specialists at the bar, in patents, admiralty and conveyancing, various factors have combined to make them less prominent than formerly. The individuality of patent and admiralty lawyers has suffered somewhat from their comparative overshadowing by the volume of other legal affairs and litigation. It has suffered too from the development of the huge firms, already referred to, equipped to specialize in every branch of the law; though owing to the growth of population it is probable that more patent and admiralty business is actually transacted in the Commonwealth than at any time hitherto. Yet its practitioners are less in the public eye. Similarly, though there are more sales of real estate than ever, every important law firm has a conveyancer of its own, and the attorney who confines himself to searching titles encounters also *quasi* competition from the title insurance companies. A decade or so ago it looked as if the specialist in conveyancing might find himself merged in corporate or cooperative substitutes; but recent activity in real estate throughout the Commonwealth has given a fresh lease of life to his prominence as an individual.

Admission to the Bar (1780–1901)

The limits of this chapter presuppose familiarity with the requirements for admission to the bar prior to 1889. From the adoption of the Constitution of Massachusetts in 1780 these have been prescribed by the Supreme Judicial Court, subject to not infrequent statutory limitations by the legislature down to the period under consideration. Those interested in the early details will find them consecutively cited in the work by Hollis R. Bailey, now and for many years chairman of the Board of Bar Examiners of Suffolk County, which is described in the bibliography of this chapter. In 1876 the legislature abolished the existing provision by which three years' study in an office entitled a candidate to admission, and left the whole matter practically in the hands of the Supreme Judicial and Superior Courts. The courts, however, were required to satisfy themselves as to the qualifications of applicants by an examination; and applicants had to be of good moral character.

Following this change in the law the Supreme Judicial Court in 1876 appointed by rule examiners in the several counties, but neither the statute of 1876 nor any rule required a definite amount of general education or a fixed period of legal study.

This system of county boards of bar examiners continued from 1876 to 1897, when it was superseded by a State board of bar examiners, the five members of which were to be appointed by the Supreme Judicial Court. It was provided that no two of the appointees should reside in the same county; and that after the initial selection for graduated terms, one member should be appointed annually for five years. The act provided for compensation for the members, and prescribed an entry fee of ten dollars for each original petition for admission, and of five dollars for each subsequent petition by the same applicant. "One reason and perhaps the principal reason for establishing a state board was to secure uniformity of requirements for admission to the bar throughout the Commonwealth, and also to raise the standard of admission in the counties outside of Suffolk." The Board of Bar Examiners was authorized to fix the time and place for holding examinations and they were given power to make rules, subject, however, to the approval of the court. Since 1908 there have been two examinations each year, held on or about January 1st and July 1st. A single day only has been allowed for each examination. In July, 1901, the number of questions was reduced from forty to thirty—fifteen for the forenoon paper, and the same number for the afternoon paper.

REVISED REQUIREMENTS (1904–1929)

In 1904 the Board of Bar Examiners introduced a bill which became law and empowered them, if the Supreme Judicial Court approved, to require all applicants to pass a preliminary examination in general education before they could be registered as law students. It also empowered them, subject to the same approval, to require all candidates to complete three full years of legal study before being eligible for examination for admission to the bar. Eleven years later the legislature by statute curtailed these powers, as has been already set forth, by providing that "any applicant for admission to the bar who is a graduate of a college or who has complied with the entrance requirements of a college, or who has fulfilled for two years the requirements of a day or evening high school or of a school of equal grade, shall not be required to take any examination as to his general education."

This was done at the instance of the so-called practical and evening law schools in order to remove what was claimed to be an aristocratic impediment to applicants able to pass the written legal examination set by the bar examiners. It was urged by those in opposition, including the bar associations, that for the protection of the community a good general education was no less indispensable to the lawyer than to the physician; and that to sacrifice the public by opening wide the doors to the legal profession merely to provide a living for those who lacked proper educational advantages was democratically unsound. The opinion of the Judicial Council of Massachusetts as to the two points of view has already been quoted. But the low educational limit fixed by the legislature in 1915 is still law. On the other hand the powers conferred on the Board of Bar Examiners to make rules, subject to the approval of the Supreme Judicial Court, with reference to examination for admission to the bar have not been otherwise restricted.

The rules of the board, established April 23, 1921 and approved by the Supreme Judicial Court May 25, 1921, provide that "no person shall be eligible for examination for admission to the bar until he shall have devoted three full years, or their equivalent (usual vacations excepted) to the study of the law." The Board of Bar Examiners interpret this rule to mean that the term "study of the law" will be satisfied by three years' study in any approved law school having a three years' course and holding regular day sessions, or four years in any approved evening law school having a four years' course; or three years' study in the office of an attorney, or elsewhere, under proper direction, with not more than four weeks' vacation in each year.

Law at Harvard University (1815–1870)

The origin and development of every law school in Massachusetts, except the Harvard Law School at Cambridge, fall within the period of forty years under consideration. The Harvard Law School, which in 1917 had already been in existence one hundred years, was "the first University Law School as it is the oldest law school now existing in any common law country." Its *Centennial History,* written and compiled by the Faculty with the assistance of the graduates and published by the Harvard Law School Association, tells of its start in 1815 through the generosity of Isaac Royal who died in 1781, fortified by the gift of Nathan Dane accepted in 1829. Thence followed growth from small beginnings to importance under Joseph Story, the legal instructor of Simon Greenleaf, Joel Parker, Theophilus Parsons and Emory Washburn. This half century of activity was but a preface to its virtual rebirth by the appointment of Charles W. Eliot to the presidency of Harvard in 1870, and by his personal choice of Christopher Columbus Langdell, inventor of the now-famous "case system" of instruction in the law, to be dean of the Law School. The principle which underlay Langdell's selection was not, as hitherto, to secure a man of mark whose prestige would increase that of the school but, as he himself explained, that a teacher of law should know expertly not so much the content of the law as the method of studying it. "What qualifies a person, therefore, to teach law is not experience in the work of a lawyer's office, not experience in dealing with men, not experience in the trial or argument of causes—not experience in short in using law, but experience in learning law."

Modern Harvard Law School (1870–1930)

Langdell's innovation was regarded with distrust at first, except by the best students. He did nothing to force upon others the acceptance of his system, but slowly and steadily it gained ground. In a few years James Barr Ames was appointed to the faculty and "brought youth, fire, virility into the contest; but for many years the two were alone in their use of the new method. It was ten years before others ac-

NON SVB HOMINE SED SVB DEO ET LEGE

From a photograph by Paul J. Weber Courtesy of Harvard University

LANGDELL HALL PORTICO, HARVARD LAW SCHOOL

ceded to it. Finally, all of Langdell's colleagues adopted his invention and Professors James B. Thayer and John C. Gray became its chief public defenders. The number of students at Harvard greatly increased; distinguished English lawyers approved of it; the students trained under it gained notable success at the bar. Long before Langdell's retirement as Dean the case for his system was won."

In 1893 the school took another advanced step, by which only college graduates were eligible for the law degree. In 1895 Langdell resigned the office of dean after twenty-five years of service and was succeeded by Professor Ames. "During the forty years from the death of Story to the year 1885 the maximum attendance of students had increased but fifty; in the following twenty years a sudden and unexampled increase in numbers took place. From 165 in 1885, the attendance rose, with hardly a year's check, to 765 in 1904; a difference of 600, or 364%. The library grew at an almost equal rate." Following the sudden illness and untimely death of Ames early in the academic year 1909–1910, Ezra Ripley Thayer, brilliant son of James B. Thayer, was chosen dean and held the office until his sudden and lamented death in 1915. He was succeeded by Roscoe Pound, the present dean, under whose administration the school has grown in numbers and more than held its own in national influence.

During its entire history the students have been drawn from all parts of the country, and for a considerable portion of its history the men from outside New England have far outnumbered those from the New England States. A large endowment fund, already over $3,000,000, has been raised and is still being added to for the establishment of new professorships, more lecture halls, and for the purposes of legal research. In his annual report for 1926–1927, President Lowell of Harvard University declared: "The Law School continues to attract an ever-increasing crowd of applicants, until they have exceeded the number that can at present be adequately taught. Although no precise limit has been fixed, it has been found necessary to refuse admission to many men. By the end of last August over 800 had applied, and those who wrote later were informed that they could be received only so far as there might be room for them. . . . The lecture rooms are, indeed, used to the utmost and the reading rooms are now wholly insufficient, but as already mentioned, Langdell Hall is to be greatly enlarged, and when that is done the material deficiency of the School will have been remedied." The remodelled and greatly enlarged Langdell Hall, a magnificent structure, most spacious in its facilities for study and research, was formally dedicated on Sept. 25, 1929.

Boston University Law School (1872–1930)

This institution was established in 1872, "with the active cooperation and assistance of many leading members of the Boston bar," and partly as a protest against Langdell's theory of teaching at Harvard. For a number of years it was regarded, and still is by some, as a "more practical law school." Its original quarters were temporary, but the school became domiciled in 1896 in Isaac Rich Hall, erected and occupied exclusively for its uses. It admits college graduates of any college or university of good standing without formal examination. Applicants other than college graduates may be admitted without formal examination on presentation of a satisfactory certificate that the applicant has "completed two years' work at an approved college or such work as would be accepted for admission to the third or junior year in an approved college." The system of instruction, which occupies three full years, "combines the study of the rules and principles of the law, the analysis and statement of decided cases, discussion of problems (which the students are called on to state and solve) and court work, all accompanied by lectures." The present charge for each year of membership in the school in one class is $225. Its numbers have steadily increased from 81 students in the year 1873–1874 to 636 in 1927. Among its graduates are the present chief justice and three associate justices of the Supreme Judicial Court besides a number of judges of other courts of the Commonwealth and prominent members of the bar.

Other Boston Law Schools (1906–1930)

In addition to and, because of their lower preliminary educational requirements, competitive with the Harvard and

Boston University law schools, are the two so-called evening schools of the State, that of Northeastern University (a department of the Young Men's Christian Association) and the Suffolk Law School. The latter "from a lowly beginning of 9 students in September, 1906, has risen with such rapidity that it now has the largest attendance of men of any law school in the world," a membership in 1926–1927 of 2440 students. The entire course of study requires four years, the division of each school year being two semesters of seventeen weeks each. Lectures occupying an hour and a half each for three days or evenings per week form the curriculum for regular students.

Suffolk Law School's requirement for the LL.B. degree, which after opposition it was in 1914 empowered by the legislature to confer, is "a high school education or its equivalent." But "men of mature years who were obliged to become wage earners before completing high school . . . may be admitted, at the discretion of the Dean . . . with the privilege of making up their academic deficiencies in our Summer Preparatory Department, while the law school is not in session, thus accomplishing both law and preparatory work in four years, provided they have the equivalent of at least one year of high school to begin with." By this means two birds are killed with one stone and a democratic broad highway to the bar examinations is provided for men, ambitious to become lawyers, who have been "denied educational advantages in boyhood and obliged to educate themselves at odd moments while doing a man's work in the world."

Similarly the Portia Law School, founded in December, 1908, incorporated on July 25, 1918, and authorized by the legislature in 1919 and 1926 to confer respectively the degree of bachelor of laws and master of laws, offers legal education to women seeking admission to the bar and claims to be "the only law school exclusively for women in the world." It has been housed since February, 1922, at 45 Mt. Vernon St., Boston; and its four years' course of study—instruction three mornings or three evenings a week for an hour and a half for from 32 to 35 weeks—is allied to its Summer Preparatory School, where candidates for the bar can in the same period secure the "high school education or its equivalent" which is a requisite for the Portia Law School bachelor of laws degree. From a beginning of two students in 1908–1909 the law school for the year 1926–1927 showed an aggregate of 436 women enrolled for the study of the law, the majority of whom expected to practice it.

Associations of Lawyers (1761–1930)

A bar association existed in Suffolk County as early as 1761, and in several of the other counties at very early dates. These associations "interested themselves a good deal in the matter of legal education and admission to the Bar," a custom doubtless borrowed from England. Between 1835 and 1876, however, there had been no Boston bar association, and the latter year marks the organization of the third Boston bar association, which under the name of the Bar Association of the City of Boston has had a continuous and increasingly useful existence ever since. Local bar associations were formed in all the counties of the Commonwealth except one, Nantucket, the purpose of whose existence has been and is measurably similar to that set forth in the charter of the Bar Association of the City of Boston—namely, that of "promoting social intercourse among the members of the bar; of insuring conformity to a high standard of professional duty; and of making the practice of the law efficient in the administration of justice."

Through the standing committees of its council, on grievances and amendment of the law, the Bar Association of the City of Boston has for the last fifty years frequently investigated charges of professional misconduct and recommended the disbarment of unworthy practitioners, and has favored or opposed before committees of the legislature measures relative to the administration of justice. Its total membership, which is by election, was in 1927 (including 92 honorary members) 1539. Until very recently the association had rooms and kept its library in the wing of the Post Office Building occupied by the United States Courts; but actuated by desire for an abode of its own for the good of the association, it sold the library to the United States for

$17,500 as a nucleus for a building fund, and temporary quarters were provided in the new Parker House.

The first purpose of the association—the promotion of social intercourse among the members of the bar—is being actively pursued so as to secure a larger representation and wider interest from the whole body of the Boston bar. A new and important feature since January, 1924, has been the *Bar Bulletin,* a pamphlet of a few pages, issued by the association. This publication informs the members of the activities of the association and contains brief notes which may be of current practical use or professional interest.

Massachusetts Bar Association (1909–1930)

Junior in age to these various county and local associations of lawyers is the Massachusetts Bar Association, formed in December, 1909, which is in its essence an organization of lawyers from all over the Commonwealth. Its object, as described by its constitution, "shall be to cultivate the science of jurisprudence, to promote reform in the law, to facilitate the administration of justice, to further uniformity of legislation throughout the Union, to uphold the honor of the profession of law and to encourage cordial intercourse among the members of the Massachusetts Bar." Its membership is limited to members of "the legal profession in good standing, practising in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," who are members of the bar of the State. Election is by vote of the committee on membership.

While it carries on its activities largely through its standing committees, its general meetings are held in the various cities of the Commonwealth from time to time—in Springfield, Worcester, Pittsfield, Salem or Plymouth as well as in Boston. The custom of holding dinners, which involved remaining over night, has lapsed in favor of all day discussion or addresses, with luncheon in between. The interest of those unable to attend these gatherings was stimulated by the establishment in the fall of 1915 of the *Massachusetts Law Quarterly.* This is virtually a State law magazine in contradistinction to one of national scope, dealing primarily with matters of local interest and practice for Massachusetts lawyers. By its able editing during the last dozen years, measures in furtherance of more enlightened justice have been given publicity with competent criticism.

Organization of the Courts (1889–1930)

Between the years 1889 and 1929 there have been no major changes in the structure of the Massachusetts courts except for the creation in 1898 of the Land Court for the registration of title to land held and possessed in fee simple within the Commonwealth. Nevertheless the period has been conspicuous for changes of jurisdiction, especially in the transfer of powers formerly held by the Supreme Judicial Court to the Superior Court, to meet the exigencies due to growth of population with a tendency to flock to cities, and to confront a new set of problems arising from industrialism and changed social points of view, some of which have been enforced by legislation. Not longer ago than 1880 the Superior Court had not even concurrent jurisdiction in equity, and possessed no jurisdiction over petitions for divorce, annulment of marriage and custody of children. Even the more important actions at law were tried in the Supreme Judicial Court, for that court had concurrent jurisdiction over actions of tort, contract and replevin where the amount sought to be recovered was $4,000 in Suffolk and $1,000 in other counties.

Until April 1872 all indictments for murder were tried before the full court. It was provided by an act of that year that two or more justices of the Supreme Judicial Court should have the powers of a full court in the trial of a murder case. It was not until 1891 that exclusive original jurisdiction over capital crimes was given to the Superior Court; but with the limitation that they should be tried before three justices. As a matter of record, however, three Superior Court judges never sat in the trial of a capital case in Suffolk County, though four capital cases tried in other counties appear in the *Reports,* in which in each instance the chief justice and two associate justices presided. In 1904 the legislature changed the words "three" to "two or more," thus enabling two justices of the Superior Court to try a capital case. Finally by the Acts of 1910 the legislature removed the existing distinction between capital indictments and civil cases by providing that in either the court might be held by one or more of the justices.

THE SUPERIOR COURT (1890–1930)

From this survey it appears that the Superior Court has in the last forty years become the great trial court of the Commonwealth. Moreover, most of the whole burden of administering equity throughout the Commonwealth has latterly been laid upon the Superior Court—a court, it is to be borne in mind, which at the beginning of this period had no equity jurisdiction at all. In 1883 it was given jurisdiction in equity concurrent with the Supreme Judicial Court; and in 1892 the Supreme Judicial Court was authorized to transfer to the Superior Court any suit in equity. By 1925, acting under this authority, the Supreme Judicial Court had relieved itself of most of its original jurisdiction except for a few prerogative writs. On the other hand—through this process of gradual transfer, the Supreme Judicial Court which still consists, as since 1882, of a chief justice and six associate justices—has been increasingly enabled to concentrate attention on appeals before the full court, with less and less individual diversion by its other functions. A single justice of the Supreme Judicial Court continues to sit in the equity session to hear extraordinary proceedings still within its jurisdiction.

Forty-five years ago all issues of fact framed for trial by jury in suits in equity and in probate appeals pending in the Supreme Judicial Court were tried before a single justice at the bar of that court, but in 1895 the Supreme Judicial Court was given authority to send such cases to the Superior Court for trial. For many years the court did not take advantage of this authority, but all issues framed for trial by a jury in equity causes are now tried in the Superior Court, and in 1919 the jurisdiction of the Supreme Judicial Court for the trial of facts in probate appeals was terminated. All issues to be tried by a jury in probate proceedings are now framed in the Probate Court and tried in the Superior Court, as are issues framed in the Land Court.

Instead of a chief justice and nine associate justices, with which it began in 1859, the Superior Court has now, by successive legislation, a chief justice and thirty-one associate justices. Nevertheless, the congestion of cases, especially on its criminal side, prompted the passage of a legislative act in 1923 authorizing the chief justice of the Superior Court to call up justices of the District Court to sit in the Superior Court and try cases of misdemeanor (except conspiracy and libel) with juries. This act was made experimental until July 1, 1926, but its operation has been extended until December 31, 1932. The Judicial Council of Massachusetts has urged that the statute be made permanent.

The Superior Court was relieved of much litigation arising from industrial accidents by the adoption of the Workmen's Compensation System, which went into force originally in 1911. Also since 1912, by the statute substituting for an appeal from the municipal court of the city of Boston to the Superior Court (in order to give to defendants their constitutional right to a trial by jury) a right to remove a civil action in that court to the Superior Court before trial in the court below. This provision was extended in 1922 to all District Courts. Moreover by the legislation of 1919 with respect to the probate courts in the Commonwealth, appeals from them to the Superior Court in matters of separate maintenance and custody of children were abolished.

Justices of the Supreme Judicial and Superior Courts (1890–1930)

During the period from 1889 to 1929 there have been five chief justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, including the present chief justice: Marcus Morton, associate and then chief justice, who died in 1890; Walbridge Abner Field, associate justice 1881–1890, chief justice 1890–1899; Oliver Wendell Holmes, associate justice 1882–1899, chief justice 1899–1902, and since 1902 a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Marcus Perrin Knowlton, associate justice 1887–1902, chief justice 1902–1911; and Arthur Prentice Rugg, associate justice 1906–1911 and chief justice since 1911. This court, known prior to the Revolution as the Superior Court of Judicature of the Province of Massachusetts Bay (1692–1775), and since by its present appellation—is "probably the oldest court in the United States with respect to continuous and unbroken existence."

Since 1889 there have been but four chief justices of the Superior Court inclusive of the present incumbent: Lincoln Flagg Brigham, who died in 1890; Albert Mason, chief justice 1890–1905; John Adams Aiken, chief justice 1905–1922; and Walter Perley Hall, chief justice since May, 1922.

Before and for a short time after the Revolution, the bar was classified into barristers and attorneys, and both judges and barristers wore wigs and gowns. It will be recalled that, referring to the hearing of Paxton's Case before the Supreme Court of Judicature in 1761, relating to writs of assistance, President John Adams wrote to William Tudor: "In this chamber were seated at a long table all the barristers of Boston and the neighboring County of Middlesex, in their gowns, bands and tye-wigs. They were not seated on ivory chairs, but their dress was more solemn and more pompous than that of the Roman Senate when the Gauls broke in upon them." The use of robes by this court was discontinued in 1792; and for more than a century it sat without them, until March, 1901, when, as a result of a petition from leading members of the bar, the present costume of a simple black silk robe was adopted. This is now also worn by the judges of practically all the superior courts of Massachusetts, thus reinforcing the competent opinion of another early authority that "the dignified appearance of the judges in either dress" (scarlet robes with black velvet collars were worn in 1761 in trials for capital offenses) "made an impression upon the public mind of reverence for the authority of the law."

Probate Courts (1919–1930)

The status since 1919 of the several probate courts of the Commonwealth, all of which have for many years been courts of superior jurisdiction with equity powers, though county courts, is a result of the belief that more injustice is apt to be caused by the expense and delay incident to a second trial on facts than in relying on the judges who hear the facts in the first instance. In probate courts, although regarded as the people's courts, all proceedings passed on by a judge were, until very recently, subject to a full second hearing before a single justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, or in cases of separate maintenance and custody of children by a justice of the Superior Court.

As a consequence of the great increase in probate business and wider realization of how anomalous it was to require a double trial in a will contest or in a proceeding by a poor woman for separate support, though only a single trial on the facts was allowed in capital cases and the most important litigation, probate appeals in their former sense were done away with by an act of 1919. This act put appeals from the decrees and orders of the probate courts on the same footing as those of the Superior Court in suits in equity, so that they go to the full court without a preliminary rehearing by a single justice of either the Supreme Judicial or the Superior Court. As there are no juries in the probate courts, the judge of probate may in a will contest frame issues of fact to be tried before a jury in the Superior Court; or, if the judge of probate refuses, in his discretion and subject to revision by the full court, he may frame issues and the contest is heard without a jury by the judge of probate.

Other Courts (1912–1930)

Including the municipal court of the city of Boston there are 73 district courts in the State. In 1912 "the experiment of doing away with the double trial of facts in civil cases was authorized in the municipal court of the city of Boston by the establishment of an appellate division; this worked so well that it was applied to all the district courts in 1922 (Chapter 532), and by the same act an administrative committee appointed from the district court justices by the chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court was constituted. This committee was charged with the duty of promoting coordination in the work of the courts; it has visited each court and ascertained its environment; it now holds regional conferences throughout the State, and has emphasized the idea that the district courts are a part of the judicial system of the State and should function accordingly." In 1922 the necessary amount at issue to invoke the jurisdiction of all the district courts, which was for many years limited to cases involving not more than $1,000, and in the municipal court of the city of Boston $2,000, was raised to $3,000; and in 1924 that of the municipal court of the city of Boston was raised to $5,000. In 1929 the limits were entirely removed, so that an action at law for any amount may be brought in a district court with a right in the defendant to remove it to the Superior Court if he wishes.

The Land Court, established in 1898, "now has jurisdiction of ten different proceedings relating to land," and only part of its work consists of land registration. Since 1915 its jurisdiction has included proceedings to foreclose tax titles. The number of cases in the court increased in the 20 years between 1906 and 1926 from 451 to 1209, or 268 per cent. Since the passage in 1923 of the statutes increasing fees in land registration, the court has returned to the Commonwealth 71 per cent of the amount appropriated by the State.

The Judicial Council of Massachusetts (1924–1930)

In the closing years of the period under survey was brought into being the Judicial Council of Massachusetts, an important and much needed medium for expediting the trial of cases and relieving congestion in the dockets of the Superior Court, and for the improvement and modernizing of court procedure, so as to minimize both to litigants and the general public, consistently with the ends of justice, the proverbial delays and attendant expense of the law. The existence of this body dates from 1924, as the result of a report of a judicature commission; and the statute creating it is entitled "An Act Providing for the Establishment of a Judicial Council to Make a Continuous Study of the Organization, Procedure and Practice of the Courts." It was provided that this council "shall be composed of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court or some other justice or former justice of that court appointed from time to time by him; the Chief Justice of the Superior Court or some other justice or former justice of that court appointed from time to time by him; the judge of the Land Court or some other judge or former judge of that court appointed from time to time by him; one judge of a probate court in the Commonwealth and one justice of a district court in the Commonwealth, and not more than four members of the bar all to be appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council." The appointments are for such periods, not exceeding four years, as the governor shall determine; and except for travel and clerical services and a salary for the secretary, the service is without compensation. The council is required to report annually on or before December first to the governor upon the work of the various branches of the judicial system, and is authorized to submit from time to time for the consideration of the justices of the various courts such suggestions in regard to rules of practice and procedure as it may deem advisable.

The judicial council down to 1929 had already transmitted to His Excellency three annual and a number of special reports; and as the result of its study and recommendations several vital reforms have been obtained from the legislature. Among them was legislation in 1925 and 1926 tending to eliminate delay in the trial of cases of murder, manslaughter and certain other felonies, by providing that the evidence shall be taken by an official or appointed stenographer as the transcript of the evidence and after certification by the stenographer be regarded as a true record. Also by legislation in 1926 that, on motion of the district attorney, the Superior Court may order that the trial of any specified case of crime shall take precedence over all other cases. It had been pointed out in the second report of the Judicial Council that in criminal cases prior to 1926 there was an average of six and two-thirds months between conviction and the allowance of exceptions; and nearly eleven and one-sixth months between conviction and rescript.

Tenure of Office and Emoluments of Judges

The judges of all the courts of Massachusetts are appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of his council, and their tenure of office has been consecutively for life during good behavior. A proposal was made in the Constitutional Convention of 1917—the only constitutional convention held in the last forty years—to substitute election for a term of years by the people, but it was lost on a test vote. The yearly emolument of the justices of the Supreme Judicial and Superior Courts in 1882 was $6,000 and $4,500 respectively, with $500 additional for the chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court and $300 for the chief justice of the Superior Court.

These salaries were raised at intervals, and in 1920 were fixed at $12,000 for the Supreme Judicial and $10,000 for the Superior Court, with $500 extra for each chief justice. Coincidently, however, it was enacted that the provision for retirement, long in force, which entitled any judge of these two courts on attaining seventy years and after ten years of consecutive service in either or both of these courts to retire on two thirds of his salary, should not apply to judges of these courts thereafter appointed nor to any judge then in office who accepted the increase of salary authorized by the act. The legislature in 1923, however, rescinded the application of this requirement to justices of the Supreme Judicial Court then on the bench, though it limited the amount of the pension to two thirds of the salary as it stood before the increase, but justices of the Superior Court in office when the statute of 1920 was passed are still obliged to choose between a pension and an increase in salary. By Chapter 295 of the Acts of 1928 the salaries of the justices of the Supreme Judicial and Superior Courts were raised to $14,000 and $12,000 respectively with an extra $1,000 for each chief justice. The salaries of the judges of the other superior courts and of the lower courts in the State have been raised more or less proportionately during the period to meet the increased cost of living and larger responsibilities.

Massachusetts has contributed four judges to the Supreme Court of the United States since 1880—Horace Gray, Oliver Wendell Holmes, William H. Moody and Louis D. Brandeis. Gray and Holmes were each chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court at the time of appointment. Moody and Brandeis were appointed from the bar, Moody having first served in President Roosevelt's Cabinet as Attorney General. Justices Holmes and Brandeis were still in active service in 1929.

Tendencies in Litigation

The forty years from 1889 to 1928 saw a marked trend in certain sorts of litigation and the supersedure of some of these by others. The development of steam railroads and of horse and electric street-car lines, and a general growth in industrial occupations resulted in a rapidly mounting increase in suits for damages arising from personal injuries. While the verdicts in these cases provided proper relief to those justly entitled to indemnity, the fact that the defendants were in most cases corporations had a tendency to magnify in the minds of plaintiffs the seriousness of their injuries. So crowded did the dockets of the Superior Courts become that this situation had to be met. The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1911 substituted a new tribunal, the Industrial Accident Board, for dealing with these cases. "The jurisdiction of the Workmen's Compensation Board rests upon the theory that it has been voluntarily accepted by both employer and employee. . . . It is true that the defences of fellow servant and assumption of risk are denied the employer who does not insure. But the Act rests upon the assumption that it applies only to those who voluntarily elect its provisions." "It had long been recognized that, in manufacturing especially, a certain number of lives and limbs were bound to be lost or injured. . . . It is the theory of the Workmen's Compensation Act that this human wastage is a cost to be borne by the industries and occupations embraced within its provisions, rather than by the community in which the insured employee lives."

Automobile Cases

Scarcely had the relief to the jury sessions of the Superior Court been thus supplied when a new emergency appeared in the form of tort cases due to accidents caused by motor vehicles. The recent growth of these has kept pace with the almost universal prevalence of the automobile on our highways. In its *Fourth Report* (December, 1928) the Judicial Council calls attention again "to the fact that the Superior Court was likely to be swamped with an influx of automobile cases." The law entries of motor vehicle cases in the Superior Court for the five months' period, October to February,

From a photograph by Garo, Boston

Moorfield Storey

more than doubled in 1927–1928 over 1926–1927, while all other cases increased only 1.6 per cent. The suggestion (1928) by the Judicial Council that as a partial remedy for this congestion the District Courts of the Commonwealth be given "original jurisdiction concurrent with the Superior Court of actions of tort for personal injuries, including death, . . . or for property damage caused by a motor vehicle or its operation" was accompanied by the following comment: "Yet it was only a comparatively short time ago that the motor vehicle problem did not exist. . . . The fundamental difficulty arises from the fact that a new mode of locomotion has risen within a few years that has rendered our highways places of extreme danger. There were 819,027 motor vehicles registered in Massachusetts during this last year. Besides these thousands more from other States travelled over our roads. The record of injuries from these vehicles is appalling —693 deaths, 31,721 personal injury cases during the last year in this Commonwealth. We have no report of the property damage. Such a record necessarily involves a great many assessments of damages both to person and property." The problems of air travel are also approaching the courts.

Inheritance and Income Taxes

The last forty years have seen also a large increase in property questions incident to the inheritance tax and income tax laws of the Commonwealth enacted in their existing form during this period. Their applicability to given situations and rival claims as to who should bear the burden have been the source of numerous petitions for instructions. Big business, so called, has become responsible for lengthier trials where commercial transactions are involved, with frequent reference to auditors because of the complicated issues. Such litigation is likely to be so expensive and protracted that settlements out of court are apt to be regarded as the most economical and speedy method of adjusting all but the gravest differences.

The steady growth of very large estates has invited corresponding endeavor by disappointed heirs-at-law to frustrate before juries the attested purpose of testators. Although the percentage of wills thus voided continues to be very small, the opportunity afforded to distant cousins remains one of the lucrative remnants of piracy left to the modern practitioner. It has come to pass also at the dictates of legislative common sense that veneration for the valid wishes of the dead may no longer prevail against the settled wishes of all concerned. The statutory legal compromise by which a devised estate may, if the court approve, be subdivided as the dictates of the living prescribe, has become one of the convenient and favorite methods of modern adjustment.

Famous Murder Cases

Any attempt to single out from the civil cases decided during the period the most representative and outstanding ones would require both more space and more elimination than this summary permits, although, as every lawyer knows, it is the civil rather than the criminal case that is most significant from the aspect of jurisprudence.

Among criminal trials which attracted nation-wide attention was that of Lizzie Borden of Fall River indicted for the alleged murder of her father and stepmother in their dwelling house in 1892. She was tried before a Bristol County jury in June, 1893, and acquitted. There was unanimity of public opinion that the evidence of the government not excluded by the court did not warrant a conviction; but the mystery as to who else could have committed this most brutal murder has remained unsolved to the present day.

Thomas Bram, first mate of the barkentine *Herbert Fuller,* was twice tried in the Federal District Court for Massachusetts on an indictment for the murder with an axe on the high seas of the captain, the captain's wife, and the second mate of the ship, which was bound from Boston to Rosario on the Parana River, Argentine Republic. At the first trial, which began on December 14, 1896, every one of the eleven survivors aboard when the *Herbert Fuller* sailed was called to testify. There was direct testimony from Charley Brown, one of the crew, at the wheel on the night of the murder, that, as he turned the wheel to starboard so that he had to bend down, he saw, through the low window of the captain's stateroom, the mate Bram strike the captain with an axe.

The theory of the ingenious defence was the impossibility of Brown having seen what he saw through the window; further that the weather conditions on that night would have permitted Brown himself to lash the wheel so that the ship would hold her course long enough to enable him to go forward and down the companion way, secure the axe, kill three people, and get back to the wheel. Brown himself was not under indictment.

The jury brought in a verdict of guilty against Bram, which, as the law then stood, would have called for a death sentence, but for the ordering of a new trial because the defendant had not been sufficiently warned as to his rights before he was examined by the authorities on the ship's arrival at Halifax. At the second trial before a different jury the same conclusion as to guilt was arrived at, but in the interval Congress had passed a statute allowing a verdict of "guilty without capital punishment." This the jury took advantage of. Bram was sentenced to Atlanta for life, but after confinement for about fifteen years he was paroled for good behavior.

The trial for the brutal murder of Miss Mabel Page while alone in her father's house at Weston, committed in 1904 by Charles L. Tucker, a resident of Auburndale, obtained widespread publicity. This was due mainly to the fact that the evidence of guilt was entirely circumstantial—the strongest sort of evidence if enough can be pieced together, as every lawyer knows, but sentimentalists are apt to disparage it. The case was tried before a Middlesex County jury and two Superior Court justices in 1905 and the defendant was found guilty. A leading Boston newspaper, which had followed the trial, came to a different conclusion editorially and collected by advertisement signatures of thousands of persons, most of whom knew nothing of the case, to an enormous petition to Governor Curtis Guild, Jr., for commutation of the sentence. The names of entire families, including in some instances children in the cradle, were solemnly set down at the foot of these documents. The governor gave an extended hearing to the petitioners, following a careful individual investigation. In his reply, refusing to commute the sentence, he set out that he had "personally examined the neighborhood of the murder" and "on foot passed, with time tests, over the roads and ways about the Page house in Weston and at about the time of day when the murder was committed." The defendant was executed, but not before a meeting in his behalf was held at Faneuil Hall, and somebody sent a telegram to President Roosevelt urging him to interfere. To this the President replied in a telegram to Governor Guild, declaring that even if he had such power he would not exercise it, as he considered that the governor's refusal to interfere was entirely correct.

Trials of Prosecuting Officials (1921)

Famous among legal proceedings in the history of the Commonwealth were the cases of Attorney-General *v.* Nathan A. Tufts and Attorney-General *v.* Joseph C. Pelletier. These were peculiar in that they concerned the removal of the district attorneys of the two great counties of Middlesex and Suffolk and were solely within the jurisdiction of the full bench of the Supreme Judicial Court. Tufts was tried before a majority of the justices at Cambridge for twenty-four days in the summer of 1921 and Pelletier before a different majority at Boston for nineteen days on and following December 27, 1921. This necessitated a suspension of the regular appellate work of the court.

The charges against the respondent in each proceeding were professional misconduct including conspiracy to blackmail. In both cases Attorney-General J. Weston Allen appeared for the government, with the assistance in the Tufts case of the late Henry F. Hurlbut, president of the Bar Association of the City of Boston, and in the Pelletier case of Robert G. Dodge, James J. McCarthy and Andrew Marshall. The respondent Tufts was represented by Melvin M. Johnson; the respondent Pelletier by James A. Reed, United States Senator from Missouri, Attorney-General L. C. Boyle, of Missouri, and D. M. Lyons. Both respondents, having been found by the court guilty of many of the charges, were duly removed from office "and forejudged and excluded from holding or exercising the said office."

WILLETT CASE (1921–1924)

The most conspicuous civil case during the period was that of George F. Willett and another *v.* Robert F. Herrick and others, reported on demurrer and on exceptions from the trial judge's rulings. The case was significant from the point of view of the publicity it attracted within and beyond the Commonwealth, from the exceptional length of the jury trial and from the size of the verdict, which was subsequently set aside for error by the Supreme Judicial Court.

The case was an action in tort whereby the plaintiffs charged the defendants with having deprived them of the controlling interest in certain companies and business by means of an unlawful combination or conspiracy. The defendants were the persons alleged to be copartners in certain banking firms and others.

The declaration as amended, upon which the action was tried, was in two counts and occupied ninety-five pages of the printed record. The jury trial was held in the Superior Court at Dedham before Judge Callahan, and occupied 185 court days, beginning November 8, 1923. At the close of the plantiffs' evidence a verdict in Wing's favor was directed by the court. On December 18, 1924, the jury returned a verdict for the plaintiffs against the other defendants in the sum of $10,534,109.07.

To this verdict the defendants filed numerous exceptions. The record of the trial contained in the bill of exceptions comprised 5781 printed pages. The testimony in the case covered 75,101 typewritten pages, and the printed record and briefs fill five large volumes.

Among the issues in dispute at the jury trial were the validity and effect of a release under seal executed by the plaintiffs wherein the consideration recited was "One dollar ($1.00) and other valuable consideration." It appeared that at the time of the giving of the release $125,000 was paid to assignees of the plaintiffs and that several other documents passed between the parties. The plaintiffs contended that this release was obtained by fraud and duress; the defendants that it was a bar to the plaintiffs' action. The Supreme Judicial Court decided that the defendants' motion for a directed verdict on this ground should have been granted by the trial judge. It held that the release was founded on a consideration; that even if the plaintiffs did not have in mind wrongs committed against them before the execution and delivery of the release, it was a bar to the action if voluntarily given; and that the record disclosed no evidence of fraud entering into the subject matter of the release, it appearing that the settlement was intelligently and freely made under advice of counsel and that no misrepresentations of the defendant entered into its execution.

Sacco-Vanzetti Case (1920–1927)

The most conspicuous case in the history of the Commonwealth, if measured merely by the world-wide interest drawn to it, arose from the shooting of a paymaster and guard, Frederick A. Parmenter and Alexander Berardelli, at South Braintree on April 15, 1920; and the subsequent conviction of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti for their murder. The two defendants were tried together at Dedham by a Norfolk County jury presided over by Justice Webster Thayer and found guilty on July 14, 1926. The defendant Vanzetti had already been convicted (in an adjoining county, by a different jury, presided over by the same judge of the Superior Court) of an attempted hold-up (December 24, 1919) at Bridgewater, and sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment, but evidence of this conviction was not permitted to reach the jury who found Sacco and Vanzetti guilty.

Within the allotted space no more than the briefest outline may be given of the very protracted legal proceedings which ensued, or of the contentions of those who believed in the innocence of the defendants and the unfairness of the trial. These contentions, embodied in a succession of motions to secure a new trial, in the main were that the defendants were convicted because of their radical opinions harshly emphasized on cross-examination by the district attorney; and that Judge Webster Thayer showed prejudice both in his charge and by hostile remarks when off the bench.

The case went to the Supreme Judicial Court on the bill of exceptions taken at the original trial, accompanied by appeals from a series of supplementary motions for a new trial disallowed by the same trial judge, which were not argued before the full bench until 1926, a delay chiefly due to the resourcefulness of the defendants' counsel. The decision overruling all these exceptions with a finding of no abuse of judicial discretion (Commonwealth *v.* Sacco, 255 *Massachusetts Reports* 369) was expressed in an opinion of over fifty pages written by Justice Braley. A second appeal was made to the same court on exceptions to an order denying a fresh motion for a new trial on newly discovered evidence contained in affidavits, the salient feature of which was the claim that the defendants "did not commit the murder for which they have been tried and convicted, but that said murder was committed by one Celestos Madeiros, who was awaiting the determination of exceptions claimed by him at a trial in which he was convicted of murder in the first degree." It was again urged that prejudice disqualified the trial judge from passing on this motion. All these exceptions were overruled by the Supreme Judicial Court in 1927 in an opinion written by Justice Wait and rendered April 5, 1927 (259 *Massachusetts Reports* 128).

Governor's Advisory Committee on the Sacco-Vanzetti Case (1927)

Four days later the defendants were sentenced by Judge Thayer to die in the week beginning July 10th. The governor had power, with the advice and consent of his council, to pardon the prisoners or commute their sentence; but the efforts of those who believed in the innocence of the defendants centered on obtaining a rehearing of the merits of the case. This was not possible by ordinary legal procedure. The consideration was emphasized that the highest court of the Commonwealth (unlike appellate courts in England and Scotland, and in the States of New York and New Jersey) had no power to set aside a verdict, even if it appeared to be against the weight of the evidence, or unreasonable, or if it seemed that there had been a miscarriage of justice on any ground not constituting an error of law. In short, that the discretion of the trial judge, unless manifestly abused, could not be interfered with by any authority in Massachusetts.

His Excellency Alvan T. Fuller, having announced an intention to make a personal intensive study of the case, presently decided, in deference to a variety of opinion within and beyond the Commonwealth, to appoint an advisory committee as an extrajudicial body to conduct an independent investigation of the case and report their findings to him. On June 1st he named as the members of this committee A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard College, Samuel W. Stratton, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Robert Grant, formerly a judge of the Probate Court of Suffolk County. Their first official meeting was held on June 30 and their report was handed to the governor on July 28.

Meanwhile the governor had completed an investigation of his own entirely separate and apart from theirs. On August 3 Governor Fuller made public his own decision in a document which found "no sufficient justification for executive interference," believing, as he did, "with the jury that these men Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty and that they had a fair trial." A few days later he issued the report of his advisory committee which set forth their conclusions that the trial was fairly conducted, that a new trial ought not to have been granted, and that they were convinced beyond reasonable doubt that Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty of the murders. Following a series of unsuccessful efforts to secure a writ of *habeas corpus* from the courts of the United States and of the Commonwealth, the two defendants were finally executed on August 23, 1927.

CRITICISMS OF THE SACCO-VANZETTI DECISION

It is difficult to interpret the psychology of this extraordinary case within a brief compass. Socialistic propaganda assiduously and skilfully diffused, alleging that the defendants were being persecuted for their opinions and not for their guilt, was unquestionably the cause of frequent hostilities in Europe and South America against United States officials, the most conspicuous instance of which was a bomb sent to the American ambassador in Paris. Another body of opinion, some of it outside the United States, was influenced by the wide circulation of an article printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1927, entitled "The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti." This contribution by Professor Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School was an eager brief for the defendants rather than an impartial study of the case. Its conclusions, which appeared pending the decision of the second appeal to the Supreme Judicial Court, were not borne out by the decision rendered shortly after. Nevertheless a considerable number of people, both estimable and sincere, few of whom had read the evidence at first hand, continued on the strength of this article or the book into which it was expanded to cherish the belief that an injustice had been done.

Much foreign criticism was based on the length of and long delays in the proceedings. What foreign opinion failed utterly to comprehend was the universal American tendency to give the indicted criminal every chance to establish innocence, and in pursuit thereof to tolerate protracted applications on so-called newly discovered evidence to a series of tribunals, a method which would have been frowned out of court in many foreign countries, and would have been unlikely in some other States.

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CHAPTER V

MASSACHUSETTS IN THE WEST

By Charles F. Thwing

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West and East (1628–1786)

What is the West? What is the East? What is the North, and what is the South? What, too, is the Northwest or the Southwest? Such geographical divisions carry general, and rather indefinite, ideas. For the purposes of this chapter, the West means that vast territory lying between the Allegheny Mountains on the east, and the western slope of the Rockies. It includes all the states, west of Pennsylvania as far as the Pacific states of California, Oregon and Washington. The northern boundary of the group is specific, the Canadian line; the southern boundary in general may be said to represent the states north of the Ohio River and of a line drawn westward from the convergence of the Ohio and Mississippi. Comprehensively, this area represents the larger share of the national domain. A broad inclusion it is.

Massachusetts may fairly claim to have been a western community from the charter of 1628, which granted it a strip of territory from the Atlantic westward to the Pacific, right across the present New York, Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin. Though these claims lay dormant till the Revolution of 1775, Massachusetts after the Revolution again claimed that strip as far as the Mississippi. The cession of western jurisdiction in 1784 (described in Volume III) left the State the owner of a large tract fronting on Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, on which are based the former land titles of that area.

The Westward Movement (1786–1800)

Five forms of the contribution which Massachusetts has made to the West may be distinguished. First, the people themselves, organized into specific communities, or unorganized in a general society; second, the power of religion as embodied in the church; third, the worth of education as expressed in and through the school, the college and the university; fourth, the influence of science and of literature as constituting the higher life of the community; fifth, the establishment of commercial and industrial ties. This vast territory is the scene of one of the most characteristic experiences of American life, indeed of all human life, the western movement of population. Migration has been and is a characteristic of all peoples, civilized, half-civilized, barbarous. But the movement of the American people from the northern part of the original thirteen colonies to the prairies of the Mississippi States is especially significant.

This westward trek began at the close of the Revolutionary War. It was quickened by uncertain conditions obtaining at the close of the war, especially by the necessity of the federal government to keep its promises for the settlement of land bounties with the discharged soldiers of the war. The government and some individual States possessed much land, but small funds. The discharged soldiers demanded, as they had a right to demand, their long-delayed pay. The government wished to keep its actual or potential promises of payment. Therefore, through various methods, under diverse conditions and from many communities, the possession of military land set in operation a westward movement of population, which has not ceased to this day.

The Ordinance of 1787

A fundamental element in this westward migration is the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. That instrument has an importance far exceeding even its relation to the migration of a people; for it is a sort of Bill of Rights for the five states which were finally carved out of the Territory of the Northwest. This Ordinance contains a group of fundamental principles. One guarantees freedom of religious worship. The second guarantees the privileges of the common law trial by jury, proportional representation in the legislature, and the writ of habeas corpus. The third, and perhaps the most important article, declares that: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." The fourth affirms, "That the said Territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to . . . alterations therein." The fifth outlines the division of the territory into later States. The sixth grandly dedicates the Territory to freedom: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." To this article, is added a limitation which seventy years later gave exciting occupation to many incomers from Massachusetts: "Provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service aforesaid."

The fundamental and primary values of this instrument to the people of Massachusetts are very significant; almost equally important is the fact that this far-reaching charter with its sweeping bill of rights was the work of a Massachusetts citizen or citizens. The writing of this great document has been credited to several statesmen. It is probable that different parts, articles, or clauses may have been written by different hands. Undoubtedly, two citizens of Massachusetts, Nathan Dane and Manasseh Cutler, were the chief authors. It embodies the democratic principles of the Anglo-Saxon race and of American civilization which were deeply embodied in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Nathan Dane incarnated in himself, as an individual, the great principles interwoven into the document that he penned.

Service of Nathan Dane (1782–1835)

Born in Ipswich in 1752, Dane took his first degree at Harvard in 1778. Studying law, he presently began practice in the neighboring town of Beverly. From 1782 to 1786, he was a member of the Massachusetts legislature; then, till

1788, he was a member of the Congress of the Confederation. Within less than a decade of his graduation at college, he had become a leading citizen of the new Republic. His subsequent career was not unworthy of so noble a beginning. He reentered the Massachusetts legislature. He was appointed a commissioner to revise the laws of the State, and to revise and publish the Massachusetts charters. He was a delegate to the Hartford convention of 1814. He founded the Dane professorship in the Harvard Law School (endowing it with $15,000), which name it still bears. For many years the principal building of that school bore his name.

Dane's authorship of the ordinance finds strong evidence in the allusion of Daniel Webster, made (while Dane was still living) in the United States Senate, January 20, 1830, in his so-called First Speech on Foot's Resolution: "At the foundation of the constitution of these new Northwestern States lies the celebrated Ordinance of 1787. We are accustomed, Sir, to praise the lawgivers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus; but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787. That instrument was drawn by Nathan Dane, then and now a citizen of Massachusetts. It was adopted, as I think I have understood, without the slightest alteration; and certainly it has happened to few men to be the authors of a political measure of more large and enduring consequence."

Service of Manasseh Cutler (1787)

It is probable that Manasseh Cutler aided Dane in its composition, especially by suggestion of certain amendments. Manasseh Cutler was also a citizen of Massachusetts. A clergyman at Ipswich, he was also, in the scarcity of physicians, a practical doctor. He served as chaplain in the Revolution, and, in this service, he fought as well as prayed. Botanist, explorer, congressman, he was also an associate of Rufus Putnam in the settlement of Marietta, Ohio. The truth seems to be that, to the text of the Ordinance, Cutler made contributions. Whatever credit may belong to Cutler or to Dane, Massachusetts, in either case, contributed the experience of popular government and the hatred of human bondage which permeate its own charters and statutes. Through them, Massachusetts made the great instrument which dedicated the territory of the five later states, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin to the principles of freedom, religion, morality and education. Massachusetts was thus the author of a document which deserves to stand by the side of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence. The Ordinance was a sort of constitutional bill of rights, or preamble, under which has been exerted the influence of Massachusetts in the West, for almost a century and a half.

Character of the Northwestern Settlers (1787–1850)

The sons and the daughters of Massachusetts, who became citizens of the West, form the most important of all the civilizing contributions of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to the states of the West. These sons and daughters were a part of the fifth and sixth generations of those who came to Plymouth, to Boston and to Salem, early in the seventeenth century. Those who thus migrated to the west were of the same spirit as well as of the same stock as the original immigrants. The new Pilgrims encountered also, in what became Ohio and her companion states, material conditions akin to those which their forefathers found in the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies. The English colonists came to Massachusetts and the Massachusetts colonists emigrated westward with purposes not dissimiliar. They were not adventurers: both aimed at permanent settlements. They came not as single men, but as families, to establish, or to reestablish, homes. Also they both came under a political recognition and an implied pledge of defense by the general government, first British, then American.

Assured of the interest of Massachusetts and of Connecticut, the two chief states of the New England Group, overland emigrants made their settlements to and later beyond the limits of the Ohio Valley. They were impelled by the motive of the betterment of conditions. They sought for a broader life than the fields and the forests of New England provided. They knew that a soil more fruitful was to be found on the banks of Lake Erie and the Ohio and the Mississippi than on the banks of the Merrimac, or the Androscoggin. They came for their own benefit; but they came also, and more, for the sake of their children, and their children's children.

The motives which sent the settlers of Massachusetts away from their State into the West, were, in no small degree, the very motives which brought the Pilgrims to Plymouth. Again, one observes in this new migration the note which Bradford strikes in his immortal history: "Lastly, (and which was not least), a great hope & inward zeall they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way therunto, for ye propagating & advancing ye gospell of ye kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of ye world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for ye performing of so great a work."

These settlers of the western country, coming from Massachusetts, were mostly families of religious faith, of sound common sense, of fearlessness, of a faculty for, and a facility in, civil combinations and conciliations. They were also men of laboriousness, of economy, of strongest determination to be not unworthy of the past of their fathers; they were filled with visions of a better future world. They were materialists, as well as idealists. They recognized that perhaps the only way, and certainly the most promising, for securing the advantages which the general government had held out for them, was to occupy lands in the West. Indeed, for such land (under impulses both material and ideal) they petitioned; and their petition was granted.

Massachusetts in the Northwest Territory
(1787–1800)

The first of these western migrations, and perhaps the most significant settlement formed by Massachusetts men outside of New England, was that of 1787. The so-called Ohio Company of Associates was organized in Boston, March 12, 1786, at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern; hence it is sometimes referred to by this name. One of its agents, a soldier and engineer, was General Rufus Putnam (cousin of Israel), born in Sutton, Massachusetts, in 1738. A millwright, he was also a scholar in mathematics, and his mathematics he applied to surveying and navigation. He fought in the French Wars, from 1757 to 1760. He was employed as chief surveyor in the Revolution. He took part in suppressing Shays' Rebellion of 1786. Coming to the Northwest Territory, he was made a judge of its Supreme Court. He also served as United States Commissioner to treat with the Indians in 1792–1793. For ten years, 1793–1803, he was United States Surveyor General. In 1802 the first Constitutional Convention of Ohio was held, and of it he was a member. A devout and devoted Christian, he formed the first Bible association or society west of the Alleghenies. He died in Marietta in 1824. This Massachusetts man has been called "the Father of Ohio."

Other settlements in this Territory were made from other states. On Lake Erie Connecticut established her Western Reserve. Virginia sent her citizens to the Scioto valley. New Jersey founded villages near Cincinnati. Frenchmen, Germans, and even Hollanders came and established settlements. Nevertheless, the Massachusetts colony of Rufus Putnam was the earliest established in the northwest, and it was directed by a Massachusetts man, whom Washington described as "discreet" and possessing "a strong mind."

Massachusetts in the Religious Life of the West (1789–1850)

The diverse forms of the individual and commercial offerings prepare the way for the consideration of yet another type of the comprehensive contribution. This type is religious; for the West has been, and is, a religious commonwealth. Its religion is the Christian faith. This faith expresses itself in the institution of the church. The church manifests itself in various denominational constitutions and relations. The chief denominations of the Northwest in early times were the Congregational and the Presbyterian, who long bound themselves by a kind of compact to forbear duplicating their home mission work. With them in religious belief, principles and practice were presently associated the Methodist, the Baptist, the Episcopal, the Disciples and other churches. Massachusetts has been, and still is, the chief center of the Congregational churches. However, the appeal which the West made in the earlier time for the institutions of the Christian religion was based, not on denominational grounds, but on grounds broadly religious, intensely human and even divine. Massachusetts heard the appeal, both broad and intense, and answered.

The first material need, in point of time, of a new commonwealth is the tilling of fields, the raising of crops, the building of roads and bridges to promote transportation, and of houses for shelter, the raising of horses, cows, oxen, to give sustaining and working forces. Following the filling of these needs, or some would say before the satisfying of these physical wants, is the establishment of local civil government. At once emerges the recognition of the religious conditions of the new community. The settlers of the Western States were mostly men of religious faith. Their demands for a proper foundation and equipment of the church, and for the other institutions of religion were early recognized. The religious poverty of all the denominations in the first years of the settlement of the whole West was heard, seen, felt. In the year 1828, a missionary, working in the state of Illinois, wrote to a student in the Theological Seminary at Andover: "Much . . . has been said of the wants of this growing empire West of the Alleghany. But the half has not been told you; nor can it be. Even the most ample survey that could be made by an occular, personal examination of our waste places could not embrace the full extent of our necessities; *for a nation is springing up, whose destiny is to be governed, in a great measure, by the character of the present generation.* Could I write this last sentence with a sun-beam in the sight of all the churches, I should most certainly do it. . . . It will not do to trifle in this affair;—this is the seed time, '*the present generation,*' and the enemy *is* sowing tares whether we sleep or not: and if we are accountable for the good we *might* do, as well as for the evil actually done,—up, be vigilant, and let us work with our might, and not be tasting a sugar-plumb, when we might be redeeming a world."

Spread of Massachusetts Theology (1787–1850)

Calls such as that just quoted were answered by the sending of Christian ministers from Massachusetts, and from other commonwealths. In the choice of ministers, the ablest theological teachers cooperated. In 1851 Professor Edwards A. Park, of Andover, when the Western emigration was coming into its full power, preached a sermon on the indebtedness of the State to the clergy. It was a great sermon, great in its fullness of interpretation, and moving in its emotional appeal. Park's thesis was that the clergy promotes the comfort of the people, also exerts its influence in educating the people. The clergy also arouses the political virtues. Among these great virtues is that of a love of country. The clergy encourages Christian benevolence. "Such benevolence," Park declared, "is something more and higher than the religious sentiment and the natural virtues. It quickens, regulates, beautifies, hallows them. It involves a holy love of self, relatives, friends, strangers, enemies, of one's country, one's race, the world, of all in fit proportion to each other, of God more than all, of all because of God, and duly subordinated to Him."

In the year 1842, on Andover Hill, was organized, under Park's influence, the so-called "Iowa Band," an association of graduates of the Theological Seminary, pledged to enter Iowa as ministers. Their number was twelve, and their names were Daniel Lane, Harvey Adams, Erastus Ripley, Horace Hutchinson, Alden B. Robbins, William Salter, Edwin B. Turner, Benjamin A. Spaulding, William Hammond, James J. Hill, Ebenezer Alden, Jr., and Ephraim Adams. Entering this new land, they devoted their lives to religious teaching and service. A few of them remained for a half century. They founded churches, they established schools and colleges, the chief of which was known as Iowa College at Grinnell. They fostered other allied institutions of the Christian faith. These men of Massachusetts education bore the teachings of the classrooms of Andover to the prairies of Iowa.

WORK OF THE BEECHERS (1832–1860)

Massachusetts has also participated in the evangelization of the West, through teachers of theology who educated western men for the Christian ministry. The most famous of them was Lyman Beecher. Though the Beecher family is in its origin chiefly associated with Connecticut and New Hampshire, yet from Boston Lyman Beecher went to Cincinnati, in the year 1832, to accept the presidency of Lane Theological Seminary. Impressed with the importance of holding the West to the Christian faith, he became head of the new seminary of theology at what was, in the first decades of the century, the most important city of the whole western territory. For a score of years, he continued as president, a period fraught with all manner of controversies, political and ecclesiastical.

His work was not confined to the classroom, or directly limited to the West. He went forth into Massachusetts and other States, seeking to secure ministers and teachers for the new land. In an address called "A Plea for the West," he says: "The thing required for the civil and religious prosperity of the West, is universal education, and moral culture, by institutions commensurate to that result—the all-prevading influence of schools, and colleges, and seminaries, and pastors, and churches." Ministers, teachers, books, formed the essence of his appeal. He says: "We must educate! We must educate! or we must perish by our own prosperity. If we do not, short from the cradle to the grave will be our race. If in our haste to be rich and mighty, we outrun our literary and religious institutions, they will never overtake us; or only come up after the battle of liberty is fought and lost. . . . And let no man at the East quiet himself, and dream of liberty, whatever may become of the West. Our alliance of blood, and political institutions, and common interests, is such, that we cannot stand aloof in the hour of her calamity, should it ever come. Her destiny is our destiny; and the day that her gallant ship goes down, our little boat sinks in the vortex!"

It was through such appeals that Massachusetts was moved to make great contributions of men and of means for the evangelization and the education of the West. In this service, Beecher was accompanied and succeeded by his son-in-law, Calvin E. Stowe, husband of his daughter Harriet. While resident in Cincinnati, Mrs. Stowe gathered the material for her *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and it is true that southern Ohio gave, through its neighbor Kentucky, the material which Mrs. Stowe wrought into a book which had a share in hastening the nation's crisis. Here is one of the moral bands of iron uniting Massachusetts doctrinal philosophy with the pioneer plains of the Northwest, the New England abolitionists working in the actual field of slavery.

Other Religious Influences (1830–1850)

Another Massachusetts citizen, Joseph Badger, stood for a type of contribution which was also historic and formative. He was born in Wilbraham in 1757, and was a soldier in the Revolutionary War. Graduated at Yale in 1785, two years later he became a minister in Blandford, Massachusetts. In 1800, at the call of the Connecticut Missionary Society, he accepted service on the Western Reserve. Thereafter, for thirty-five years, he labored as an itinerant minister among the few families and feeble churches of northern Ohio, and also among its Indian tribes. He aided, too, in founding academies and schools, and the first college. His service in the Revolution was repeated in the War of 1812. "Priest Badger," as he was sometimes called, deserves to be numbered with the founders of States, civil and educational, as well as religious.

By the side of the response to the passionate appeals of the West for its evangelization, Massachusetts in this period gave recognition to the importance of a liberal religion based less on the emotional, and more on the intellectual, nature of man, a movement known as Unitarianism, which is elsewhere described in this volume. Its influence in the West is seen in the organization of churches in the great cities and at university centers. One of its ministers, William Greenleaf Eliot, was the founder of Washington University, St. Louis. In Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis and St. Paul, and Cleveland are found its more outstanding churches. As in Boston, it has made a special appeal to the intellectual part of the community.

Other denominations, first strongly developed in Massachusetts, have found a footing in the West. Among them are the Universalists, the Disciples or Campbellites, and the Mormons, whose first temple was erected at Kirtland, Ohio, founded by Joseph Smith, a Vermonter, and his followers.

Educational Traditions (1689–1789)

In the early period of American history, the union of church and school, of religion and of education was significant. In the days of the feebleness of both, neither seemed able to exist alone. One does not forget the founding of Harvard College or of William and Mary—the two first colleges—as a means and method for the training of ministers. But, as the people came to possess ample resources, religion through the church, and education through the school and the college, each took on its own distinct phase and exercised its own individual function.

The westward religious movement, therefore, which Massachusetts represents, has close association with the westward educational movement, which is characteristic of the Commonwealth and is manifest both in the higher education and in the lower education. The influence of the secondary education of Massachusetts over the West had its origin in two sources: the general power of the community, and the aggressive policies and writings of Horace Mann, the great Massachusetts educational reformer.

The Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts, from its beginning, set up regulations respecting education through the common, or the Latin, school. The most important of the laws of the first half of its history is found in the act of 1689, which made important regulations for the education of the whole community. It provided for schools in every district of fifty or more families. The children were to be taught to read and write, as well as "arithmetic, orthography and decent behaviour," six months in each year. This act had an influence of inexpressible worth in helping forward legislation touching education in all the Western States. Its principles were carried westward, and the resultant public schools in the end paralleled, and in some instances excelled, the influence of the Commonwealth.

Influences of Horace Mann (1830–1853)

A second force contributing to the influence of Massachusetts in education is found in the character, work and writings of Horace Mann. Though born in Rhode Island, Horace Mann belongs essentially to Massachusetts. In and through this Commonwealth, he did his great work for American education. For education in Massachusetts and in the United States he wrought till his election to Congress in 1848, succeeding John Quincy Adams. In the year 1853, he became President of the new Antioch College in central Ohio. After a stormy period of service, he died in 1859. Yet, in this diversity of service, the twelve *Reports* which he wrote, as the head of the common schools of Massachusetts, represent the essence and the form of his chief influence.

These reports have for their subjects the great and diverse elements of public education. They relate to things material, and to things of the mind. They touch schoolhouses and playgrounds, as well as the imperfect methods and incompetency of teachers. Perhaps the most important topics are found in the fifth and seventh *Reports* which deal with "the effect of education upon the worldly fortunes of men," and with "the evils of a partial system of education." It is in the seventh (that for 1843) that he considers the schools of Prussia and of Saxony. No publications regarding education have had an influence, both so immediate and so enduring, over the western States, in their educational policies, as have these writings of the great Massachusetts educator. A competent judge, Professor B. A. Hinsdale says: "Mr. Mann's influence was neither slight nor transient . . . it has continued strong to the present time, and promises to be one of the permanent spiritual powers of the country."

The teachings of Mann carried to the West moral and religious inspiration. In his inaugural address, as president of Antioch College, Mann said: "Man, as a moral being, receives the anointing of virtue and religion. No longer does he call his fellow-man Jew or gentile, Greek or barbarian, bond or free. Children of a common Father,—*brethren are they all*. . . . His eye streams at the sight of woe. His heart makes others' sufferings his own. . . . The regenerated race will do better than to found schools for the orphan, or hospitals for the insane, or redemption houses for the vicious; for by following the eternal laws of health, truth, and duty,—that is, *by knowing and obeying the laws of God,*—they will forestall and prevent the calamities of orphanage, insanity and crime."

Influence on Higher Education in the West (1800–1930)

The influence of Massachusetts in the West, over and in and through higher education, takes on two forms. First, the influence of individuals and, second, the influence of institutions. The influence of individuals concerns the teacher of and in the college. The professors or presidents of the colleges of Massachusetts have, both in their relation to students, and as examples and forces of good teaching, exercised a great power over the colleges and schools of the West. Of this type, Hopkins, of Williams, and Mary Lyon, of Mount Holyoke, are significant and moving examples. Scores of other teachers, at Harvard, at Amherst, at Williams, have also exercised a like influence over thousands of students. Through teaching and through the far-flung fame of their methods and of their personalities, they have contributed to the standards of higher education in all the States of the West.

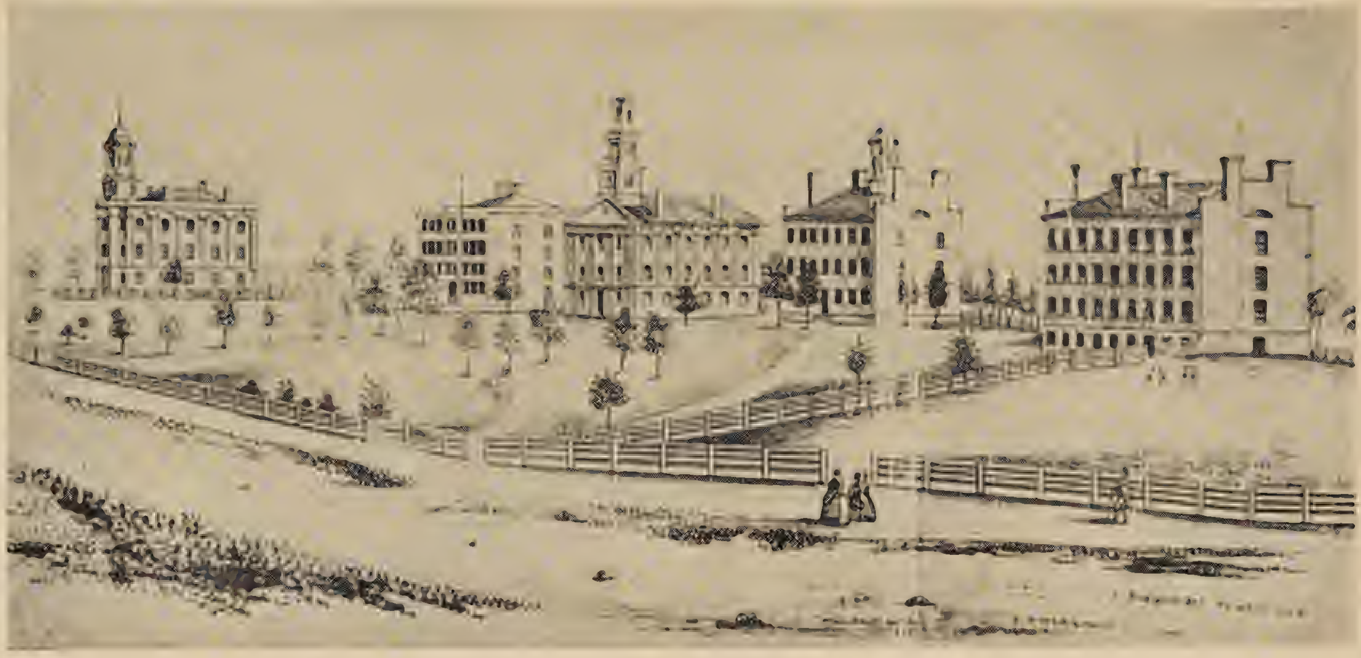
Not as a teacher, but as an educational administrator, the influence of Charles William Eliot, forty years President of Harvard College, was as formative as was the influence of Hopkins of Williams in the field of teaching. More than any other, Eliot helped to nationalize education. The nationalizing of education stands for two things: for securing the effect of the higher education on the nation, and indeed on the nations; and for the contribution of the nation itself to higher education. In each of these two most important and reciprocal relations, Eliot's influence was fundamental, formative, and enduring. Through him higher education came to have a new hold over and among the people of the East, West, Middle States, South, and Far West.

Horace Mann's influence over public school education in Massachusetts and in America was paralleled by Eliot's university methods. Both helped to raise the people of the nation to a higher plane of intelligence, conduct, and happiness. Eliot, standing for and embodying the education of and through the college, standing also for the people, helped to make the higher education a common gift, a common force, a common achievement of the nation. He held college education to be the right and the privilege of every class of the community, of the political state, and of the social commonwealth. He himself has said: "The institutions of higher education in any nation are always a faithful mirror in which are sharply reflected the national history and character."

YALE AND HARVARD

The influence of Massachusetts on the West through university institutions, has not been so pronounced as the influence of individuals. The influence of Yale as "the mother of colleges" was for near a century stronger in the West than that of Harvard. Western Reserve College was founded at Hudson in 1826 as a western Yale. The influence of the higher education of Massachusetts in the West has been most effective through Harvard graduates who have had a strong and permanent influence on the western education and literature as organizers, teachers, and supporters of higher education.

Yale in the nineteenth century was a Congregational college. Its presidents were Congregational clergymen. The ecclesiastical relations of its professors were usually Congregational. Orthodoxy, as embodied in Congregationalism, was and is aggressive. The Congregational School of Theology at New Haven sent its graduates, throughout this formative period, into the West as ministers. Not a few of them were natives of the West, particularly in later years. Numerous graduates of Yale College who were also graduates of Yale Theological Seminary entered the West. Graduates of Yale College who were graduates of other theological semi-



From a drawing

Courtesy of the Author

VIEW OF WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE (1826)

naries entered the West as missionaries and ministers. The so-called "Yale Band," composed of graduates of Yale Seminary, went into the State of Washington. A few years before, a "Dakota Band" went from New Haven into that Territory. Illinois College at Jacksonville was founded by the members of a "Yale Band."

In this same period Harvard was not Orthodox. It was Unitarian. Until Quincy was elected in 1820, it always called clergymen to its chief executive office. Harvard was in close affiliation with the best forces of Boston and of Massachusetts. But the motives in the college were not missionary: they were as little missionary as those dominating the Unitarian Church. Unitarianism represents a qualitative propagandism, but it is not usually a quantitative. It may have enriched other faiths, but has not spread its own faith widely. Its movement has been intensive and not extensive.

Reform Movements (1830–1860)

Almost three-quarters of a century after the first settlement in Ohio had been made at Marietta by a group directed by Massachusetts men, came another critical period of American history in which Massachusetts exercised a special influence in another Territory of the West. Partly religious and partly social was the relation of Massachusetts to the social reforms of the period from 1830 to 1860. Chief among these was the slavery controversy. Both Massachusetts Colony and the Northwest Territory began their political existence free from that incubus; though Indian and Negro slavery soon sprang up in Massachusetts. The Constitution of 1780, however, was second only to that of Vermont in denying the legal possibility of chattel slavery. Hence there was a legal and social foundation, both in Massachusetts and in the Northwest Territory, for the organization of the formidable antislavery movement from 1830 to 1860.

It is a well-established tradition that Theodore Weld of Massachusetts converted to the antislavery cause Benjamin Lundy, who converted William Lloyd Garrison of Massachusetts. Certainly Weld converted James G. Birney, the Alabama slaveholder who moved north of the Ohio and was twice the candidate of the extreme antislavery men for the presidency. Weld also labored in the West for the cause. Some funds were raised in New England for the antislavery Oberlin College, though its earliest monied patrons were the Tappans of New York.

The Western abolitionists never took over the extreme doctrines of Garrison, but they were fortified by the literature and public speakers who came from Massachusetts. Both communities participated in legal controversies arising out of fugitive slaves in free communities. The famous Shadrach case in Massachusetts was paralleled by the Oberlin Rescue case in Ohio.

Massachusetts in Kansas (1854–1860)

A still closer relation was established between Massachusetts and the growing West when aid and comfort was freely given from the East to the Free State men in Kansas. The New England Emigrant Aid Society was organized by Eli Thayer of Worcester, and received encouragement and money from Amos Lawrence and other wealthy and interested men. From Massachusetts came a stream of assisted emigrants flowing across the West and gathering accretions all the way along. The town of Lawrence was named for Amos Lawrence, who seems also to have been responsible for the mysterious purchase of three thousand Sharps rifles (the new weapon of precision) intended for service on what was then the extreme western frontier. John Brown received aid and comfort and needed funds for mysterious operations in the field of a civil war, and in 1858 started from Massachusetts to Harper's Ferry. Among those who gave money to John Brown at one time or another were Stearns of Medford, John A. Andrew, afterwards war governor of Massachusetts, Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Theodore Parker, Unitarian clergymen, besides such public figures as Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Dr. Howe, Franklin B. Sanborn, A. Bronson Alcott, Thoreau and Emerson.

Alongside these great names might be listed other great names of Massachusetts conspicuous by their lack of interest in the controversy, for Boston and Massachusetts were in that sixth momentous decade of the last century divided in relation to the duty of citizens touching slavery and the Union. John Brown once appealed to Amos A. Lawrence for a personal gift. Lawrence answered that he was "short of cash," for "he had just sent fourteen thousand dollars to Kansas to found the best possible school system." The interest of Massachusetts in Kansas is lastingly evidenced in the name of the university city of that State. Presently the "cause" for which Brown finally and gladly gave up his life became yet more momentous; and the devotion of Massachusetts citizens to the western community of Kansas likewise expanded and deepened into close ties as brethren in arms with all the western states in the Civil War for the preservation of the Union. This interest of the Commonwealth, exerted through its citizens, either in groups or as individuals, is one of the most important of all the forms of the influence of Massachusetts, in the vast Territory and in the later States of the West.

Influence on Science

Almost one hundred years ago, DeTocqueville in his *Democracy in America,* the best philosophic interpretation of American society and government, said: "In America, the purely practical part of science is admirably understood, and careful attention is paid to the theoretical portion, which is immediately requisite to application. On this head, the Americans always display a clear, free, original, and inventive power of mind. But hardly any one in the United States devotes himself to the essentially theoretical and abstract portion of human knowledge." The judgment thus formed almost a century ago has been proved true in subsequent Massachusetts history.

The development of science was long rather practical than theoretical. Yet the influence of science, proceeding from Massachustts, over the West has been both of the book and of the personality. The popular book of science has been, in no small degree, the textbook used in both school and college. Of such volumes the works of Asa Gray, the great botanist, are most conspicuous. Though Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston, yet his life and scientific work are associated with Philadelphia and with Pennsylvania. Of all the citizens of Massachusetts devoted to science, the personal influence of Louis Agassiz has been most, and gloriously, formative. Louis Agassiz, born in Motier, in the canton of Fribourg, Switzerland, was a gift to Massachusetts, and through his service in Massachusetts, became a beacon light of science for the whole country. Though his theory of the origin and the development of life has been largely superseded, yet his charm as a lecturer still affects his former students, East and West. His interest in the individual student was so quickening; his enthusiasm as an explorer and collector so tireless; his intellectual power in presenting his interpretations of nature so moving to mind and to feeling; his vitality so expressive, so exuberant, so enlarging: these elements and qualities have entered into the life and experiences of thousands of teachers of western schools, and, through them, into the character of thousands of thousands of their students.

Literary Influence

The fame of Massachusetts through literature has been more powerful than its influence through science. When there was no West, or when all was West, and a West unenlightened by white men, Massachusetts along with Pennsylvania,—Boston along with Philadelphia,—were the great centers of literature. The colonial product was rich and diverse. Its worth we are liable to forget. That product was not only sermonic, it was also literary.

Literary traditions were early established in Massachusetts, and with each succeeding century they have enlarged and their significance deepened. New England textbooks were widely used in the West, and Peter Parley, with his quaint unbelievable illustrations, was often the first force to open the mind of the western youngster to the truth that far to eastward was a mother Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

A useful classification of the dominant literary personalities of Massachusetts would be the Boston historians, the Cambridge poets, and the Concord essayists. Yet there were, and are, historians of Massachusetts who are not of Boston; poets, like Whittier, who were not of Cambridge; and essayists, like the Adamses, who were not citizens of Concord. It is a rich and noble tradition and possession. But we are dealing with authors, not simply as authors, but as influences of Massachusetts in the western movement of civilization. Comprehensively, it may be said that Parkman, Bancroft, Hildreth, Motley, Prescott have been great forces in the quickening of thinking and the forming of the literary opinions of the people of the Western Commonwealth.

No one of the group, however, has had a larger or more devoted following than Francis Parkman. His narrative touches closely the western heart and mind. Longfellow's verses, of the family fireside and of children, are as dear to the citizens of Nevada as of Massachusetts; and his "Hiawatha" has a more personal and intimate meaning to Minneapolis and St. Paul than to Boston or Springfield. Lowell's patriotic songs, "The Present Crisis," and the "Commemoration Ode," have as glorious an appreciation in Wisconsin, as on the Atlantic Coast. Whittier's stirring antislavery verses, and his simple "Snow Bound," are recognized as true on the banks of the northern Mississippi, just as on the banks of the Merrimac. Emerson is accepted as the one great comprehensive American writer of our literature, quite as joyfully and as enthusiastically through all the West as through all the East. It is a service of value beyond reckoning which Massachusetts, through literature, has given to the West of our America. The influence of Longfellow's interpretative verse on his friends and neighbors represents the influence of many other literary citizens of Massachusetts in all parts of the western world.

Medicine and Law

In the two other of the older professions besides the ministry, the influence of the Commonwealth has been constant, pervasive, and constructive. The influence of medicine is to be credited largely to the Harvard Medical School. For the greater part of its formally organized life of almost a century this school has been predominantly a Boston institution, somewhat distinct from any other part of the university. It has sent many graduates into the West as practitioners and also as professors in new medical schools and as members of medical clinics. The cities of the West—Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Rochester (Minnesota), and Omaha—have been radiating centers of its influence.

As in the case of medicine, the influence of Massachusetts upon the law, both statute and common, and upon the lawyers of the western states has its center and source in another great professional institution of Harvard, the Law School. Graduates of the school have carried into their professional practise the results of the teaching and training given by the great teachers of the school—Langdell, the Thayers, both father and son, Ames, Gray and others. Moreover, the Harvard basic method of teaching law has been borne by graduates into the law schools of many western states. Professor Wambaugh carried the case system to the Law School of the University of Iowa; Manley O. Hudson to the University of Missouri. Professor Beale organized the Law School of the University of Chicago. Paul V. McNutt (Harvard Law School, 1916) is dean of the Law School of the University of Indiana, and three Harvard men are among his associates. Wigmore, both as professor and as dean, has, for more than a quarter of a century, been associated with Northwestern University, teaching law by methods which are known as belonging primarily to the Harvard system.

Journalism and Journalists

The contributions which the journalism and journalists of Massachusetts have made to the affairs and the movements of the western states derive their origin from both Boston and Springfield. The first daily journal of effective influence was the *Boston Daily Advertiser,* established in the year 1813. In the hundred and fifteen years since its foundation, scores of daily newspapers have been born and have died. The larger share have come to their end in absorption by other and stronger papers. The *Daily Advertiser,* under many and diverse conditions, has absorbed at least six other journals. For many years its editor was Nathan Hale, nephew of the patriot spy of the Revolution and father of Edward Everett Hale. The *Advertiser* introduced the editorial and editorial comment into American journalism. It thus proved to be a unique and profound force in the journalism of the West and of all parts of the country.

A Boston paper of a wholly different sort which touched the West, especially in Illinois and in Kansas, was Garrison's *Liberator*. Begun in 1831, the first year in a momentous decade in the history of slavery, and published for thirty-four years, it represented everywhere the most potent, energetic, direct, and bold force demanding the immediate emancipation of the slaves. It met with defiance on the Mississippi's banks as well as on the Atlantic coast. But it was read. It is probable, indeed, that at the altar of the *Liberator* was found the inspiration and the consecration of Lovejoy's antislavery *Observer* of St. Louis and of Alton of 1836.

Journalistic influences over the West have come from the central city of the Commonwealth. A notable contribution of Massachusetts to the journalism of the West is found in the *Springfield Republican*. Established in 1824 as a weekly, the *Republican* has from its beginning been identified with the family of its founder, Samuel Bowles. Through the great personal qualities of Bowles and his successors, it proved to be a constantly constructive and often an irritating force in the West, and indeed in all parts of the country. Few of the *Republican's* editors have become editors of western papers; but it has influenced the editorial opinion of the great papers of western cities. One who served long on the *Republican*, Solomon Bulkley Griffin, has said of it: "Everywhere the *Republican* was recognized for thoughtful and finished work that was infused with conscience and force. It was no weak echo of any party, man or paper, but spoke with assured independence. For long years before, and in the years after the death of its creator, no newspaper was more widely quoted, and its opinions commanded respect."

LIBRARIANSHIP

To the new science and the new art of librarianship the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has made offerings both direct and indirect of the richest value. That influence has been chiefly one of personalities of formative worth. One name stands forth in peculiar significance. It is William Frederick Poole. Poole, born in Salem in 1821 and graduated at Yale in 1849, while still an undergraduate made a catalogue of his college society, thus foreshadowing what has since become known as *Poole's Index*. He began his formal library experience in 1852, and in 1856 became head of the Athenaeum. His western service began in his connection with the Public Library of Cincinnati. Thence he passed to the headship of the Chicago Public Library, and later was the organizer of the Newberry Library. It was a contribution of richest and lasting worth which, through Poole's personality and service, Massachusetts made to the higher life of Ohio, of Illinois, and of all western commonwealths.

Among personalities whom the Commonwealth has contributed to librarianship was James Kendall Hosmer (Harvard, 1855) librarian of the Minneapolis Public Library during a formative period of twelve years from 1892 to 1904. Nathaniel D. C. Hodges (Harvard, 1874), after serving in the Astor and Harvard Libraries, became librarian of the Public Library of Cincinnati. Clement Walker Andrews (Harvard, 1879) became librarian of the John Crerar Library in Chicago in 1895. Azariah Smith Root was librarian of Oberlin College, and was very serviceable, too, in advancing librarianship in the whole country. Herbert Putnam (Harvard, 1883) earlier in the Boston Public Library and in the Athenaeum Library (1884-1887) and the public library in Minneapolis (1887-1891) helped to educate himself for his great place as head of the Congressional Library, beginning in 1899.

Art Museums and Experts

The contribution made to the aesthetic development of the western commonwealths is most manifest in the foundation and administration of their art museums, art collections, and art schools, and in their buildings planned and erected by the architects of Massachusetts. The art museums of half a dozen States reveal the influence of the museums and of the art schools of the old Commonwealth.

The Art Institute of Chicago, incorporated in 1879, had for its first director William M. R. French (Harvard, 1884), brother of Daniel Chester French, the sculptor. Intimately associated with French was Charles L. Hutchinson, president of the Art Institute for forty-one years. Frank W. Gunsaulus, whose precious collections enrich the Art Institute, was for a time a minister in Newton.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, in the location and erection of its beautiful Greek building, chose Edward M. Wheelwright, of Boston, as consulting architect. Also it had, as its first director (1913-1930) Frederic Allen Whiting, who was educated in Massachusetts. From the Boston Museum of Fine Arts came J. Arthur MacLean to be the first Curator of Oriental Art; later he went to the Art Institute of Chicago as Assistant Director and Curator of Oriental Art and then to John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis, as director; and still later to the Toledo Museum as curator of oriental art.

A yet more intimate association between the John Herron Art Institute of Indianapolis and Massachusetts is evident. The second director was Frederic Allen Whiting who received a rich training in art in Massachusetts. The third director, Harold Haven Brown, was educated in the Massachusetts Normal Art School. The fourth director, J. Arthur MacLean, was born in Winchester, Massachusetts.

The largest benefactor to all the art museums of the West was Edward Drummond Libbey, who was educated at Boston University. Libbey was president of the corporation of the Toledo Museum of Art, and from the time of its beginning was a liberal giver. Under his will the Museum was made (1925) his chief beneficiary. The amount which will thus be ultimately received will probably be not less than $20,000,000.

Going still further west, the city of Minneapolis possesses an Institute of Art justly esteemed for its public service as well as for its collections. The first director (1919) of the Institute, Joseph Breck, came from Massachusetts.

Connected with art museums either in a formal or, at least, in a cooperative relation are art schools. In Cleveland in particular a great art school, established in the ninth decade of the last century, has been built up largely through the directorship of Miss Georgia Norton, and later of Henry Turner Bailey, educated in the State Normal Art School of Boston. He taught in the schools of Boston and Lowell, and was agent of the Massachusetts State Board of Education in industrial drawing, everywhere formative and constructive.

ARCHITECTURE

The service which Massachusetts has given to the West in architecture began early and has continued to the present day. These contributions also are of two diverse types. The people who came from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and the other New England States in the early decades of the nineteenth century, were usually obliged to be content with simple constructions. In Massachusetts, however, that period was the era of the Greek revival in architecture, called by some the "Greek mania." It was the age of Charles Bulfinch (1763–1844), of his State House on Beacon hill, and of his University Hall in Cambridge. Greek columnar construction was, as it still is, costly. The western colonists were, with a few notable exceptions, poor. A few private houses, however, were constructed which bear the marks of the Greek period in Massachusetts, especially in Michigan, although some are to be seen along the national highway in Ohio and in parts of Indiana and even of Wisconsin. A Michigan house at Grass Lake, usually called "the Dexter house," was built between 1840 and 1843. The plans were made by the Stannard family, modelled somewhat after their father's old home on Beacon Street, Boston.

The contributions of the later period have indeed taken on far wider relations than the Greek revival represents. The first and most valuable of these offerings, the Gothic, is found in the life and career of Henry Hobson Richardson. Though born in Louisiana in 1838, his professional career, beginning in 1865, is associated with Boston. For the twenty-one years that his career lasted it was the predominant influence in all North America. It set standards of judgment. It also inspired other architects to even greater direct results than Richardson himself achieved.

Richardson's great achievements in the West are found in a county building in Pittsburgh; in the Cincinnati Board of Trade Building, unfinished at the time of his death; and in warehouses and residences in Chicago. A strength, so mighty as at times to seem almost savage, characterizes all his work both East and West. The general influence of Richardson has been continued by Charles A. Coolidge and his associates, who have built great academic buildings in Cleveland, in Cambridge, and elsewhere.

The ecclesiastical and Romanesque traditions of Richardson have been enlarged into noble Gothic types by other Boston architects. Chief among them are Ralph Adams Cram and Henry Vaughan. Cram and Vaughan have built the best Gothic churches in the Western States—an example is found in the beautiful cathedral of Pittsburgh—as they have in the Eastern States. Born in England, Henry Vaughan has created fine examples of the Gothic work of his native country. Cram and his associates, like Goodhue, and others of his school, have given and are still continuing to give to the West great examples of Gothic architecture in parish church and in cathedral.

Western Railroads

The influence of Massachusetts over the West has not, however, been confined to forces and conditions primarily intellectual. This influence has taken on forms industrial, financial, and commercial. In all this diversity the Massachusetts relation to western railroads is commanding in the immediate present and also important and lasting in the long future.

The development of railroads in the West can be summarized in three geographical directions. The chief and central point of concentration and of radiation has been Chicago. The principal railroads to the Northwest, to the Southwest, and the transcontinental systems, have been lines focusing in and radiating from Chicago. The earliest of the great roads to the Northwest was what is now known as the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy; the earliest of the transcontinental lines was the Union Pacific, later united with the Central Pacific; and the earliest of the systems of the Southwest was what is now known as the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. All these roads were originally financed, and much of the trackage was built, by Massachusetts capitalists. These three are still most important and they are representative. To each of them Massachusetts made contributions—executive, financial, and, above all, personal.

Behind these contributions, as either a force or a condition, inviting human cooperation, lay the rich prairie lands of the Mississippi Valley. These fertile acres in the middle nineteenth century were becoming populated by farmers of intelligence, gifted with a sense of progress, inspired by noble ends, and willing to work hard in gaining these ends. They came largely in families, gathered from foreign countries and from the States further to the east. They expected to improve their lot and to establish permanent homes. In the 'fifties this vast territory lay open for the establishment of a civilization by and of the best men and women.

In the year 1846, this territory west of the eastern end of Lake Erie contained only five hundred miles of railroad; and these lines were poorly equipped, with an efficiency lamentably, almost inexpressibly, poor and weak. Into this field Massachusetts men and Massachusetts money came.

Western Railroad Managers

The most outstanding of the empire builders of the fifth and sixth decades was a Boston man, John Murray Forbes, born in Bordeaux, France, in 1813, a member of a Boston family interested in foreign commerce, and trained by mercantile experience in China. Returning to the United States in 1836, he began a great career, which continued till his death in 1898. This career was largely concerned with railroads. He was president of the Michigan Central from 1846 to 1855; president of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy from 1878 to 1881; and a director of that road for the almost unexampled period of forty-one years from 1857 to 1898. His personal character was worthy of his financial and executive ability. It was of him that Emerson wrote in a famous passage in *Letters and Social Aims:* "Never was such force, good meaning, good sense, good action, combined with

From a photograph Courtesy of Edward W. Forbes

J. Murray Forbes

such domestic lovely behavior, such modesty and persistent preference for others. Wherever he moved he was the benefactor."

Forbes began his career as a western railroad builder and executive in the purchase, by himself and associates, of the Michigan Central in 1846. The road at the time ran from Detroit to Kalamazoo, 145 miles. It was "a shabby piece of property." "The value of the rolling stock was $68,000, the largest single item being $4,000 for a locomotive of twelve tons. The track, like that of all early railroads, consisted of beams of wood six inches square, to which were fastened strips of iron half an inch thick by two and a quarter inches wide." Under the touch of the Boston financiers and executives this "shabby piece of property" was so developed as to become one of the best paying pieces of railroad property in the country. After a history of fifty years it finally became absorbed in the New York Central system.

Financial and Operative Forces

The aid which Forbes and other citizens of Massachusetts gave to the railroads of the Northwest, of the Southwest, and of the central territory was a contribution both of financial support and of personality. Boston banks promised credits. Boston brokers sold the necessary bonds. Boston bankers gave constant support and encouragement. The financial difficulties of the condition were well stated by Charles E. Perkins of Boston, who, entering the service of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy in 1859 as a clerk, became one of the great powers in the system. He said: "Iowa railroad builders had quite as much of a struggle in the early days as other pioneers, and the difficult problem connected with railroad development was to find persons who were able and willing to supply the money. Of those who were bold enough to take the risks involved, some have made a profit, but not all, by any means. The general impression is that railroads have been great money-makers, without much, if any risk, and that their rates are too high and their taxes too low. The truth is, men who bought land west of the Des Moines river forty years ago have made more profit than men who put their money into railroads."

The support given by the administrators and executives of the Burlington system was quite as necessary as that furnished by the financiers. Between the years 1850 and 1901 (when the road was sold to the Morgan interests) among its directors were Richard Olney, General Charles J. Paine, John L. Gardner, H. H. Hunnewell, Nathaniel Thayer, Sidney Bartlett, John W. Brooks, John N. Denison, and William Endicott—all outstanding Massachusetts names.

The executive service in the field given by the young men of Massachusetts was quite as notable as the financial support provided by the solid citizens whose offices were in State Street. Among them were Charles Lowell, nephew of James Russell Lowell; E. P. Ripley, who began his great career in a humble position, ending it with the presidency of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe; Howard Elliott, who started as a rodman in western Iowa, and became the head of the Northern Pacific and other systems; and George W. Holdredge, who was manager of the Burlington lines west of the Missouri. They and many others were sons of the Commonwealth, and many of them were also graduates of Harvard.

The Union Pacific

A similar interpretation of Massachusetts influence may be traced in the Union Pacific system. By the act of 1862 providing for "the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean" some 160 men were named as members of the board of commissioners of the Union Pacific Railroad and Telegraph Company. Among them were five citizens of Massachusetts: William H. Swift, Samuel T. Dana, John Bertram, Franklin S. Stevens, and Edward R. Tinker. This first transcontinental system was in its early history yet more intimately connected with two outstanding Massachusetts men, Oakes Ames and Oliver Ames. It was the spirit and energy of these brothers which in the critical years of the road's history determined its construction. At one time, when the scarcity of funds resulted in the slowing up or in the stoppage of construction, Oakes

Ames wrote to the chief engineer, General Grenville M. Dodge, saying: "Go ahead; the work shall not stop, even if it takes the shovel shop"—referring to the family manufacture, source of the Ames fortune. The relation of the Ameses to the general government became involved; they were subjected to various inquisitions. The credit of the road was impaired; but the road was built, and the "shovel shop" did not fail. In the year 1880–1881, the Ames Monument in honor of the brothers was erected at Sherman, Wyoming.

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe

Into the history of the great railroad systems of the Southwest, Massachusetts men likewise entered. The chief of these systems, what is now known as the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, had its origin in 1859 in the grant of a charter to a road (later absorbed in the system) by the legislature of Kansas. It was not, however, till twenty years later that the company came into an era of prosperity. In the year 1877, Thomas Nickerson of Boston was elected president. With his associates, also of Boston, he made William B. Strong its vice-president and general manager. Strong was one of the great executives in the ninth decade of the last century. His executive ability found a worthy and constant support in Boston. President Nickerson was always conservative, cautious, conciliatory. These qualities were at the period necessary and constructive. For conservatism was essential to save the property, inasmuch as the early history of the road was subjected to manifold struggles, military, financial, and governmental.

Caution was necessary, for some risks had been run which had proved all but disastrous. No further perils could the road afford to bear. Conciliation was necessary, for the brief history of the road was marked by antagonisms, personal, racial, legal. Thomas Nickerson, thus gifted, became president in 1877, and held the office for four years. The most important of all his works was making William B. Strong president on his own retirement. A son of Vermont, going with his parents at an early age to Beloit, Wisconsin, Strong was essentially a child of the West. His formal education ended at the age of eighteen. Entering railroad work as a station agent and telegraph operator, through his powerful leadership he transformed the railroad map of the United States.

Charles Francis Adams

Perhaps the most unique contribution of the Commonwealth to the railroads of the West is found in the presidency of Charles Francis Adams of the Union Pacific system. This presidency covered the six and a half years from 1884 to 1890. For this position he was prepared by his writings on railroads, as "A Chapter of Erie"; by his service on the Massachusetts Railroad Commission beginning in 1869; by his chairmanship of the government directors of the road; and by his service as a normal director. Of his own service in the Union Pacific, Adams says with characteristic frankness: "My first five years in control of the affairs of the company were most successful. I got its finances in order; greatly improved the service; reestablished its credit; paid off the whole of its floating debt; improved its relations with the communities it served. I did not, however, succeed in effecting a settlement between it and the United States Government. . . . During the last eighteen months of my connection with the Union Pacific I was—there is no use denying it, or attempting to explain it away—wholly demoralized. I hated my position and its duties, and yearned to be free of it and from them. My office had become a prison-house. Loathing it, I was anxious, involved, hopeless. I had, accordingly, become a plunger; rapidly getting beyond my depth. I have nothing to say in extenuation. I displayed indecision and weakness—almost as much as Napoleon showed in his Russian campaign."

These several and diverse interpretations make evident that the vast western territory has been brought to its present state of civilization, of wealth, of dominance in the affairs of the American Union, not only by the men and women born on the soil, but by the vision, the energy, the financial skill, the patience, and the moral and intellectual character of men from the East, and especially from Massachusetts, as applied to or by a single type of human constructiveness.

MINING INTERESTS

Alongside the service in building and administering railroads, perhaps the most distinct and commanding physical contribution of the Commonwealth to the upbuilding of the West is found in the history of the copper mining properties of Michigan. Long had it been known that copper was to be found in the Upper Peninsula; but it was not till the seventies of the last century that its abundance was discovered and recognized.

In the year 1864, the heavy lode was actually unearthed. The discoverer, Edwin J. Hulbert, mined and shipped to Boston specimens of the ore. He himself came to Boston, which had for some time been the financial headquarters for Lake Superior mining properties. In his plans for the new mines development he interested Quincy A. Shaw, who was already a stockholder in Michigan mines. Shaw succeeded in the immediate purpose of purchasing what subsequently became known as the Calumet Mine. Presently there was organized the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company.

THE AGASSIZ FAMILY

Shaw interested his brother-in-law, Alexander Agassiz, in the new undertaking. At the time Alexander Agassiz, son of Louis, was working with his father in the historic museum.

The influence which led Alexander Agassiz to undertake the development of this property are indicated in a report of a chance talk which he had with Charles W. Eliot, at that time a professor in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Eliot, I am going to Michigan for some years as superintendent of the Calumet and Hecla Mines. I want to make money; it is impossible to be a productive naturalist in this country without money. I am going to get some money if I can and then I will be a naturalist. If I succeed, I can then get my own papers and drawings printed and help my father at the Museum."

The work thus undertaken was carried on for two years (1866-1868) in the teeth of severest difficulties, physical, industrial, intellectual, moral, and administrative. But it was a work which resulted in putting at the disposition of Alexander Agassiz means for carrying forward his great and comprehensive purposes in biological science, and to found the great Agassiz Museum in Cambridge. The mine also brought wealth to many citizens of Massachusetts and especially to a few Boston families. The company paid its first dividend in 1869, and in the course of the next forty years paid to its owners $100,550,000. Although the last two decades have not shown similar prosperity, the whole history is a pregnant illustration of the wisdom and energy of citizens of the Commonwealth.

"Hewn from the wilderness by determined men, who, fighting through darkness and gloom, forced their way into the light, brought peace and plenty to thousands of working homes, and created one of the most famous mines known in the history of the industry":—so runs a tablet on the work thus achieved as a token and proof of the worth of scientifically trained intellect, supported by sound and fine moral character, devoted to the development of the resources of the earth, and inspired by the desire to discover the truth and to serve men.

Massachusetts Influence Summarized

The Ordinance of 1787 is the constitution—social, political, human—under which Massachusetts has entered into the West. Under this monumental document the whole movement represents the general human contribution, made either in groups or as families, which the Commonwealth has made. To this contribution must also be added the offering made by religion through the church, by education through the church, and by education through the school, the college, and the university. Massachusetts stands in the West as foremost of the States in science and literature, as providing lasting standards and elements of a higher civilization in an advancing community. These impulses are felt in other sections, but they have always abounded in those western regions in which Massachusetts is mother to many, and an inspiration to all.

In the professions of medicine and of the law, its influence has been marked, but less significant than in the clerical calling.

In journalism, Massachusetts has, through at least two historical papers, impressed the thought of the western commonwealths.

In the new and important field of library service it has provided wise and efficient guidance. In diverse fields of art it has offered precious contributions both of structures and of personalities. In the constructing, financing, and administration of railroads, its power has been of the greatest worth. In mining, too, its service, even if of a narrow sort and rather personal, has been most valuable and profitable. To sum up in a phrase, the influence of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the West has been an influence in, of, by, and through MEN.

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CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL READJUSTMENTS
(1889-1929)

By Michael E. Hennessy
Political Staff of the Boston Globe

Advance of Massachusetts (1889-1929)

The period embraced in the four decades, from 1889 to 1929, constitutes an important epoch in Massachusetts history. The Bay State has not lagged behind in the forward march of progress. In truth, she has generally been in the vanguard. Other States with greater reputation as progressive commonwealths have copied her advanced laws, and have followed in her wake in the enactment of legislation on behalf of labor, education, social welfare, protection of life and property, the encouragement of thrift and industry, and bringing government nearer to the people. A gradual but distinct change has taken place in the social and political life of her four millions of population, more than a quarter of whom are foreign-born. Its Puritanism has been softened by the great influx of immigrants and their children.

The material growth of the State is told in the fabulous figures of its savings banks, representing the thrift of the people, in the number of its home owners, in the diversity and success of its industries. Its governmental activities in behalf of the welfare of the people are many, and are continually increasing. That, in part, accounts for the rise of the State budget from $5,000,000 in Governor Crane's administration to more than $12,000,000 in 1929. Its people give to charity until it hurts. It has always led the Union in education. It fosters art and science with lavish hand. Evidence is abundant to prove that the old defiant colony of Massachusetts, which led in the fight for popular government, is still the friend of human rights.

Political progress in Massachusetts is illustrated by many reforms and improvements: the adoption of the secret or Australian ballot; abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting; free textbooks in the public schools; laws reducing the hours of labor for men, women, and children; workmen's compensation acts; factory inspection for the protection of employees; the initiative and referendum; direct primaries; minimum wage; the probation system; pure-food laws; a pension system for public employees; control of savings-bank life insurance at lower rates than those offered by private companies.

In material improvements Massachusetts has been a pioneer. Witness her good roads. Millions of State money were put into a great Boston pier to attract ocean commerce. The State parks and reservations are unsurpassed anywhere. Massachusetts laws regulating public utilities were among the first in the United States and were adopted as models by sister commonwealths, as have been her care of the insane, and many other laws in her social welfare policy. To secure these laws required agitation; but Massachusetts is fortunate in that she always is rich in a body of public-spirited men and women, willing to devote their time, money, energy, and talents in behalf of good causes. Advanced as she is in these matters, it is not a wild dream to predict that in the next four decades the people of the State will enjoy things provided by the Commonwealth that are unthought of today.

A Democratic Governor (1890–1891)

The history of State politics in the period beginning in 1890 includes a nation-wide political revolt over the McKinley tariff, which became effective a few weeks before the State election of 1890. The Democrats elected their gubernatorial candidate, William Eustis Russell, the State auditor, seven of the twelve Congressmen, and a State senate equally divided politically. They also made substantial gains in the house of representatives.

Local issues played an important part in the election. The Prohibitionists desired to punish the Republicans for what they regarded as treachery to their cause. Governor Brackett undertook to placate them by enforcing an obsolete and ridiculous law, compelling the serving of food with liquor and closing every public bar; liquor could legally be served only at tables. After the Democratic victory, the Republican legislature repealed the obnoxious statute. Among the Democratic Congressmen chosen in this political turmoil were Sherman Hoar, nephew of Senator Hoar; John F. Andrew, son of the illustrious Civil War governor; and George Fred Williams—former Republicans, all opposed to the election of James G. Blaine, their party presidential candidate in 1884. They joined the Mugwump movement, but otherwise continued to act with the Democratic party. The other four Democrats chosen for Congress, Moses T. Stevens, Joseph H. O'Neil, John C. Crosby, and Frederick S. Coolidge, were lifelong Democrats.

Among the successful Republican congressional candidates was Henry Cabot Lodge, who defeated Professor William Everett by a small margin. After election it was discovered that the State Constitution required that the governor must be possessed of a freehold of at least $5000. The governor elect and his family with difficulty found means of complying with the law; and legislative machinery was set in motion to eliminate the provision from the Constitution.

Russell's Popularity (1891–1893)

Governor Russell's great popularity was enhanced during his first year in office, and he was reelected over Charles H. Allen, a representative of the younger Republicans: a distinction denied his two Democratic predecessors since the Civil War, Gaston and Butler.

The State never had a more attractive public figure or a higher-minded chief executive than "Billy" Russell, as he was affectionately called. He attracted to his candidacy many brilliant young men of old Republican families, whose names were household words in Massachusetts. Russell inherited his politics from a distinguished father, who clung tenaciously to the party throughout the Civil War. The son remembered being taken to task in his youth, when boys wore copper-toed boots, by a Republican resident of Cambridge, who pointed to the youngster's boots and sneeringly remarked: "Your father was a Copperhead and you are a copper-toed." He was thrice elected to the governorship, breaking all Democratic political records. Massachusetts Democrats desired to present his name for President in 1892; but he believed that the wisest course was to nominate Grover Cleveland again, and his advice was followed.

Governor Russell and the Legislature (1891–1893)

Governor Russell's inaugural addresses and state papers were statesmanlike and constructive. One of his first legislative triumphs was the repeal of the law making the payment of a poll tax a prerequisite for voting. He tried to curb the lobby, and urged the passage of a corrupt-practice act, but the legislature turned a deaf ear to these demands. Later, under a Republican governor, both measures were enacted into law. He succeeded in nerving up the legislature to pass several important statutes, including a collateral-inheritance tax, an anti-sweatshop bill, an anti-railroad-pass law, and several labor measures. He induced the legislature to raise the salary of the governor from $5000 to $8000.

In his appointments he was frequently balked by a hostile executive council. Many of the State commissions were beyond executive control, and he asked that the law be changed, lodging authority to remove them in the hands of the chief executive; but this too was denied him. His first memorable fight with his executive councillors, consisting of eight Republicans and one Democrat, was over his attempt to remove Police Commissioner Osborne of Boston for political activities. Osborne was a cousin of William McKinley of Ohio, who defeated Bryan for President in 1896. The council refused to sanction Osborne's removal. The legislature also declined his request that the control of its police force be given back to the city of Boston, taken from it a decade before.

Massachusetts in Washington (1889–1895)

Mr. Cleveland had many ardent admirers in Massachusetts and spent his summers on Cape Cod. He took a fatherly interest in the brilliant young Democratic governor and came to lend his influence in one of Russell's campaigns. Mr. Cleveland did not forget his Massachusetts friends when he reentered the White House on his second term. He made Richard Olney, an able corporation lawyer, Attorney-General in his Cabinet. Patrick A. Collins, a former Fenian, was named consul-general at London. Charles S. Hamlin became Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and Josiah Quincy for a time was Assistant Secretary of State.

While the Democrats were rejoicing over their national success, Massachusetts Republicans turned to Henry Cabot Lodge, then a member of the national House of Representatives, as the successor of the venerable Senator Dawes, who retired after a long and honorable service. Lodge was admirably equipped for his new duties by education and training, and took his seat under a Democratic President, his certificate of election signed by a Democratic governor. The new Senator from Massachusetts was assigned to the desk occupied for many years by Charles Sumner, one of his political idols.

First Foreign-Born State Governor (1893–1894)

The governor announced towards the end of his third term his determination to retire; and the party turned hopefully to John E. Russell, a distinguished, scholarly Democrat, some years before elected to Congress from the Worcester district on a free-trade platform. But John E. was not as good a vote getter as William E.; and the Republican nominee, ex-Congressman Frederick T. Greenhalge, one of the congressional victims of the Democratic landslide in 1890, recovered the State for the Republicans. Born in England, Mr. Greenhalge received his education in the public schools of Lowell and at Harvard College. He was one of the early advocates of equal suffrage, and while Governor recommended extending municipal suffrage to women. The House passed such an act, but the senate, the legislative graveyard, buried it with scant consideration.

An event in the Greenhalge administration which was celebrated with ringing of bells and booming of cannon was the abolishing of the old-time official Fast Day and the making of April 19, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, a legal holiday in its stead. The spirit of Fast Day had long disappeared. It was given over to sports and merrymaking. As a day of prayer and fasting it was a joke. Another patriotic feature of the same year was the turning over by the Federal Government of a number of battle flags of Massachusetts regiments in the Civil War. With appropriate ceremony, they were placed with the other mementoes of that war in the Hall of Flags, at the State House. That same year Massachusetts paid in full the last of its Civil War loans, amounting to $2,279,000.

Within a few weeks of his third inauguration in 1895, the State was shocked to hear of the death of Governor Greenhalge. Lieutenant-Governor Roger Wolcott became acting governor. Mr. Greenhalge was the only governor of foreign birth since General Thomas Gage, British governor of the rebellious Colony, who left town rather hurriedly in 1776.

Effect of the Free-Silver Controversy (1896)

The money question split the Bay-State Democracy wide apart in the presidential campaign of 1896; and the breach was not healed until almost a decade later, when a reunited Democratic party elected a fourth governor in the person of William L. Douglas. At the spring State convention for the choice of delegates to the national convention, George Fred Williams, a stout defender of the gold standard while a member of Congress, was chosen one of the delegates at large. He created a commotion in political circles soon afterwards by declaring for silver. The Gold Democrats prevailed upon former Governor Russell to go to Chicago and aid in the fight to prevent control of the party by the radicals and silver men; but the "gold bugs," as they were called, were badly defeated, and for president the convention nominated William J. Bryan of Nebraska, apostle of the free-silver crusade. Arthur Sewall of Maine was named for Vice-President. The Gold Democrats bolted Bryan, and named Palmer and Buckner as their presidential ticket. Massachusetts Republicans were pledged to Thomas B. Reed for President; but the convention nominated William McKinley of Ohio, on a gold platform, in the drafting of which Senator Lodge had a hand. Soon after his nomination, Mr. Bryan visited New England as the guest of Sewall, his running mate on the ticket. The night he spoke on Boston Common, it was packed as far as the eye could reach. The enthusiasm of the crowd knew no bounds; but on election day Democratic Boston gave a Republican majority—proof that people do not always vote the way they cheer.

At the start of the State campaign, Williams and his followers shut out their opponents from the State convention, held at old Music Hall, in Boston. A body of deposed delegates forgathered at Faneuil Hall. Williams received nominations for governor from both conventions, but declined the Faneuil Hall designation, knowing that none of the participants in that convention intended to support him on election day. The Gold Democrats nominated Frederick O. Prince, former mayor of Boston, for governor. Governor Wolcott was the Republican nominee to succeed himself. His plurality in the State in 1896 was above 150,000. Winthrop Murray Crane, destined to become a leading political figure in State and national affairs, was at the same time elected lieutenant governor, defeating Colonel Samuel E. Winslow, of Worcester, for the nomination after a hard fight. It was his first political office and his introduction to Massachusetts politics.

THE WOLCOTT ADMINISTRATION (1896–1898)

Governor Wolcott came of fine old Puritan stock. He had served his party in the city government of Boston and in the legislature. He was a handsome man, of commanding presence, good breeding, and liberal education. His administration was dignified; but few important laws found their way to the statute books during the three years of his governorship. Through the efforts of Senator Hoar, the manuscript of Governor William Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation,* found in London and supposed to have been taken by the British on their evacuation of Boston in the Revolutionary War, was returned to the State and is carefully preserved in the State Library.

War was declared against Spain in April, 1898, growing out of Cuban conditions and the blowing up of the United

States battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor. In February, soon after the *Maine* was blown up, Governor Wolcott asked the legislature for $500,000 for military expenses. Within twenty-five minutes the resolve was passed and became a law. Massachusetts troops were first in the field, as they were in the Revolution, the Civil War, and the World War. The Yankee Division, a large part of which was made up of Bay State troops, was the first National Guard division to reach France in the last of these conflicts, in 1917.

GOVERNOR CRANE (1899–1902)

Lieutenant Governor Crane succeeded Roger Wolcott in the gubernatorial chair, and served what had become the customary three terms. His inaugural address was his first public speech. He never made a stump speech in his political career, and there is no record of a formal speech by him in the nine years he served in the Senate of the United States. He gave the State a good clean business administration, including little party politics on Beacon Hill. The most notable piece of legislation was the authorization of the lease of the Fitchburg Railroad to the Boston & Maine, and of the Boston & Albany to the New York Central. In the latter road the Crane family were large stockholders.

Josiah Quincy, descendant of the famous politician and educator of the same name, led the Democratic forlorn hope in 1901. Another distinguished descendant of a famous line in Massachusetts was Oliver Wendell Holmes, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, whom President Roosevelt appointed Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. For more than thirty years he has maintained the high reputation of the Massachusetts judiciary, and in his ninetieth year is still one of the active young old men of the bench of the highest court in the land, beloved by his friends and admired by the public for his irreproachable character and independent thinking.

THE BATES ADMINISTRATION (1903–1904)

John L. Bates, who had served as Speaker of the House and Lieutenant Governor, was destined from 1903 to 1904 to succeed Crane in the governorship. He fell out with some of the practical politicians who had helped him climb politically, ignoring them in the distribution of patronage. His appointment of Judge Emmons as police commissioner of Boston proved unpopular. The commissioner was too much of a reformer, and was severely criticised for his attempt to run a cosmopolitan city like a country village. To add to Governor Bates's troubles, a lobbyist alleged that he had loaned him money. The cashed checks bearing the governor's endorsement were published. In the face of financial dealings with a lobbyist, his difference with his former supporters, and Judge Emmons's unpopularity, Governor Bates was reelected.

But it was evident that the tide had set against him; and in the presidential year 1904, while Roosevelt carried the State by 90,000, Bates lost it to the Democratic candidate, William L. Douglas, by more than 30,000. Organized labor took an active part in the canvass on behalf of the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, punishing Bates for his veto of labor measures. In the midst of the campaign the venerable Senator Hoar died, and in his place Governor Bates appointed Ex-Governor Crane.

Senator Hoar

Senator Hoar died a poor man, but he left a rich legacy to his family—a good name, an unblemished public record, untainted by selfishness or sordid motives. In his long public career at the nation's capital, he saw men in the public service grow rich, some honorable and others not over scrupulous how they acquired wealth; but the breath of avarice never polluted his nature. He never hesitated to say that his party or his associates in public life were wrong, if that was his belief. This independence he inherited from his ancestors.

Puritan of Puritans, Senator Hoar was cosmopolitan and broadminded in most matters. A man of culture, he saw things from a broad viewpoint. To the immigrants of alien races he extended the hand of fellowship, and bade them partake of the bread of liberty. His great heart went out to the poor, the suffering struggling peoples of the world. His eloquent voice was ever raised for freedom, and he took his stand beside the patriot in every effort for equal rights wherever the contest was waged. When he died, his neighbors reared a noble bronze statue of him in Worcester, where he made his home after he reached manhood's estate.

Bartlett-Guild Contest (1905)

In this period the popularity of President Roosevelt affected State politics in all of the New England States; and a special local interest affected Massachusetts.

Governor Douglas was a self-made man, a practical man who had worked up to the headship of a great shoe-manufacturing business at Brockton. He was well liked by the labor interests, but little acquainted with politics and legislation. He was satisfied with one term, and the Democrats nominated in his stead General Charles W. Bartlett of his military staff. Henry M. Whitney, a leading business man, foremost in the Canadian reciprocity movement, was named for second place on the ticket. Many Massachusetts business men at that time favored reciprocity, believing that it would be a benefit to New England.

The position of Curtis Guild, Jr., the Republican nominee for governor, was satisfactory to them; but Draper, the candidate for lieutenant governor, was opposed to the reciprocity scheme and roundly denounced it. The reciprocitarians, well organized and financed, backed Whitney against Draper; but the latter managed to squeeze through with a scant 2000 plurality. Even Guild's plurality was below the average, indicating that the Republicans were riding for another fall. Guild was popular. For years he had been one of his party's most effective campaigners. He was active in militia circles, and served on the staff of General Fitzhugh Lee in the Spanish War with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Hearst in Massachusetts Politics (1906)

The radical Democrats pushed aside the conservative element in the party in 1906 and nominated District Attorney John B. Moran, of Suffolk County, for governor. He had stirred up things at the Court House. His opponents charged him with using his office to make political capital. Men of high standing were haled before him and questioned as an old-time police magistrate would examine a culprit. William R. Hearst, of New York, the owner of several metropolitan newspapers, was nursing the hope of being the Democratic candidate for President in 1908; and he organized a local branch of his "Independence League," manned by employees of his Boston newspaper. In addition to the Democratic nomination, Moran also had the endorsements of the Prohibitionists and the Hearst organization. The Republicans renominated their gubernatorial ticket of the year, before, and the State witnessed one of the most exciting and sensational campaigns in years.

Moran was an attractive speaker and a great campaigner. Among other things he charged that Governor Guild had appointed Senator Dana to the bench because the latter, as president of the Senate, prevented the Overtime Bill from going to him—the same measure that helped defeat Governor Bates. Several times during his stumping tour Moran collapsed on the platform. It was charged by his opponents that this was done to gain sympathy, but intimate friends knew that he was suffering from the disease which ere long was to kill him. Guild was reelected by 30,000 plurality; Lieutenant Governor Draper had only 9,000 to spare.

Whitney-Guild Campaign (1907)

Moran's big vote encouraged the Democrats to believe that they were again within hailing distance of the governorship; but early in the following year Moran announced that his health would not permit him to make another campaign. The "safe and sane" Democrats, taking courage, brought out Henry M. Whitney for governor. The question of a merger of the Boston & Maine and the New York, New Haven & Hartford railroads was being agitated and discussed on the platform and in the press. Mr. Whitney was a Boston & Maine director, and many believed that his candidacy was involved in the proposed railroad merger.

Although but one Democratic convention was called, two rival conventions were held simultaneously in Springfield. The anti-Whitney men controlled the State committee and issued pink admission tickets to their friends. When the Whitney supporters appeared, they found their opponents in complete control of the hall and a convention in full swing. General Charles W. Bartlett had already been nominated by the pink-ticketers. The handful of Whitney men who gained admission organized another convention in the rear of the hall and nominated a State ticket, going through a sort of Punch and Judy show. The State Ballot Law Commission found that Whitney was the regular Democratic nominee. George Fred Williams declared the decision to be "the worst political scandal in the history of the State."

For the second time Governor Guild was saved by Democratic votes. Time has justified the attitude the "pink ticket" leaders took toward Mr. Whitney. Subsequent events proved that Wall Street financiers had looted New England railroad treasuries; and railroad securities, formerly gilt-edged, fell to a fraction of their original worth, and have never recovered their former value.

Massachusetts in the National Campaign (1908)

"You'll take me or Taft," was President Roosevelt's ultimatum to the Republican leaders of the country in the 1908 presidential campaign. He selected William Howard Taft, Secretary of War in his Cabinet, as his successor in the White House. Many prominent leaders of the party disliked Roosevelt's attempt to dictate the presidential nomination, and rallied behind the candidacy of Vice President Fairbanks. Among them was Senator Crane of Massachusetts, who headed a movement in Massachusetts to send an uninstructed delegation to the convention. Defeated in a majority of the district convention, the anti-Taft men kept up the fight and carried it to the State convention, where a compromise was reached and an agreement made not to press a resolution pledging the State delegation.

Senator Lodge was the presiding officer of the National Convention, and the thirty-two votes from Massachusetts were cast for Taft, who was nominated—a big victory for Colonel Roosevelt. Governor Guild's name was placed before the convention for Vice President; but that honor went to James

S. Sherman of New York, the leaders taking the ground that New York's big block of electoral votes was more important than Massachusetts's eighteen, which were sure to be cast for the Republican ticket regardless of who was the candidate.

In 1908 the Democratic pendulum had swung back to Bryan; and Massachusetts sent a delegation to Denver, the convention city, favorable to the nomination of the Nebraskan, and for a third time he led the party to a crushing defeat. Taft's majority in the State rose above 100,000. Governor Guild stepped aside in the gubernatorial contest, and Lieutenant Governor Draper was nominated to succeed him. This plan of promoting the lieutenant governor became known as the "escalator process." Under it, if the governor's understudy behaves and the machine does not break down, he eventually reaches the gubernatorial landing.

James H. Vahey, the Democratic candidate, made a lively canvass, receiving 168,000 votes; but Draper won by a plurality of 6,000. Bryan, the Democratic presidential candidate, was begrudgingly given 200 plurality in Boston, the great Democratic stronghold. Three Democrats were elected to Congress, all in the Boston districts. In the case of Congressman O'Connell, in the Tenth district, his Republican opponent, J. Mitchel Galvin, contested his election, but Congress permitted the contestee to retain his seat. Eben S. Draper, the newly elected governor, had the courage of his convictions. He had little use for frauds and shams in politics, and did not hesitate to denounce them. Organized labor had been his unrelenting opponent since his entrance into public life.

New Figures in Massachusetts Politics (1909)

Vahey's candidacy of 1908 demonstrated that when a real Democrat ran he could get the party vote. His big vote, one year after the turbulent "pink ticket convention," caused thoughtful Republicans to regard him as more than a routine politician. He was renominated in 1909. A new figure on the Democratic political horizon loomed up quite unexpectedly in the summer of 1909. Eugene N. Foss, a leader in the Canadian reciprocity movement and a lifelong Republican, consented to accept the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor. The campaign was waged with vigor on both sides. The Foss candidacy attracted more Republican attention than Vahey's. The Republican ticket was successful by a slim margin. It needed no prophet to see what was going on in the minds of the voters. In addition to their own burdens, the Republicans were carrying the load of Taft's administration at Washington, which was increasing in unpopularity.

Governor Foss (1910)

On the death of Congressman Lovering of the Cape district, the Democrats nominated Foss, who had only a short time before changed political coats as a candidate for the House of Representatives. He made his fight in this strong Republican district against "Cannonism" and "Aldrichism," terms used by those opposed to the arbitrary rule of Speaker Cannon in the National House and the newly enacted tariff bill, sponsored by Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island. Foss was chosen by a majority of more than 5000 votes.

Encouraged by the growing revolt against the Republican party, Charles S. Hamlin, a popular Democrat, threw his hat into the gubernatorial ring. Congressman Foss followed suit. For technical reasons the sense of the members of the convention was taken by a mail vote of the delegation.

It was announced a few days later that Foss had received 495 votes, the exact number necessary for a choice, and Hamlin had received 484. Notwithstanding grumbling by the Democrats over the way the nomination was handled, they united on the candidate and supported him at the polls. Foss was ridiculed by the Republicans as the "mail-order candidate." Boston gave Foss a plurality of 27,000, and he was elected.

In 1910 there was another Democratic tidal-wave in national politics. A Democratic Congress was elected: Connecticut, Ohio, Nebraska, New York, and Wyoming all chose Democratic governors. Oyster Bay, the home of Roosevelt, Cincinnati, Taft's home city, and Nahant, Lodge's town, went Democratic.

THE LODGE CONTROVERSY (1911)

For the next three years Eugene N. Foss played a conspicuous part in Massachusetts political affairs. He announced his determination to retire Senator Lodge from public life. Lodge was not without staunch friends, even among Democrats, and they rallied about him with a loyalty that touched him. Governor Foss proposed that the election of a Senator be deferred for one year, in order to permit the voters at the next election to indicate their senatorial preference; but Lodge ignored the proposition, which had no legal basis. The Senator's friends arranged for a demonstration in his behalf at Symphony Hall, Boston, where he rendered an account of his stewardship in a memorable speech which stirred his sympathetic audience. Even after the caucus of the Republican members of the legislature, the fight was not over; for some of his own party refused to the end to vote for him. Sherman L. Whipple, a prominent Boston lawyer, received the Democratic nomination. At the joint convention of both houses of the legislature, Lodge was reelected by a narrow margin.

LOCAL CONTROVERSY (1911)

The Republicans seldom had to worry about the speakership of the Massachusetts House, but the recent election gave them only a slim majority in the lower branch of the legislature. The Democrats needed but nine more votes to control the House. They put forth as their candidate for Speaker a veteran Boston politician, an intense Democrat, Martin M. Lomasney. He was unable to rally all the members of his own party to his support; but there was reason to fear that enough Republicans would break away to make a majority for Lomasney, and the Republicans resorted to the new expedient of an open ballot and saved the day. Speaker Walker was reelected. The legislature was called upon during the session to fill two important State offices. The death of William M. Olin, secretary of state, and Henry E. Turner, State auditor, opened a bitter and partisan contest; eventually Albert P. Langtry was chosen secretary. John E. White was the successful competitor for the auditorship.

William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic national leader, visited Boston early in March, 1911, and was the guest of both branches of the legislature and entertained the members with one of his characteristic speeches. Mr. Bryan pronounced Governor Foss "the hottest thing in the Progressive line" he had run across in the East. The session of 1911 was the longest in the history of the State, occupying 206 calendar days, resulting in 719 acts and 153 resolves. Several times the legislators manifested a desire to be prorogued.

Republicans and a few Democrats treated with scorn many of the governor's suggestions for legislation. His official message writer kept the sergeant-at-arms busy, doing escort duty for veto messages. Democrats joined with Republicans in passing measures over his veto. In the middle of July, while the House was discussing his veto of the increase of their salaries from $750 a year to $1000, the seventy-eighth message from the governor arrived and was received with groans, cat calls, and hisses, and talked to death.

Apparently the more the legislators ridiculed the governor, the stronger he grew in the estimation of the public. For the first time in the history of the State, Democratic lawyers were given something near a fair representation on the bench. There is little doubt that Governor Foss's appointment of Democratic judges contributed more to his reelection than any one factor in the campaign. He defeated his opponent with comparative ease in the election of 1911.

Battle for Massachusetts Delegation (1912)

In the spring of 1912, Massachusetts became an important battle ground in the contest for delegates to the Republican convention for the nomination of President. While on a visit to Boston friends, Colonel Roosevelt issued his favorable and historic reply to seven Progressive governors asking him to be a candidate for President. He also addressed the Massachusetts legislature. President Taft also came to Boston. He was the guest of the South Boston Citizens' Association and the Charitable Irish Society in the dual celebration of Evacuation Day and the anniversary of Ireland's patron saint. Taft, too, addressed the legislature, taking issue with Colonel

Roosevelt, who favored the recall of judicial decisions, which Mr. Taft termed an attack on the judiciary involving the police powers, which legislators of late years had appropriated for their special purposes. Taft declared that "assaults upon either in intemperate language, or in baseless assumptions of corruption or bias or incompetency, made by those whose statements have influence with any part of our people, are a serious menace to enduring government." Taft carried the State on a preference for the nomination, but lost more than half the delegates, apparently by a mix-up in marking the ballots. Holding that a preferential vote was binding, Colonel Roosevelt renounced any claim he had on the delegates and asked them to vote for Taft; but this they refused to do.

Massachusetts Progressives (1912)

After the Republican convention, in which the Massachusetts Roosevelt delegates were very active, had renominated Taft, Colonel Roosevelt and his adherents formed a new party, called the Progressive or "Bull Moose" party. In this interesting chapter in the political history of the country, Massachusetts had an important part. Charles Sumner Bird was named for governor by the Progressives, and Joseph Walker by the Republicans. Ex-Mayor Fitzgerald, of Boston, was nominated by the Democrats for Senator, to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Senator Crane, whose health was declining. It was a feverish campaign and Massachusetts broke its record. Among the three tickets the Democrats came in ahead and gave the 18 electoral votes to Woodrow Wilson for President. Foss, her Democratic governor, was elected for a third term. A Democratic lieutenant governor was for the first time elected, David I. Walsh; and a Democratic secretary of state, Frank J. Donahue. The Democratic congressional delegation was increased, besides adding to the Democratic strength in the legislature. A few Bull Moose candidates succeeded in getting into the legislature. In fifteen congressional districts the Progressives polled a total of 93,665. The legislature was Republican, and that ended Ex-Mayor Fitzgerald's hopes to succeed Senator Crane.

The contest on the Republican side for Crane's seat aroused a lot of ill feeling. Samuel W. McCall was the favorite at the start, but on the thirty-first ballot John W. Weeks won the nomination and the subsequent election by the legislature, and McCall and his friends were piqued over his defeat. The Democrats, though in the minority, held several stormy meetings and finally nominated Sherman L. Whipple.

Foss Breaks with the Democrats (1913)

Governor Foss professed to be getting nervous over the tariff program of the Democratic administration at Washington and let it be understood that he was not, and never had been, a free trader; and the Republicans passed resolutions condemning the proposed Underwood Democratic tariff, which Mr. Foss regarded as inimical to New England industries. When the House acted on the governor's tariff message, Foss was roundly denounced by the Democrats for his attitude.

Though the legislature and the governor "locked horns" many times, Mr. Foss succeeded in getting through several meritorious measures, including the Public Opinion Act, the resolve approving the Federal Income Tax Law, and another favoring the direct election of United States Senators.

Early in the summer of 1913 Lieutenant Governor Walsh entered the gubernatorial race. One prominent Democrat, incensed at Governor Foss, remarked that history would "record with incredulity, that such a monumental fraud escaped detection so long." The hand of almost every Democratic politician, except those whom he had appointed to office, was against him. For lieutenant governor, Ex-Councillor Edward P. Barry won the nomination in the primaries. To the surprise of many voters Congressman Augustus P. Gardner defeated Everett W. Benton for the gubernatorial nomination. Governor Foss filed his papers as an independent candidate.

The most picturesque canvass was conducted by Bird, the Progressive candidate, who delivered 519 speeches covering every nook and corner of the State. The Bull Moose party made such inroads on the straight Republicans that the entire Democratic ticket for executive officials was elected. Even the executive council showed a Democratic majority. The

Republicans still controlled the senate by a small margin, but they were seven votes short of a majority in the House. Gardner came in third. Foss, a capable man and good fighter, was left outside the breastworks, a scant 20,000 marking the ballots for "the old boy."

Walsh the First Catholic Governor (1913)

The election of David I. Walsh proved that, after all, there was very little in the old bugaboo that a Catholic could not be elected governor of Massachusetts. That fine example of the twentieth-century Puritan, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard University, cast his ballot for him. This result also proved that a poor man could be elected governor without the aid of the powerful rich or the "interests" which have axes to grind on Beacon Hill.

The political complexion of the house of representatives made it necessary for Speaker Cushing to bestir himself. He and his friends set themselves to work to secure support from the Bull Moose ranks. In this they succeeded—and the legislature of 1914 was organized by the Republicans.

The new chief executive had received his education in the public schools and Holy Cross College. At the death of his father he was obliged to work outside of school hours; and after securing his college degree, he had to earn funds to enable him to take up the study of law. Before his election as lieutenant governor he served one term in the House of Representatives from a strong Republican district. He gave the legislature plenty to think about in his inaugural address; and considerable "progressive" legislation was passed during his administration.

A so-called Sectarian Bill had been strongly urged by so-called "patriotic" societies, who insisted that an amendment to the Constitution was necessary to prevent private schools from securing public funds. This would have applied to any attempt to support the Catholic parochial schools out of the public treasury. Feeling ran high and the fight was bitter, involving Republicans in the legislature and leading Democrats; it was beaten by a close vote in the House—116 to 107.

From a photograph by Chickering, Boston Courtesy of the Boston Transcript

SAMUEL W. McCALL

Governor McCall (1915–1917)

Samuel W. McCall, the defeated Republican candidate for governor in 1914, was opposed for renomination by Lieutenant Governor Grafton Cushing. Supporting the latter were the "Guardians of Liberty," "Minute Men," and others of their ilk, who were fighting for the sectarian amendment to the Constitution, which had received the support of Cushing in the legislature. McCall deplored the lugging of religion into a political campaign, and declared that he would "prefer defeat by 100,000 votes to victory under the black flag of bigotry." Ex-Governor Foss added gaiety to the campaign by announcing himself as a candidate for the Republican gubernatorial nomination on a prohibition platform.

McCall beat Cushing easily for the nomination, and the Republicans went to the polls with a conservative ticket on a Progressive platform. McCall was elected by 6,000. Most of the Progressives returned to the Republican party, their candidate for governor receiving only 6,975 votes. After five years of wandering in the political desert, following new prophets, the Republicans had come into their own. Back of McCall's personal dignity was strength of character and a wide knowledge of public men and affairs. His independence was well known. He refused to follow his party in Congress when it favored exploiting the Philippines and holding subject races.

When he gave way to his successor, Lieutenant Governor Calvin Coolidge, at the close of his third term, Governor McCall turned over to him a well-organized, harmonious State government. The respect in which McCall was held by the public when he was first chosen governor was enhanced during his three years in office by his clear, able, progressive administration of public affairs. During the World War he ranked as one of the outstanding governors of the country. Although a man of peace, when his country cast its lot into the scales with the allies across the water, McCall put his heart, soul, and energy into the World War conflict. A native of Pennsylvania, a graduate of Dartmouth College, he for a time combined law with journalism, for which he always had a liking. He served in the lower branch of the legislature in his early days, going from there to Congress, retiring from the latter body after an honorable service of twenty years. He wrote the lives of Thaddeus Stevens, the Vermont-born Pennsylvanian antislavery leader in Congress, and of Speaker Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, his friend of many years standing. When President Wilson called for volunteers for duty on the Mexican border in 1916, Governor McCall's pride was thrilled by the fact that Massachusetts troops were the first to reach the Rio Grande.

Constitutional Convention (1917–1919)

During Governor McCall's administration, the first constitutional convention since 1853 was convened for the purpose of remodelling that instrument and bringing it up to date to meet changed political and economic conditions. Every important element in the population was represented in its membership. It was a matter of general satisfaction that among the chosen delegates were to be found the historic names of Quincy, Lowell, Choate, and Story, as well as men of other races who have become an important factor in public affairs. Charles Francis Adams of Concord, a descendant of John Adams, the second President of the United States, who presided over the Constitutional Convention of 1820, headed the poll. The son of another President of the United States, Harry A. Garfield, was also chosen a member.

The convention organized with Ex-Governor John L. Bates as presiding officer. There were three sessions of the convention and it adjourned, August 13, 1919, its work having been approved at the polls by the people at the recent election. The two most important amendments were the initiative and referendum and the so-called Sectarian Measure, which prohibits the appropriation of public monies for private or sectarian institutions, thus settling a troublous question. The amendment was the result of a compromise brought about by Edwin U. Curtis, chairman of the committee in charge of the subject, and Martin M. Lomasney, a Democratic leader. Only nine of the ninety delegates professing the Catholic faith voted against it. The amendment affected several Protestant institutions which had from time to time received State aid. The head of the Catholic church in the State, Cardinal O'Connell, opposed its adoption at the polls, but it was ratified by the people by a big majority. The history of this amendment, by one of its leading members, will be found in another chapter of this work.

Governor Coolidge (1918–1920)

By a process becoming frequent in the recent political history of Massachusetts, the lieutenant governor was advanced to the governorship on the retirement of Governor McCall. Calvin Coolidge, a native of Vermont, graduate of Amherst College, had served as mayor of his town of Northampton, and in both branches of the legislature, before becoming lieutenant governor. While a member of the Massachusetts senate, Coolidge formed the acquaintance of Frank W. Stearns, a Boston merchant, another alumnus of Amherst. Stearns felt that the larger New England colleges had had more than their share of public honors and was determined that his alma mater should be recognized. He induced Coolidge to allow the use of his name for lieutenant governor, the beginning of one of the strangest and most potent personal and political friendships in the pages of American history. Politicians used to smile when Mr. Stearns predicted that some day Mr. Coolidge would be President of the United States.

At the State election in 1918, Governor Coolidge was reelected over his Democratic opponent, Richard H. Long, by a reduced plurality, while Ex-Governor Walsh defeated Senator Weeks, who was running for reelection, by a plurality of over 17,000, on a platform pledged to support President Wilson's program for world peace. Yet when Wilson returned from the Paris peace conference, with his League of Nations plan, Senator Walsh refused to vote for it, joining his Republican colleague, Senator Lodge, in the fight for reservations for the protection of the interests of the United States in the proposed world alliance. This defection from his own party President offended many of Wilson's supporters, who remembered what they were pleased to call "Walsh's treachery," and they opposed his reelection six years later, helping to bring about his defeat. Wilson had a long memory and one of the last political acts of his life was to write to a Massachusetts friend advising the defeat of Walsh.

After his failure to retain his seat, Senator Weeks gave much of his time to aiding his party organizations, State and national, in preparing for the presidential contest in 1920. The Republicans elected their presidential ticket that year, and Weeks, a close friend of the new President, Warren G. Harding, was made Secretary of War, a position he filled for five years with credit to the administration and himself, resigning on account of ill health, and dying shortly after his retirement.

The Boston Police Strike (1920)

There comes a time in the lives of most men when opportunity knocks at the door. Coolidge's opportunity came in the Boston Police Strike: had there been no police strike, there would have been no President Coolidge. Boston policemen, dissatisfied with working conditions and pay, organized a union, affiliating with the American Federation of Labor. Edwin Upton Curtis, the police commissioner, forbade the men to join the union. When they disobeyed his orders, several of the ringleaders were dismissed from the force. Thereupon practically every patrolman went out on strike, leaving the city at the mercy of the lawless elements. The governor, though he delayed in the taking of positive action and left the matter mainly in the hands of the commissioner, eventually acceded to the demands of citizens and called out the State Guard, which restored order.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, telegraphed Governor Coolidge, asking him to suspend the order of the police commissioner forbidding the men to join a labor union; to which Coolidge made a reply that "there was no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time." Seventy thousand people from all over the United States took pains to write to Governor Coolidge, commending his answer to Gompers and his stand against the strikers. Richard H. Long, his Democratic opponent for governor at the ensuing election, leaned to the side of the strikers; Coolidge was reelected by a big majority. From his sick bed in Washington, the Democratic

President, Woodrow Wilson, sent his greetings and congratulations on election night, saying to Governor Coolidge: "When law and order is the issue, all Americans stand together."

Calvin Coolidge, Vice President

Governor Coolidge was now a growing potentiality in national politics, and he was frequently mentioned for the Republican presidential nomination. One of his most important vetoes as governor was his refusal to approve a beer bill, which would permit the manufacture and sale of beer containing not over 2½ per cent of alcohol, notwithstanding the recently adopted Eighteenth (or "Dry") Amendment to the Federal Constitution. He pungently remarked: "There can be no constitutional instruction to do an unconstitutional act." Coolidge's friends put out his speeches and public addresses in a little volume entitled *Have Faith in Massachusetts,* and sent thousands of them all over the country. Nevertheless, at the Republican convention in June he made a poor showing in the balloting for President.

His supporters retired to their hotel rooms chagrined and downhearted, but were suddenly aroused by the startling news that the convention had nominated Coolidge for Vice-President. This sudden turn in affairs was brought about by an Oregon delegate, McCammant, who had formed an admiration for the Massachusetts governor after reading *Have Faith in Massachusetts.* The Oregonian went to the platform and urged Senator Lodge, the presiding officer, to allow him to present his name to the convention for a second place on the ticket, with Warren G. Harding, of Ohio, for President. Lodge refused, for the reason that he did not think it would be fair or honorable for the chairman of the gathering to countenance such a move. McCammant returned to his seat on the floor, and without consultation nominated Mr. Coolidge. The name of the Massachusetts governor swept the convention like a prairie fire, and the party bosses had to abandon plans already made to name Senator Lenroot. The Republicans elected their presidential ticket by a huge majority, and Coolidge was duly inducted as Vice-President, March 4, 1921.

The Third Massachusetts President (1922–1929)

In the early morning of August 3, 1922, news reached Colonel John C. Coolidge's farm house at Plymouth Notch, Vermont, where his son, the Vice-President, was spending a few days of his vacation, that President Harding had died in San Francisco on his way back from a visit to Alaska. The oath of office of President of the United States was administered to the Vice-President by his father, a justice of the peace, in the parlor of the little farm house—the strangest inauguration scene in American history.

A few hours later the third Massachusetts President was on his way to Washington, where his career became an imperishable part of American history. He was nominated for President at Cleveland in 1924, and elected by a tremendous majority. In August, 1927, Coolidge was summering in the Black Hills, South Dakota. Although a renomination for another term would have been his without a serious struggle and his election was regarded as a foregone conclusion, he surprised his closest friends by the unalterable declaration, "I do not choose to run for President in 1928."

During his entire career in Washington, Mr. Coolidge continued to be an enigma to the politicians. He took few of them into his confidence. While they could not seem to understand him, the people as a whole liked his old-fashioned New England democratic ways and sound common sense. He preached and practiced economy in government; and he gave the country a clean, honest, businesslike administration.

Governor Cox

The "escalator process" was still working smoothly when Mr. Coolidge left Beacon Hill to assume his new duties as Vice-President; and the Republican Lieutenant Governor, Channing Cox, stepped into Governor Coolidge's shoes. Cox had been in politics several years, represented Ward 10, Boston, on the fringe of the Back Bay, and worked his way to the speakership of the House, from which he passed to the lieutenant-governorship. The governor, a native of New Hampshire, a graduate of Dartmouth College, came to Boston to practice law, taking on politics as a side line. As governor, in his first term he pursued the line of least resistance.

He was obliged to fight Attorney-General Allen for a renomination. The latter had attracted wide attention by his vigorous prosecution of District Attorney Tufts, of Middlesex County, and District Attorney Joseph C. Pelletier, of Suffolk County, for malfeasance in office, both of whom were removed from office by the courts, after lengthy and sensational trials, revealing startling tales of corruption in office. He also caused the disbarment of several lawyers on the charge of blackmail, and some of them were sentenced to long prison terms. Allen, in his primary campaign, alleged that he had not received all the aid from the governor to which he was entitled in these prosecutions, intimating that Governor Cox's relations with some of the lawyers involved were altogether too friendly. The governor replied with vehemence on the stump, and satisfied the public that the attorney-general did him a great injustice. His accuser was snowed under for the nomination and Cox was reelected.

End of the Lodge Regime (1924)

The Cleveland convention of 1924, which nominated President Coolidge to succeed himself, marked the end of the influence of Senator Lodge in the councils of the party that he had served with devotion and zeal from his youth. It was no secret that President Coolidge's friends disliked the senior Senator, who was one of the delegates-at-large. Coolidge was a part of the personal political machine of the late Senator Crane, as was Chairman Butler of the national committee, Coolidge's campaign manager. Towards the end of his political career Mr. Crane and Mr. Lodge differed. Crane was for President Wilson's League of Nations; Lodge was the leader in the fight against it. Crane felt hurt at the way he was ignored at the Chicago convention in 1920.

Lodge's friends were surprised and chagrined when they learned on arriving at Cleveland, the convention city of 1924, that Governor Cox was to be the chairman of the delegation and spokesman for Massachusetts. No part was assigned the Senator in the convention proceedings. Lodge's admirers were indignant and protested to Chairman Butler, but he refused to interfere with the plan to ignore the Senator. Lodge made no complaint. He was too loyal a party man to start a public row over such a personal matter. Illness prevented him taking part in the campaign, the first time in more than forty years. A few weeks before election he was stricken, and died a few days after receiving the final election returns, indicating another great Republican victory. An hour after Senator Lodge's remains had been interred at Mt. Auburn cemetery, Governor Cox announced the appointment of William M. Butler to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate.

There would be no popular election for two years; and Butler appeared in Washington in the dual role of a Senator from Massachusetts and chairman of the Republican National Committee. When ex-senator David I. Walsh went before the people in 1926, having been beaten in the senatorial campaign of 1924 by Speaker Gillett of the National House of Representatives, the Democratic candidate succeeded in defeating Butler for the balance of Senator Lodge's term. The election returns showed that Mr. Lodge's friends did not forget his humiliation at Cleveland.

Fuller's Courage Tested (1927)

Alvan T. Fuller, a wealthy motor-car dealer, who broke into Congress without asking the bosses' permission and joined the Bull Moose party in 1912, followed Cox in the governorship, coming up on the old, reliable, smooth-running "escalator." Like most of his associates in the Bull Moose party, Fuller went back to the Republican fold when Taft and Roosevelt kissed and made up, and he captured the second place on the State ticket without serving the customary apprenticeship.

He was fated to face one of the hardest trials ever endured by a Massachusetts governor. It was an acid test of his courage, and he did not flinch. April 15, 1920, a paymaster and his guard were held up, robbed, and brutally murdered at South Braintree. Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were arrested, charged with the crime, and found guilty at a long-drawn-out trial presided over by Judge Webster Thayer of the Superior Court. They were duly sentenced to die in the electric chair. Sacco and Vanzetti were charged with being radicals, or "Reds."

The verdict was followed by several motions for new trials, and the case dragged along in the courts for seven years. The convicted men were represented by able counsel both at the trial and in their appeals to set aside the verdict. Their conviction aroused the Reds of the world, who kept up agitation for their freedom and contributed to a large defense fund in their behalf. Demonstrations were superfluously and, from the defendants' point of view, unwisely made against American embassies and legations in different parts of the world by their radical sympathisers, until the case became of international interest and importance. It is perhaps the most celebrated case in the history of Massachusetts criminology.

After all efforts had been exhausted to free them on the ground that they had been unfairly tried and that they were the innocent victims of prejudice against them because of their Red activities during the World War, they appealed to the governor to save them from the chair. Their plea for clemency was supported by an organized committee of men and women of liberal tendencies. The world-wide agitation in their behalf was renewed. Some of the more "advanced thinkers" of their number threatened the life of many of the officials connected with the prosecution of the case, including Governor Fuller; and it was necessary to guard State officials for months. The governor spent weeks looking into the case, concluded that certain evidence of alibis could be disregarded and the verdict of the jury was just. To make doubly sure, he summoned to his aid three unprejudiced prominent citizens, President Abbott Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University, Judge Robert Grant, a retired justice of the Suffolk County Probate Court, and President Samuel W. Stratton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to examine into the case and report to him their findings. They agreed with the governor that the verdict was just. Buttressed in his opinion by the jury, the courts, and the special commission, Governor Fuller declined to interfere with the action of the court.

Then began a series of protest meetings by the radicals, many of whom came from other States. Street parades and meetings were part of a propaganda in their behalf, which deluged the governor with appeals to save the lives of the convicted men. For a time the State House was a veritable arsenal. Many arrests were made of the more boisterous of the friends of the condemned men. The police broke up several outdoor meetings. Excitement reigned for days, while awaiting the governor's decision.

The feeling grew more intense as the time drew near for the executions. Petitions by letter, telegraph, and cable poured into the executive chamber, many from recognized leaders in world affairs, asking the governor to interfere; but he refused to be swerved from what he believed to be his duty. He was convinced that the men had been justly convicted, and the sentence of death was carried out by the warden of the State prison. From every nook and corner of the country came messages of gratitude and congratulations to the governor for his courageousness. Again Massachusetts demonstrated to the world that she still elects men to the highest public office who are not afraid to perform their duty. But when Fuller travelled in Europe the following year, he went under a name that concealed his true identity.

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CHAPTER VII

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS (1830–1930)

By Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley

Traditions (1783–1850)

The first permanent European settlement in Massachusetts, the little Plymouth Colony, was made up of men, women and children, as was the greater settlement under the Charter in Salem, Boston, and the other first towns. The earliest records bear testimony to the share of colonial women in both private and public life. Early chapters in this *Commonwealth History* bring out the first organized woman movement, headed by Mrs. Hutchinson, who did not need to have a man tell her what to believe. Despite the long exclusion of the girls from public education, intellectual women, women of power, appear all the way down the three centuries since that time. Previous chapters in this series on literature and social life bring out such positive characters as Ann Bradstreet, the poetess, Mary Dyer, the Quaker, Madame Knight, the traveller; and the trio of educated and influential Revolutionary figures, Abigail Adams and Mercy Warren and Hannah Dustin.

The influence of women was more strongly felt in the nineteenth century from the time that Massachusetts first recognized the duty of educating the girls at public expense. Women of education, women heads of religious sects, women interested in public affairs—particularly women educators and agitators—were a part of Massachusetts life and a power in the great changes in religion and education during the nineteenth century. Though entirely excluded from the suffrage and from elective public office, the legal and social status of women improved. The law slowly relaxed toward giving to wives and to widows more control over their property. The greatest step, however, was the establishment, proceeding from the close of the Revolution onward, of public schools for girls. Most of the Massachusetts communities were too poor to keep up separate elementary schools for both boys and girls; and the mixed district school became the germ of co-education in grade schools, eventually in high schools, and later in some of the colleges of the State.

Though women had no votes in Massachusetts till a limited school suffrage was allowed them in 1881, they always had brains and tongues. In many religious bodies, particularly the Quakers and the Methodists, they enjoyed a recognized equal status in the church and a voice in religious services. The wives and daughters of professional men and public officials frequently were public characters. When Emily Marshall, famed a century ago for her grace and beauty, passed through a town, the public schools were dismissed so that the children might see this glorious and gracious lady. Nevertheless, in the affairs of the semi-established Congregational Church and its younger sister, the Unitarian Church, women were listeners and not participants.

Women Agitators (1830–1890)

In politics and elections women had no active part. In 1830 began the great movement for the improvement in education (described in the chapter on education in the previous volume): it gave a new impulse to the release of the tongues and the spirits of Massachusetts women. When boys and girls were taught in the same schoolroom, there was no denying that the girls were as competent as the boys for a common-school education. Beyond that very elementary stage, the State washed its hands; but in 1821 Emma Willard established the Troy Female Seminary, the first institution in the United States offering higher education to women. For the first time, the school curriculum was not made up exclusively of "readin', 'ritin' and 'rithmetic." Mrs. Willard and Mary Lyon were the forerunners of the emancipation of women by affirmative proof that women were human beings on the same intellectual plane as men.

If a woman could safely be allowed to know more about the education of girls than any man, why should not women also share in a discussion on the betterment of the community at large? And if some women had minds equal to those of superior men, why should they not take part in the great reform movement which swept over Massachusetts?

The first appearance of women as political leaders was in the great temperance movement of the 'thirties and 'forties; and particularly in the antislavery movement, in which Quakers (both men and women) were especially interested. By 1840 a clear-cut suffrage movement was under way in Massachusetts, and one of the most telling proofs that women ought to share in public discussions was that they did share in it and convinced many minds. The story of the women antislavery agitators has been told in the preceding volume.

The movement for woman suffrage advanced very slowly. The creation of girls' high schools, beginning about 1850, and then of normal schools, chiefly frequented by young women, opened up the profession of teaching. The appearance of high-grade girls' schools, beginning with Mount Holyoke (which was not placed on a collegiate basis till 1904) made possible the preparation of women high-school teachers. Thus, by 1890, women were recognized as a part of the body politic, fit to be students, teachers, and even administrators of school affairs.

Furthermore, between 1840 and 1890 developed a woman-operative system, under which thousands of women were employed in the mills—nearly all of them in monotonous manual labor. Alongside this class was a growing and numerous group of saleswomen, presently flanked by the professional typists and secretaries. The definite contribution of women to the wealth of the State, their employment in gainful occupations, their success in many of the arts and sciences, gave great impetus to the demand that they should be put on a political equality with men. The number of self-sustaining and independent women in 1890 was a hundred times as great as it had been in 1790. Hence, the forty years from 1890 to 1930 witnessed the enfranchisement of women from an inferior status as workers, and recognized them as human beings of equal capacity with men, who might share in the making of laws and the dispensation of justice.

This brief statement of the change in the status of women in Massachusetts during the nineteenth century is necessary in order to make clear the nature and the results of the further enlargement which has been witnessed by the twentieth century.

Woman Suffrage (1859–1919)

The first national women's rights convention was held in Worcester, Massachusetts, October 1850.

In 1869, Wyoming, at that time a territory, gave suffrage to women. Congress held back consent to the admission of Wyoming as a State with woman suffrage in its constitution. During the debate, a telegram was sent to the Wyoming legislature, then in session. The answer came back, "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without woman suffrage."

It was June 4, 1919, fifty years later, before the Federal amendment giving women the right of suffrage was passed by the Congress of the United States. In the meantime, a national organization with branches in every State in the Union had been gradually built. The object of the organization was eventually reached, as stated in the text of the Nineteenth Amendment, adopted in 1920, as follows:

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Section 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation to enforce the powers of this article."

Historically, the National American Woman Suffrage Association presents a record of intensive organization probably never paralleled. When victory finally came, there were over two million women enlisted. It had branch auxiliaries in forty-six States, and these far-reaching confederated bodies were functioning as one organ through its centralized board. When victory came, it doubled the electorate of a vast country with a population of 117,859,495, covering an area of 3,738,371 square miles.

No political party ever established more complete campaign headquarters than those of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in New York. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt sat in the watchtower as general-in-chief, and dispatched aid and reinforcements to the various States where the battle was raging and defeat seemed imminent.

In analyzing the defeats and victories of forty years, a singular fact became evident. The more complete the organization and the better the campaign, the more certain was it that suffrage would be defeated at the polls. In the opinion of the leaders, the real influences which dictated platforms and tickets were the monied interests, which made gigantic contributions to party treasuries or their candidates' campaign funds. Wherever a strong organization developed, the enemy focussed its attacks. The suffragists won, when they did win, through sudden strategy and by publicity. At the moment when the paramount importance of the use of publicity was recognized and money for the cause was hard to secure, out of a clear sky came a legacy from Mrs. Frank Leslie, of *Leslie's Magazine,* which was used for the establishment of the national organ, *The Woman Citizen,* which was a combination of *The Woman's Journal* and several smaller papers. This remained the official organ of the association until the final victory in 1920.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHAMPIONS (1830–1890)

The list of women who took part in the early attempts to secure equal rights and privileges is long and honorable. They range all the way from Mrs. Bloomer, in her long pelisse and modest trousers, to Margaret Fuller at Brook Farm. Equal suffrage was at the back of their minds, though their first demands were for equal status before the law and equal opportunities for education. Three of the outstanding proponents of women's rights were Massachusetts women: Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, and Mary A. Livermore.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY

The most ridiculed and mercilessly persecuted of all the suffragists was Susan B. Anthony. The newspapers were filled with caricatures, showing her in man's attire, with hip boots, and a slouch hat from under which flashed a pair of fierce eyes from a countenance at once evil and formidable. The first sight of the actual Susan B. Anthony as she appeared on the platform, in contrast to the sexless deformity pictured by a hostile press, gave one a flash of amazement. Patience and gentleness shone from her mild blue eyes; and in her plain black dress, relieved only by a white frill at the neck, her smoothly brushed hair parted over her forehead and coiled neatly at the nape of her neck, she looked what indeed she was, a Hicksite Quaker of sturdy New England stock, born at the foot of Old Greylock, in South Adams, Massachusetts. Her voice had the thrilling cadence of the trained orator; and when she began to speak, the woman's nervous energy, her alertness and propulsive force, became evident. There was hardly a town, large or small, from New York to San Francisco, that did not gather crowds to hear the eloquent radical.

In an address to Congress she said, referring to the Civil War: "With you, we have just passed through the agony of death, the resurrection and triumph of another revolution, doing all in our power to mitigate its horrors and gild its glories, and now think you we have no souls to fire, no brains to weigh your arguments, that after education such as this we can stand silent witnesses while you sell our birthright of liberty?"

LUCY STONE

Antislavery was one of the modern movements which drew women from the shelter of their homes into the larger current of human affairs. One of those primarily interested in antislavery was Lucy Stone, of Massachusetts. She was educated at Oberlin, the only college at that time which admitted boys and girls, black and white, on equal terms. Entering into the struggle for equal rights, she was indifferent to mobs and their hisses and yells. It was indeed as the result of a meeting of exceptional turmoil that, with soul afire, she started forth single-handed and alone. She went through Massachusetts, from town to town, engaging her own halls, nailing up her posters, and conducting her meetings. The press called her a "she-hyena," the clergy thundered at her, the average man and woman regarded her as a freak; but once under the spell of her silver voice and the lure of her soft manner, she won the auditors, who came to scoff, but remained to sympathize and to applaud.

MARY A. LIVERMORE

Another "cause" which brought women into public life was that of the reform of the liquor evil. In 1891, the world's first temperance convention was held in Boston, with Miss Frances Willard as the presiding officer. Among those who entered this crusade was Mary A. Livermore, woman of iron and fire, whose eloquence was so great that, at a time when lyceum lecturing as a business was at a height which it will never again reach, she was one of the four lecturers most in demand; and she made the highest terms with the bureaus. She delivered more than eight hundred temperance addresses. "I have the blood of six generations of Welsh preachers in my veins," is the significant testimony of the woman who packed Boston theatres on Sunday evenings when she talked on immortality.

JULIA WARD HOWE

The propaganda changed somewhat in the last years of the struggle, especially after, first, Wyoming in 1869, and then the other far-western Territories and States, granted equal suffrage. Two champions in Massachusetts stand out with especial significance; Julia Ward Howe and Alice Stone Blackwell.

Chief among those who had the vision of the possibilities of the woman movement was Julia Ward Howe, poet, patriot and philosopher. Adored in her happy family life as wife and mother, she had faith in the ultimate enfranchisement of woman on account of the changes she had already beheld. In her own words: "When I turn my face toward the enfranchised woman of today, I seem to have an apocalyptic vision of a great multitude praising God for the new and wonderful revelation of His spirit."

Shortly before her death, she was reverently acclaimed as the most distinguished woman in the United States, not only for her work for the political freedom of her sex, but also for her contribution to the Union cause, and above all for her immortal "Battle Hymn of the Republic," which will always be reckoned among the noble songs of American patriotism.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

In the yearly appearance of the woman suffragists before the General Court, Alice Stone Blackwell was chosen for the most difficult part—the rebuttal. No preparatory speech could be made, since none knew what particular arguments the opponents would bring forth; but Miss Blackwell's answers were as perfect as if they had long been anticipated. Her arguments were conclusive, and the English polished, each word perfectly chosen. In discussion, she would often appear to be asleep, but when the crucial moment came, her powers came into full command and her answers were brilliant and decisive. The daughter of Lucy Stone and Henry D. Blackwell, Miss Blackwell assisted her father and mother in editing *The Woman's Journal,* which was the national suffrage organ. After the death of her parents, she continued as editor-in-chief.

HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN (1830–1880)

In the 'thirties, Oberlin College in Ohio was the first collegiate institution in America to introduce coeducation; and it gave an A.B. degree to girls who took the same regular classical course as the boys. Both coeducation and the degree gradually spread to various private and State institutions. That combination was unpopular in New England, where in 1875 two women's colleges—Wellesley and Smith—received their first classes. Several others followed, besides one coeducational college. The basis of both institutions was that girls were as capable of the usual classical course as boys, and should have identical training. Both early introduced the elective system, and both developed a college life quite different from that of Massachusetts colleges for men.

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE (1893–1930)

Mount Holyoke College, at South Hadley, was founded by Mary Lyon and was the pioneer institution in America for the higher education of women. Chartered as Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in 1836, the seminary course was discontinued in 1893, and a charter was granted to become Mount Holyoke College. It has retained one of its original fea-

Photograph by Bachrach, Boston Courtesy of Mrs. Harold Russell

AMY LOWELL

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

tures; namely, that the "young ladies were to take part in the domestic work of the 'family' "—as the body of teachers and students was designated. Emphasis should be placed upon the fact that the housework required was not merely to increase efficiency in homemaking, but to make college expenses lighter and "to promote a spirit of democracy and consideration for others." To this end, every student helps either in housework or in the academic departments.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY (1869–1930)

Boston University was granted its charter by the legislature of Massachusetts in 1869, opening its doors from the beginning to men and women alike, to bond and free, to rich and poor; no one excepted—color, race or creed. Among the early friends of Boston University were many notable women. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps was listed in the first catalogue as a lecturer on modern fiction, the first woman ever associated with a college faculty in New England. Other famous women who by various forms of service helped the university to get a favorable start were Mrs. William Claflin, wife of the governor of the Commonwealth, Mrs. Sleeper Davis, Mrs. Emily Talbot, Louisa M. Alcott, Abbie Gould Woolson, Lucy Stone, and Julia Ward Howe.

SMITH COLLEGE (1876–1930)

Smith College was founded at Northampton by Sophia Smith with the fortune inherited from her brother. The development of the individual, both socially and academically, was perhaps the distinctive feature of the educational methods of the new little college at Northampton. With this in view, a personnel bureau was established in 1920. At this time was also created an institute for the co-ordination of women's interests, to study and experiment in methods of enabling women to maintain their intellectual interests, both cultural and professional, after graduation.

RADCLIFFE COLLEGE (1876–1930)

Radcliffe was the first of what may be called agglutinative colleges, connected with a great men's university, yet separate in organization. The beginnings came in 1876, at the instigation of Mrs. Gilman, the wife of an historian, Arthur Gilman, of Cambridge. The plan suggested by Mr. and Mrs. Gilman secured for women study with the most eminent professors in the country—those at Harvard—without making the college coeducational or impairing the quality of its instruction to men.

The success of the final undertaking was due in a large measure to the choice of sponsors. They were seven well-known women, respected and admired, and of the type that the Cambridge citizen would like his own daughter to become; Mrs. Louis Agassiz, Mrs. E. W. Gurney, Miss Lillian Horsford, Miss Alice Longfellow, Mrs. James B. Greenough, Mrs. Gilman, and Mrs. Josiah P. Cooke. Mrs. Agassiz, who assumed leadership of the experiment, was said by President Eliot to be the most influential woman in the community. She became the first president of Radcliffe College, and proved a valiant and gracious leader. Through her, Radcliffe was granted a charter by the Massachusetts Legislature; and it has been formally recognized by Harvard University, which countersigns its degrees as equivalent to its own.

Simmons College (1893–1930)

Simmons College was established by the will of John Simmons, of Boston, as an institution in which instruction would be given in such branches of art, science and industry as would best enable women to earn a living. Instruction opened in 1902. In connection with Harvard University, the college maintains a school for social service workers.

A distinctive feature of the college is the Prince School of Store Service. Mrs. Lucinda Prince conceived the idea that saleswomen might be trained for their work and become professional, as are nurses, teachers and doctors. Beginning as an independent venture, the school became connected with Simmons College. Since 1922 that college has granted M.S. degrees to students in the Prince School. It limits its classes to sixty girls, selected after many rejections, who must hold a bachelor's degree from an approved college. The methods of the Prince School not only are used in all the great cities of the United States, but have also been extended to London, Paris and other European centers.

WHEATON COLLEGE (1834–1930)

Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts, began its history as Norton Female Seminary, established by Judge Laban Wheaton in 1834, as a memorial to his only daughter. This was one of the pioneer schools for the education of women, and Mary Lyon superintended its organization and directed its work for the first two years. In 1912, it became Wheaton College. Its aim is to educate for a woman's life, keeping in view her efficiency in the home as a center, while also furnishing the opportunities which a college of high standards gives to women who intend to engage in professional life.

NEW TYPES OF CHILD EDUCATION (1868–1930)

In the kindergarten, Massachusetts again establishes her claim for leadership. The great leaders of the kindergarten system in America were undoubtedly Bostonians. The adaptation of the kindergarten as an integral part of the public-school system was due mainly to two Boston women, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody and Mrs. Pauline Agassiz Shaw.

Mrs. Shaw, the daughter of Louis Agassiz and the wife of Quincy A. Shaw, was also responsible for the introduction of the kindergarten system into Massachusetts. Out of her own pocket, she established more than thirty free kindergartens. She also started day nurseries, settlement houses, the vocational bureau, Sloyd schools, and before she died at Jamaica Plain, in 1917, she became an ardent supporter of the peace movement.

THE CAREER OF HELEN KELLER

An unparalleled story in the history of education is that of Helen Keller and her teacher, Anne Mansfield Sullivan, who shared public interest almost equally with her celebrated pupil. When she was nineteen months old, Helen Keller became deaf, dumb and blind; but at the age of seven, she had the good fortune to be taken in charge by Miss Sullivan, who herself had been almost blind as a child, and at the age of fourteen had been sent to the Perkins Institution for the Blind.

The results achieved by Miss Sullivan are epoch-making in the education of the deaf, dumb and blind. A woman of strong mentality and splendid character, she was indeed happily chosen to release from captivity the mind and soul of Helen Keller. So completely were her physical handicaps removed by the genius of Miss Sullivan, that Helen Keller received an education which ultimately fitted her to enter and graduate from Radcliffe College and to become a lecturer of nation-wide reputation. Two of her books, *The Story of My Life* and *The World I Live In,* are popular and well known.

Modern Woman

It is a far cry from the colonial woman, bending under the hardships of the wilderness and struggling against the injustice and cruelty of sex prejudice, to the American woman of today, radiant in her new freedom, the world at her feet. Household labor has yielded to the magic of modern science; clothing for the family—no longer carded, spun and woven by the fireside of the individual home—is now made in factories and sold in department stores. In child-bearing, neighbor women no longer figure as *accoucheuses;* the mediæval midwife has almost vanished, giving place to the highly specialized physician and the modern hospital.

The edicts of the General Court once regulated women's dress: for example, prescribing the width of her sleeves, placing a ban on those so fashioned that "the nakedness of the arm may be discovered in the wearing thereof." Today, she goes her way in utter freedom with bared arms and short skirts. In spite of the outcries of false modesty, women have not been so beautifully nor so comfortably dressed since Grecian days. History shows that fashions and customs change, but human nature remains the same and there is no cause for alarm.

Earning a living is no longer restricted to the selling of bread and cake, lace making, or the keeping of inns; all trades and professions are now open to women, and no field for self-expression is closed to them. As to education, it was enough if the colonial woman could read and write, and many could not do that. Today, compulsory laws keep girls as well as boys in the public schools—744,246 children, all told, in Massachusetts, of whom 366,425 are girls.

WOMEN'S CLUBS (1870–1930)

The women's club movement is another influence which calls women into the larger fields of thought and action, giving them necessary training for taking their part in public life. Here again we find Massachusetts in the lead. After the Civil War, Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, Dr. Harriet K. Hunt, Mrs. James Freeman Clarke and others formed an association under the name of the New England Women's Club. Some literary unions of women may have existed before, but this was the first to call itself openly a women's club. Its speakers numbered such men and women as Henry James, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, James T. Fields, John Fiske, Ednah Dow Cheney, Edward Everett Hale, Professor William T. Harris; in short, the intellectuals of that period. The club records show the guidance of Lucretia Mott Hallowell, Lydia Maria Child, Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Mrs. Horace Mann, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and many other honored names. Today, in Massachusetts, there are more than one hundred and forty-one thousand women enrolled in clubs connected with the general federation.

AMERICANIZATION IN MASSACHUSETTS (1914–1930)

The population of Massachusetts was approximately one-third native-born; the other two-thirds being either foreign or of foreign-born parentage. The Chairman of Americanization therefore used her own State as an experimental station to develop methods and curricula. The State government lent its cooperation, and the first normal course for teaching of citizenship was opened—the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association providing the class room, paying the expenses, and recruiting a class of fifty, many of them public-school teachers, who graduated and received their certificates from the State. The most brilliant pupil in the first year's class was Mary L. Guyton, State Supervisor of Adult

Alien Education, who later gave teacher-training courses at Boston University. She assisted in the course in Immigrant Education at Harvard University for three summers, lectured at Radcliffe, and continued directing, recruiting, organizing and supervising twenty-five thousand foreign men and women. Miss Guyton completed a bulletin for the Department of the Interior, to be distributed throughout the United States to assist communities in organizing their problems in adult education.

RELIGIOUS LEADERS

The founder of Christian Science was Mary G. Baker Eddy, who, although born in New Hampshire, spent her most productive years in Massachusetts. Mrs. Eddy regards her discovery of Christian Science as resulting from her "immediate recovery from the effects of an injury caused by an accident, an injury that neither medicine nor surgery could reach." "On the third day thereafter," as Mrs. Eddy has related, "I called for my Bible, and opened it at Matthew ix. 2. As I read, the healing Truth dawned upon my senses and the result was that I rose, dressed myself, and ever after was in better health than I had before enjoyed. That short experience included a glimpse of the great fact that I have since tried to make plain to others, namely, Life in and of Spirit; this Life being the sole reality for existence."

Mrs. Eddy then devoted several years to meditation and study, especially to searching the Scriptures. Soon she began to practice and to teach her interpretation of the Christian religion. Then ensued what may have been the most important part of her career; that is, writing and publishing the Christian Science textbook, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures,* issued in Boston in 1875. She revised it from time to time until 1907, and it is so published by the trustees under her will.

Mrs. Eddy gave particular attention to originating and developing the *Christian Science Monitor,* an international newspaper, which is found in all cities and most towns of the United States, also greeting the American traveler in the centers of Europe and the Orient.

SOCIAL REFORM

Among pioneers in social reform were Dorothea Dix and Clara Barton, both Massachusetts women. They were known internationally for their records in the Red Cross, but were active also in prison reform, and were the forerunners of Jessie D. Hodder, head of the Reformatory for Women and foremost among specialists in prison reform. Twice, once in Washington and again in London, Mrs. Hodder was the representative of the United States as a delegate to the International Prison Congress. With a successful record of eighteen years as a penologist, Mrs. Hodder's institution and her methods are widely studied and copied. The peculiarity of the discipline at Sherborn is that it is much more moral than physical. The regime of fear has been replaced by that of maternalism. Disciplinary punishment there must be, but no bodily chastisement is ever administered, other than confinement in the disciplinary room until the prisoner is willing to obey the rules of the institution. Music, united with religion, is the means by which Mrs. Hodder accomplishes her permanent reforms; and the musical director, Mrs. Pearl Wilkinson, is also the chaplain. Gardening, domestic service, and home making are other factors of Mrs. Hodder's regime.

After close contact with all types of criminals, from the young prostitute, often more sinned against than sinning, to the thief and the murderess, Mrs. Hodder rejects the theories of Lombroso and his school, that the presence of stigmata dooms a human being to permanent criminality.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

In 1928, in Massachusetts 3,646 divorces were granted as compared to 2,336 in 1916, and the number has been steadily growing at a faster rate than the population. The number of marriages has dropped every year since 1916, and twice as many wives as husbands obtain divorces. In 1927, over seven tenths of all the divorces granted were for the combined causes of cruelty and desertion. Misery and incompatibility are not new in the world; but in colonial times, the subservience of the wife to the husband was assumed and theoretically, at least, there was but one will to be consulted—that of the husband. Today, with the changed status of woman, her wishes and viewpoint are not to be disregarded. Domestic clashes result, and relief is sought in divorce. In spite of statistics, there never before was so much wedded happiness, if women's share be thrown into the balance. The pendulum for freedom has swung too far and the world waits for a return to equilibrium. Marriage is an institution built upon the solid foundation of racial experience, a slow evolution through savagery and barbarism. Mankind is going forward, not backward. Home will always be home. Mother love and father love are elemental instincts, and children were never so well born nor so intelligently reared as today.

The Professions

The achievements of women in the arts and professions probably do not parallel their inherent ability in these lines, and should not be judged without consideration of the handicaps imposed upon them by traditional prejudice and by the jealousy of the opposite sex.

In the law, Harvard, which stands at the head in Massachusetts, if not in the United States, does not admit them as students. They may, however, be educated in law in Boston University, Portia Law School, Northeastern University, and some other schools. On graduation, the woman lawyer finds difficulty in securing openings with law firms, through which she must gain the experience necessary to successful practice. Mrs. Anna Christy Fall was the first woman ever to try a case before a jury in this State. Mrs. Sadie Lipner Shulman is assistant corporation counsel for the city of Boston, the first of her sex to receive the appointment. Among the prominent Massachusetts women lawyers are Miss Ellen Buckley; Miss Edith M. Haynes; Miss Sybil Holmes; Mrs. Jennie Loitman Barron; Miss Clara Powers; Mrs. Frances Brady; Mrs. Emma Tousant and Miss Greta Coleman.

Science

A study of the activities of Massachusetts women reveals the rather remarkable fact that one field in which they have most achieved international fame is astronomy. Two most notable women astronomers of the United States are Massachusetts women, Maria Mitchell and Annie Jump Cannon.

Maria Mitchell, a Nantucket woman, first won distinction in 1847 by the discovery of the first telescopic comet ever to have been discovered. She long occupied the chair of professor of astronomy at Vassar, and during that period the Vassar Observatory acquired for itself a recognized place in the annals of scientific study.

Miss Annie Jump Cannon, of the Harvard Observatory, is considered the world's most famous astronomer of her sex. She has discovered five new stars; and the great achievement, for which her name is known all over the world, was the publication of *Classification of Eleven Hundred and Twenty-Two Bright Southern Stars.* The stimulus of this work brought about the world-famous *Henry Draper Catalogue,* in which is contained the class spectrum of more than 225,000 stars. With a staff of six other women, Miss Cannon then undertook the classification of Milky Way stars at the rate of about two hundred a day. Her title since 1911 has been Curator of Astronomical Photographs at the Harvard Observatory, which contains on its three hundred thousand plates a history of the sky for more than thirty-five years.

Among Miss Cannon's distinguished assistants are Miss Cecelia Helena Payne, Ph.D., Miss Margaret Walton, Miss Helen Howard, Miss Emma Williams, and Miss Margaret Harwood. Miss Adelaide Ames, daughter of Col. T. L. Ames of the United States Army, has discovered nearly three thousand new galaxies in the constellations Coma and Virgo, bringing her world-wide recognition, including election to the International Committee on Nebulae and Clusters.

Miss Henrietta H. Swope, who during the past two years has discovered 385 new variable stars, heads the list of discoverers of variable stars, only seventy-two of which had been discovered in the particular section of the sky which was the field of her study. By determining the periods of luminosity of more than a hundred of these stars, she made possible the Shapley announcement of the corrected hub of the universe, thus realizing the hope of astronomers for centuries.

The opportunities for research and the foregoing record of achievement mark the progress made since the close of the last century, when Mary Somerville stealthily procured mathematical books, and studied them by night to escape the censure and disgrace which might be expected if her occupation were known.

Medicine

The prejudice against women as doctors still exists, although it is gradually giving way. At the time when women had become admitted as members of the Massachusetts Medical Society (1882), the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal,* commenting editorially, said: "Enshrouded in her mantle of science, woman is supposed to be endowed with power to descend from that high pedestal upon which we men have always placed her and to mingle with us unscathed in scenes from which her own modesty and the esteem of the other sex has hitherto protected her." The editor seems to have forgotten that women had long mingled in those "scenes" as patients and as nurses. It was only as physicians that they were protected from them.

One of the necessary steps in the education of a physician is that of an interne in a hospital. Without this daily practice and experience, it is difficult for a doctor to acquire the preparation actually necessary. The first step, therefore, in women's medical progress was the establishment of a hospital where women should have equal opportunity with men as physicians and surgeons.

Dr. Marie Zakrzewska, a Polish woman, opened the doors of the medical profession to the women of Massachusetts by the founding of the New England Hospital for Women and Children. In this pioneer work, she was aided by a group of women of broad vision, among whom were Lucy Goddard, Abby May, Ednah Dow Cheney, Sarah Shaw Russell, Caroline Severance, and Anna Lowell.

Medical Instruction

Although the doors of the Harvard Medical School are closed to women students, in 1919 Dr. Alice Hamilton was appointed Assistant Professor of Industrial Medicine for that institution. In the field of industrial poisons, Dr. Hamilton stands at the head of the profession.

Many qualified women surgeons have practised in Massachusetts. One of the most distinguished is Dr. Agnes Vietor. In 1926, the American College of Surgeons, which numbers about fifty women among its seven thousand fellows, determined that women deserve a recognition heretofore reserved for men, and it elected four women to the Board of Governors, sweeping across the continent to name one each from Boston, New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. Dr. Vietor was the woman surgeon chosen to receive this honor for the New England district.

The head of the Division of Hygiene in the Massachusetts Public Health Department was Dr. M. Luise Diez, who now occupies the post heretofore held only by men. For sixteen years, Dr. Diez practiced obstetrics, serving at the same time as staff surgeon of a Philadelphia hospital. For six years before assuming her present position, she did pioneer work in developing the new Division of Maternity, Infancy and Child Hygiene in New York State. The task launched in New York and continued in Massachusetts was to cut down the death rate of women in childbirth, and of their babies.

Tuberculosis Education (1907–1930)

Tuberculosis education, now carried on from coast to coast through the channels of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, was set on foot by Mrs. Rufus P. Williams of Cambridge. Demonstrating the value of such education, she founded the Anti-Tuberculosis Association of Cambridge, carrying on the work for twenty-five years with the result that the death rate from tuberculosis in that city dropped sixty per cent. In the effort to raise funds for the work, Mrs. Williams planned a Christmas seal to be sold through State chairmen of the Federation of Women's Clubs in the various States. Mrs. Williams herself superintended the designing and the printing of the seals, and the slogan "Victory through Unity" was woven into the design of the seal. The National Tuberculosis Association gratefully did honor to Mrs. Williams, not only as a pioneer in the tuberculosis education, but also for inaugurating the sale of the Christmas seal—the penny sticker sold by billions, the sale of which has realized more than one hundred and seventy-five million dollars.

AVIATION

In the newest profession, that of aviation, a Massachusetts woman, Amelia Earhart, has won the distinction of being the first woman to cross the Atlantic by air, in the plane *Friendship*. Miss Earhart holds the first international pilot's license issued by the N.A.A. won by a woman, and has some five hundred hours of solo flying to her credit. On June 15, 1930, what was declared to be an international speed record for women was set in Detroit, Illinois, when Miss Earhart, flying over a measured sixty-four-mile course at the Grosse airport, averaged 174.9 miles an hour.

LITERATURE

In literature, no Massachusetts woman is accorded a sure place among writers of world renown, although a host of women are among the well-known and much-read writers of good literature. In the field of juvenile publications, Louisa May Alcott was the most popular and widely read author of her day. Abbie Farwell Brown, in addition to her stories for boys and girls was also well known for her songs, poems and fiction for the grown-ups. Among other names well known are those of Mrs. James T. Fields; Kate Field, the lecturer; Lilian Whiting; Elizabeth Stewart Phelps; and Vida Dutton Scudder.

Emily Dickinson's reputation seems to be growing, and was much augmented by a volume, *Further Poems*, published since her death. All her life, with the exception of her boarding-school days, was spent in her father's red brick house, still standing on Main Street in Amherst. Her meditations and introspections concerning life and immortality find illustration in nature, especially in flowers, of which she was passionately fond, and which she loved to tend in the nun-like solitude in which she lived in "the house behind the hedge."

Amy Lowell, "the poet of the external," belonged to an old Boston family, the members of which have played a notable part in New England in business, in literature, and in Harvard University. Her poetry excites violent comment, whether of censure or of commendation. She has been extravagantly overestimated and not less strongly condemned.

Her posthumous poem, "What's O'clock?" was awarded the Pulitzer Poetry Prize. Her detractors criticize her lack of rhythm, and find in her a laborious rather than an instinctive poet.

Josephine Preston Peabody Marks, emotional, dramatic, and with a lyrical quality which gave high rank to her poetry, was perhaps on her way to reach the pinnacle of enduring fame when she died. In 1909 "The Piper," a poetry play in four acts, was published, which won against three hundred and fifteen competitors in the English play composition at Stratford.

Katherine Lee Bates, of Wellesley College, writer of travels, poems and stories, has won a permanent place in the hearts of her countrymen by her national hymn, "America, the Beautiful."

The Arts

In sculpture, prudery barred women from sketching from nude models, so necessary to the artist's knowledge of anatomy. Harriet Hosmer, a Bostonian, one of America's first women sculptors of note, was obliged to move to St. Louis to pursue her study of anatomy, having been debarred from the medical school of her native city. In painting, women met the same obstacles as in sculpture. Today, these conditions have changed. At the Boston Museum School, the young women outnumber the young men two to one. Now that the bars are down, women flock to the ateliers.

Sculptors and Painters

In sculpture the works of Mrs. Maynard Ladd are included in the collections of the Art Museum of Boston, of the Gardner Museum, and many other galleries in Europe and America. When the war came in 1917, Mrs. Ladd was at the height of her power and reputation. At the sacrifice of her own personal ambition, she went to Paris to use her skill as a sculptress, making portrait masks for the hopelessly ruined faces of the soldiers in the Val de Grace and other hospitals. Her success, which was extraordinary, was due to her years of experience in making busts in bronze and marble of Eleonora Duse, Pavlowa, Lady Barclay, Prince Ito, and many others. She enrolled in the American Red Cross and the Service de Santé, and went from Pont à Mousson to Verdun, travelling from place to place wherever she was needed to help the mutilated in the war zone, continuing her ministrations until the Armistice.

Four of Mrs. Ladd's war memorials have been erected in Massachusetts: in Brookline, Manchester, Hamilton, and Beverly Farms.

In 1929, the Boston Art Club held an exhibition, the first of its kind, composed exclusively of the work of American women painters. Fifty-two canvasses represented as many painters; and of these, Massachusetts women artists predominated. The exhibition as a whole showed the strength and weaknesses of women painters. Among those receiving high mention were Marie Danforth Page, Mary B. Hazelton, Lilla Cabot Perry, Alice Ruggles Sohier, pupils of Tarbell; Gretchen Rogers, Marguerite S. Pearson and Martha E. Crocker of the Provincetown School; the latter won especial recognition for her "Portuguese Boy." One of the few landscape artists noted was Marion Parkhurst Sloane, whose "Mount Equinox in Shadow" was included in the Collection.

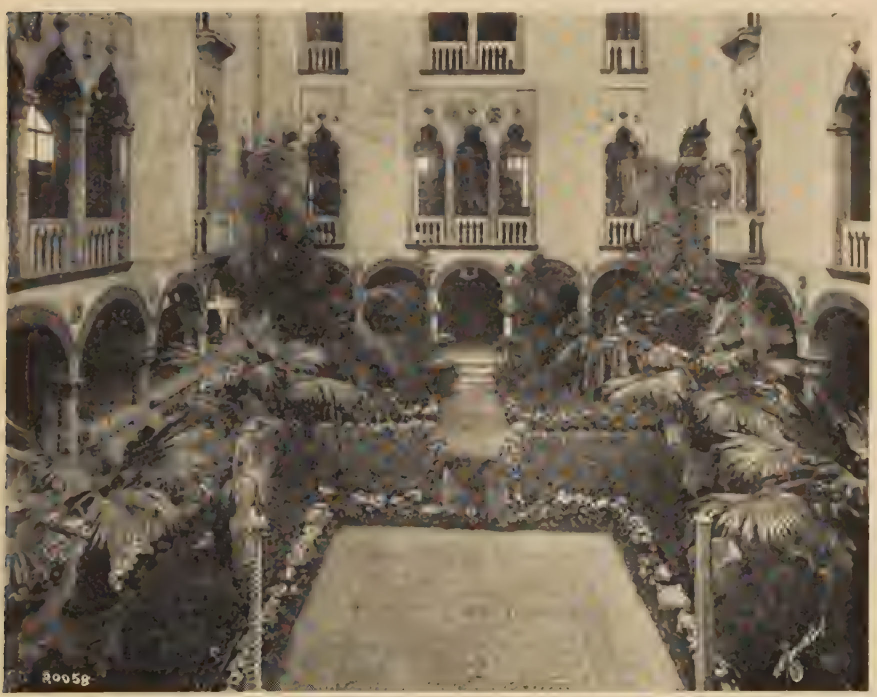
ART COLLECTIONS

The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (designed by Willard T. Sears, and by many considered his masterpiece) stands in the Fenway in Boston. It contains rare paintings, sculptures and wood carvings by the old masters, and brocades and bric-a-brac of the choicest; but its rank is other than that of a mere museum. It is the palace of an American princess, an indulged and adored being, who with the caprice of a tyrant had such personal fascination that, as an admirer put it, "everyone who has ever talked with her declares that she is the most brilliant, charming and attractive woman on earth." Her ability to recognize essential beauty amounted to genius. A collector's unerring instinct, combined with wealth and generosity, made it possible for her to bequeath to the Commonwealth an ensemble of which Paul Clemen, Professor of Art History at the University of Bonn, wrote: "Certainly you have now the best private collection in the

From a photograph of
Sargent portrait

Courtesy of Morris Carter

MRS. JOHN L. GARDNER



From a photograph

COURTYARD AT FENWAY COURT, BOSTON

world—not the largest, but the noblest. . . . In your house one walks quickly through the centuries and through the leading art countries, and has always again quite a harmonious and round impression."

When Fenway Court was completed, the New York World said, "the dream of Mrs. Gardner is almost realized, for she has raised in an ideal spot a wonderful building which is destined to be regarded as an important treasure of the city, like the Public Library, the Art Museum, Trinity Church, or the State House." By her will, she established Fenway Court as a museum for the education and enjoyment of the people forever.

Industry

The status of women in industry, the wage question and the minimum wage are discussed in the chapter on Labor and Labor Organizations. It should here be recorded, however, that in Massachusetts the beginning of the movement for the protection of women and children in industry was promoted by two organizations, the Massachusetts Consumers' League and the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. Among the leaders in this movement were Mrs. Mary Norton Kehew, Miss Mabel Gillespie, Professor Emily Greene Balch, and Miss Ann Withington.

In 1912, the General Court of Massachusetts passed the Minimum Wage Law, and the following year a Minimum Wage Commission was appointed to administer the law—Massachusetts being the pioneer in this form of progressive legislation.

The Suffrage Controversy (1870–1912)

The pioneers of the movement for women's rights were Massachusetts women, and the old Bay State was the first to hold a State suffrage convention.

The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association was formed at a meeting held in Horticultural Hall, Boston, January 28, 1870, with Julia Ward Howe as president. Among the vice-presidents were such distinguished citizens as William Lloyd Garrison, John G. Whittier, George F. Hoar, A. Bronson Alcott and James Freeman Clark. This was the strongest of the antisuffrage associations. Suffragists and antisuffragists were both certain that the victory of the other side would spell misfortune to mankind. The opponents of equal rights never doubted that the entrance of women into political life would spoil them for their fundamental duties of motherhood and home making.

In this belief, they fought their aggressors, using the weapons to which women are most vulnerable—ridicule and social ostracism. They were fortified by press and pulpit, by lawyers and statesmen: the keenest intellects of the country uniting to crush what was honestly feared as a menace to society. The *New York Herald,* referring to a suffrage convention, said: "The assemblage of rampant women which convened at the Tabernacle yesterday was an interesting phase in the comic history of the 19th Century, a gathering of unsexed women, unsexed in mind, all of them publicly propounding the doctrine that they should be allowed to step out of their appropriate sphere to the neglect of those duties, which both human and divine laws have assigned to them. Is the world to be depopulated?"

National Suffrage Movement

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, for many years president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, white-haired but still vigorous in all good causes, was chosen by the President to head the Women's Division of the National Council of Defense. Although born in England, Dr. Shaw lived and worked in Massachusetts and as a minister preached in Hingham, Dennis, and East Dennis.

Suffragists credit Dr. Shaw with transforming President Woodrow Wilson from a mere sympathizer into a campaigner for woman suffrage. A national convention was held at Atlantic City, to which President Wilson came, to be greeted by an audience numbering thousands. Dr. Shaw was chosen orator for the great occasion and, at the end of an address unrivalled in eloquence, she said: "We have waited so long, Mr. President. We have dared to hope that our relief might come in your administration and that yours would be the voice to pronounce the words to bring our freedom," From this hour, the suffrage movement moved swiftly on, impelled by its own momentum. Thus it came to pass that in the month of June, 1919, a group of women, worn with work and anxiety, yet with an expectant light in their eyes, stood in the presence of the chief executive of the United States. They held their breath as he put his signature to the parchment before him, and breathed a sigh of relief when he had signed the amendment to the Constitution of the United States drafted by Susan B. Anthony. The prophecy of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was fulfilled.

The last suffrage convention was held in 1920. During the final scenes, tears of joyous happiness glistened in many an eye, speeches rose to high eloquence, flags were waved, cheers and unexpected bursts of song reverberated through the vast hall. Outstanding among the convention features was a beautiful and solemn service in memory of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, whose magic voice, now still forever, had been the inspiration of every previous convention for thirty years. Nothing now remained to prevent the Nineteenth Amendment from becoming a part of the Constitution, except the ratification by the requisite number of States.

Campaign for Ratification of the Suffrage Amendment
(1919–1920)

Massachusetts was also the first State to receive a National Suffrage Convention in 1850. After the submission of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1919, Massachusetts was the eighth State to ratify; and nowhere was there more rejoicing among suffragists than for the victory in the rock-ribbed old Commonwealth, where the first shot was fired in the Revolution against taxation without representation. A working corps had been gradually evolved in which the leaders were specialists in their respective lines.

Maud Wood Park, executive and public speaker, a woman of super-refinement, shrank at no ordeal—not even at that of mounting a soap box in Boston Common, from which she answered with equanimity the jibes hurled at her from a mob audience.

Margaret Foley, one of the best stump speakers in the

State, if not in the United States, won the industrial workers of the State by the thousands: the ringing tone of her rich Irish voice reached to the outer edges of the crowds which gathered to hear her, as she alternately used her powers of invective against the opponents of suffrage and stirred her hearers to laughter at the witty sallies which embellished her speaking.

The women lawyers—Teresa Crowley, Mary Agnes Mahan, and others—gave generously of their time and their talent for convincing audiences. Women born to lead and to organize—such as Anna C. M. Tillinghast and Wenona Osborne Pinkham—placed a suffrage captain with a corps of volunteer workers in the political districts, not only of the cities, but even in the hill towns and Cape villages.

Every known device was used for money raising. Mary Hutchinson Page, a past master in political expediency, also had a rare gift for securing large contributions from wealthy women who were sympathetic to the cause. The yearly bazaar at the Copley-Plaza Hotel, under the direction of Mrs. Benjamin F. Pitman, not only brought thousands of dollars into the coffers of the association, but was a gathering place for inspiration and the building up of esprit de corps.

MASSACHUSETTS RATIFICATION OF THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT (1920)

On a hot July morning in 1920, women were seen coming from every direction to the State House, where a great question was to be decided. Would the legislators of the General Court vote yes or no on ratification? Some wore yellow roses, marigolds, or knots of yellow ribbon, while others were decorated with American beauty roses or crimson badges. The reds and yellows touched elbows in the galleries as they listened for the final vote. Both sides were hushed in tense expectancy as the yes vote, with but an occasional no, soon made it evident that suffrage had won. As the result of the vote was counted, the silence still continued—with no applause on the part of the suffragists, but with a few muffled sobs from the sincere and brave leaders of the antisuffrage cause.

The night before the first election in which women had a part, a procession of the new women voters marched up Beacon Hill in the face of a driving rain storm, their raincoats glistening with raindrops. Among the faces illuminated by the light of the torches which flared along the line of march was that of a slender little woman who, undaunted by the storm, marched unfalteringly up the long hill past the State House. She had been Massachusetts' first lady, but later was claimed by the entire nation—Grace Anna Goodhue Coolidge.

FEDERAL OFFICIALS (1920–1930)

In the Federal government for the first time a woman, Anna C. M. Tillinghast, has received the appointment of a Commissioner of Immigration—that of the New England port, the second in importance in the United States. Mrs. Tillinghast is in fact the only woman commissioner of immigration in the world. A leader in the short-lived Progressive Party in 1912 and later the executive secretary of the Women's Republican State Committee, she formed a complete organization of Republican women, organized forty local political clubs, and founded the Business and Professional Women's Republican Club of Massachusetts with a membership of upwards three thousand and local branches in the fourteen counties. Her long years of service in executive and administrative work in many fields fitted her for the administration of the immigration laws, making her appointment by President Coolidge one of eminent fitness.

In the United States Department of Labor the first woman to hold a position in the Conciliation Division was Anna Weinstock Schneider, of Boston, often referred to as the "woman Gompers" of the trade-union movement. She was chosen for her fair-mindedness to employers as well as her understanding of the problems and aspirations of the workers. She went to work as a stitcher in a neckwear factory when she was fourteen years old. In no other period than our own could a woman of such humble beginning have risen to so high a position. One of the laurels recently won by Mrs. Schneider was the settlement of a bitter rayon-silk strike at Elizabethton, Tenn. Some of the foremost strategists and conciliators of the American Federation of Labor tried their hands at settlement and failed. The strike had cost $500,000, and feeling had run so high that the State troops had been called out as a precaution against possible violence, when Mrs. Schneider, almost single-handed, achieved a settlement satisfactory to both employer and employee.

In Congress (1920–1930)

The only Massachusetts woman thus far elected to Congress is Edith Nourse Rogers, of Lowell. She was educated at Rogers Hall School in Lowell and finished at Madam Julian's in Paris. Mrs. Rogers was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of her husband, John Jacob Rogers, and it is interesting to note that she was reelected to the Seventieth Congress in 1926, receiving 46,464 votes against 18,846 for the Democratic opponent. An over-seas worker during the war, Mrs. Rogers was the personal representative of President Coolidge in the care of disabled veterans, having been appointed to this office first by President Harding.

The first major piece of legislation ever put through Congress by any woman was the Hospitalization Bill for the veterans, of which Mrs. Rogers had charge, securing an appropriation of fifteen million dollars for this purpose. Mrs. Rogers is one of the pioneers in asking for trade commissions to go into foreign countries under the Department of Commerce and develop markets for our goods; the first to ask for trade commissions for certain industries; the first to ask for a machinery survey. She takes a great interest in promoting aviation in the United States and was the first to take up with the State Department an embargo on planes entering Mexico from this country. As a result, the embargo was removed from such planes in 1927. Mrs. Rogers is also deeply interested in the Merchant Marine as a means of benefiting industry, and in having an adequate army and navy, not to wage war, but as a matter of protection for ourselves and for the security of the weaker countries of the world.

Members of the General Court (1920–1930)

An increasing number of women are chosen to represent their districts at each successive election of the General Court.

No woman has as yet been made State Senator, but in 1929 there were five women representatives: Dr. Marian Cowan Burrows, of Lynn; Mrs. Emma E. Brigham, of Springfield; Miss Martha N. Brooks, of Gloucester; Mrs. Mary Livermore Barrows, daughter of the distinguished Mary A. Livermore; and Miss M. Sylvia Donaldson, who was the first woman in history to exercise the privilege of presiding at a session of the house of representatives.

Judicial Officials (1920–1930)

Emma Fall Schofield, assistant attorney general of Massachusetts, is the first woman in the Commonwealth to serve in that capacity. Prior to her appointment as assistant attorney general, Mrs. Schofield had served four and a half years as a commissioner on the Massachusetts Industrial Accident Board, sitting in a judicial capacity on disputed cases under the Massachusetts Workmen's Compensation Act, having been appointed to that position by Governor Channing H. Cox in 1922.

Publicists

Mrs. Esther M. Andrews, after long service to the State, was made a member of the Governor's Council, which confirms all appointments to public office and passes on all recommendations for pardons and commutation of sentences.

The prohibition movement has been vigorously projected in Massachusetts. Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, of Cambridge, adored by her fellow workers and execrated by her opponents, is nationally known for her skillful legislative engineering in the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution and also for its ratification by the legislature of the Commonwealth.

The Division of Immigration and Americanization of the Commonwealth has a woman as its chief—Mrs. Pauline Revere Thayer, who received her appointment from Calvin Coolidge, at that time governor of Massachusetts.

Massachusetts was the first to appoint a woman member of the State Board of Labor and Industry. The woman chosen for this honor was Mrs. Davis R. Dewey, of Cambridge, who filled this position for seven years, during which time she constantly stressed the betterment of laws and their enforcement for the protection of women and children.

The State Department of Labor has a woman assistant commissioner, Ethel M. Johnson of Boston, who is the first and only woman to hold the office, having been appointed by Ex-President Coolidge when he was governor. Miss Johnson is the director of the Division of Minimum Wage, which involves expert knowledge of labor laws and their interpretation. She is a trained statistician and an accurate and interesting writer on all subjects connected with the problems of working women and children.

Political Organization

A woman who did not want the vote, Mrs. Frank Roe Batchelder, took first rank as a political leader; her experience and her State-wide acquaintance in other lines of work make her a recognized asset to the party organization.

The first School of Politics, for the purpose of studying the principles of party government, was organized and carried on by Mrs. Frank Roe Batchelder together with the chairman of the Political Department of the Women's Republican Club of Massachusetts in February, 1928.

On the Democratic side, one of the prominent suffrage leaders, Susan Walker FitzGerald, at once plunged into the vortex of the campaign against Harding in 1920. She was appointed temporary national committeewoman before the permanent organization of the party took place, and was elected alternate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco. She was one of the first women ever to make a nominating speech for President of the United States.

Another Democratic woman of note is Mrs. Helen A. MacDonald, vice-chairman of the Democratic State Committee and the Massachusetts woman member of the National Committee, a delegate-at-large to the conventions of New York and Houston, a public speaker of note who has received many honors at the hands of the party which she serves.

The International Peace Movement

Recently, 1,742 Radcliffe graduates were circularized as to what, in their opinion, was the most important forward movement in which women can be of service. Religion and ethics received 176 votes, the smallest number cast; 232 women divided their votes equally between politics and civic responsibility; marriage and the family took fourth place, with 275 votes; social welfare, 290; education, 330; while the largest number, 398, gave first place to the international problem.

The largest organization of women, having branches in Massachusetts—such as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, and more than twenty other national organizations—are working actively in the peace movement.

Lucia Ames Mead, author, lecturer and traveler, is perhaps the most widely known of the pacifist group, her yearly visits to Europe having given her a wide acquaintance on both sides of the Atlantic with those especially interested in the promotion of international peace through world organization.

Dr. Fannie Fern Andrews, Ph.D., of Boston, was among the thirty men and women who represented twelve different countries to perfect a plan for the permanent peace of the world at the International Confidential Meeting at the Hague. In 1919, she was appointed by the United States Government to attend the Peace Conference at Paris. She was also appointed by Ex-President Taft as a delegate to the League to Enforce Peace; and she was a delegate of the Council of Women of the United States to attend the Inter-Allied Group of Women that held meetings during the entire period of the Peace Conference. Dr. Andrews received the Harvard University Ph.D. degree in International Law and Diplomacy.

Another important student and writer on international affairs is Sarah Wambaugh, alumna of Radcliffe College and a student at London University and at Oxford. She has been a member of administrative commissions and the minorities sections of the League of Nations Secretariat,

1920. Miss Wambaugh has made a special study of the regions in Europe where international plebiscites have been held since the World War, and was expert adviser to the Peruvian Government for the Tacna-Arica plebiscite at Lima, Arica and Washington in 1925–1926. A Research Fellow of Radcliffe College, she made a tour of the United States, speaking on the League of Nations and other international subjects, and lectured at the Académie de Droit International, The Hague.

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CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE IN MASSACHUSETTS (1890-1930)

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Antecedents and Conditions

The educational history of Massachusetts has been set forth in several earlier chapters in this work. The leaders of the original Colony were educated men, and they early established a college for the preparation of godly ministers, and provided for schools and grammar schools in the towns. Nevertheless, for two hundred years after the foundation of the Colony, education was limited in quantity and quality. The rescue of the State from frontier conditions was the task of the nineteenth century. By 1890 the system of public and private schools, of colleges and scientific and engineering schools, of education for women, and the training of defectives was firmly established.

The main principles of this complicated and interlocking system may be summarized as follows: (1) The organization of education for young children, in kindergarten and formal primary grades, was a foundation for properly graded work thereafter. (2) The grammar schools (the so-called grades) were distinguished from elementary work, and gave opportunity for as much as six years of consecutive study, including many interesting fields of learning. (3) Public high schools, flanked by private and endowed schools and academies, were open to the whole population of ages from fourteen to eighteen or nineteen years. (4) A considerable diversification of secondary education was achieved by the gradual establishment of technical and vocational schools, and by the introduction of such specific subjects in schools of the traditional type. (5) College education was opened to an ever increasing population, both by increased facilities in the older colleges and by the opening of new institutions, including several colleges for women. (6) The development of professional schools was based upon high-school preparation in some fields and on college training for schools of law, medicine and theology. (7) Extraordinary inventions and progress in applied science reacted powerfully on the promotion of interest in natural and applied science in both schools and colleges. (8) A general recognition by the people of the State of the value to the individual, the family and the community, of thorough and coordinated education, brought about a new correlation of the various types and grades of schools into a recognized system of education. (9) A vast increase of attendance at every age and in every stage took place, so that education permeated almost the entire population. (10) Massachusetts came to realize the many values to the State of widespread and thorough education, and the special needs of those who are to make their own living.

Educational Commissions (1891–1909)

In 1891 Governor Russell appointed a commission to investigate existing systems of manual training and industrial education under the chairmanship of Louisa P. Hopkins. The recommendations include the following: that the principles and practice of the kindergarten, of manual training, and of domestic science be taught in the normal schools; that high schools in which mechanic arts and domestic science shall be taught be established in cities of 20,000 or more population.

In 1905 a Commission on Industrial and Technical Education was appointed under the chairmanship of Col. Carroll D. Wright. The commission recommended the introduction of industrial instruction in the public elementary and secondary schools, with a view to emphasizing applied science with provision for agricultural, domestic and mechanical arts, and also the appointment of a commission on industrial education. It was particularly concerned to meet the need created by the passing of the apprenticeship system through the better use of time during the later school ages.

The Mechanic Arts High School in Boston was established in consequence of this investigation and report. Likewise in 1906, a Commission on Industrial Education under the chairmanship of Professor P. H. Hanus, of Harvard University, received authority to investigate and also to report advice and aid in the introduction of industrial education; and to initiate and superintend the establishment and maintenance of industrial schools, with the cooperation of the local authorities. A report was to be made to the legislature annually relative to the condition and progress of industrial education. The work of this commission during succeeding years had far-reaching effects in the development of both manual training and vocational education. It published comprehensive annual reports in 1907, 1908 and 1909, dealing in a broad and thorough manner with both American and foreign conditions.

Later Commissions (1918–1928)

In 1918 a commission was appointed to report on the support, supervision and control of all educational institutions and undertakings maintained directly by the State, or jointly with cities, towns and counties; State Senator G. D. Chamberlain, of Springfield, was chairman. The recommendations of this commission covered a very wide range: discontinuance of ninth grade; junior high schools; compulsory continuation schools, combined with properly organized trade schools and vocational guidance; physical education and medical inspection; evening schools and university extension; better compensation of teachers; establishment of a normal college; reorganization of the State Board of Education; restriction of the right of incorporation; equalization of opportunity by State aid; Americanization of immigrants, etc.

In 1920 a commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Payson Smith, Commissioner of Education, prepared a report on teachers' salaries, recommending extension of state aid to small communities for payment of more adequate salaries.

In 1922 a special commission was appointed, under the chairmanship of President L. H. Murlin of Boston University, to report on the opportunities and provisions for technical higher education, and the possible need of a State university or further cooperation. With the service of Dr. G.

F. Zook of the United States Bureau of Education, the commissioner made an important report in December, 1923, recommending the establishment of standards for the certification of public-school teachers, increased support of research and university extension, and the establishment of junior colleges. The commission deemed a State university unnecessary. The so-called "University of Massachusetts," chartered in 1917, has not functioned as a teaching body.

Effect of the Progress of Science (1889–1929)

The world around us and the way we live in it have been revolutionized during the last four decades. In 1889 electric lighting and the telephone were in their infancy; some of the inventions then undreamed of were airships and airplanes, automobiles, X-rays, wireless communication, motion pictures —to say nothing of such more recondite matters as relativity and modern theories of matter. All these have reacted powerfully on that popular interest in science on which its status in school programs so largely depends. The World War, revolutionizing everything else, has also not failed to react on education and science throughout the world. It has become evident that military success can no longer be hoped for on the basis of mere courage or strategy, but in case of future need must depend upon previous scientific research and industrial efficiency.

It is in the popular appreciation of science, even more than in science itself, that the real revolution has taken place: a revolution brought about by the application of scientific discoveries, rather than by the discoveries themselves. So momentous a change has profoundly affected education as to content, method and aim. In the words of a distinguished physicist: science "claims the whole world for its parish, and so far from contenting itself with work in the laboratory, it goes into the market place and into public life and seeks to make its influence predominant in the world of business and of government. It holds up social effectiveness, power to serve the community, as the end of education, rather than individual knowledge or individual culture."

PUBLIC ORGANIZATION AND SUPERVISION OF EDUCATION

Public education in Massachusetts is at present based on the following main principles, (1) Compulsory school attendance in general to age 16, (2) Support by local (city and town) taxation, supplemented by State aid for certain purposes, (3) Local administration and control through school committees of curriculum, appointments, building, etc., subject to certain State minimum requirements and restrictions, (4) Expert supervision through city, town or union superintendents, (5) A State department of education, of which the main functions are outlined below. The total amount of taxation for public education by State and local authorities in 1928–1929 was, in round numbers: local, $72,000,000; State, $18,000,000.

The legal requirement for the school year is 160 days for elementary schools, and 180 for high schools. The State Department, on application of a parent or guardian living more than two miles from school, may require the town to furnish free transportation of pupils to schools within the town, and in certain cases tuition and transportation for attendance in an adjoining town. Towns not maintaining high schools are required to pay tuition and transportation or board for high-school pupils. These expenses are to some extent reimbursed by the State. About 45,000 pupils were thus transported in 1929. Massachusetts has perhaps gone farther than any other State in consolidating and centralizing its schools. At the present time more than 97 per cent of the pupils are attending graded schools of two or more rooms. Since the days of Horace Mann, described in a previous volume, the number of one-room schools has been reduced from about 3,000 to a few more than 500.

STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (1909–1930)

The first Massachusetts Board of Education, established in 1837, resembled the present United States Bureau of Education; it exercised functions largely advisory, informative, and cooperative with local authorities. Its personnel included citizens of distinction, with a succession of capable secretaries and agents, publishing voluminous annual reports.

In 1909 this Board was reorganized with some increase of power and provision for the appointment by the Board of a Commissioner of Education. In 1919, as a part of the general plan for consolidating the boards and commissions of the State, the Board was succeeded by the present Department, under the general direction of Dr. Payson Smith as commissioner. Besides an Advisory Board of six citizens, the following administrative divisions have been established: Elementary and Secondary Education and Normal Schools; Vocational Education, including agriculture, industrial, household arts, etc.; University Extension; Immigration and Americanization; the Blind; Public Libraries. The Department also has charge of three textile schools, the Nautical Training School, and the Teachers' Retirement Board, as well as the ten State Normal Schools.

Appropriations under its direction amount to about $10,500,000, the larger items being in round numbers: General School Funds, $5,000,000; Industrial Schools, $1,300,000; Normal Schools, $1,500,000; Textile Schools, $300,000. In recent years the department has conducted a considerable service of appointment and placement of teachers and school executives.

School Boards and Superintendents

The tradition of lay supervision of public schools in Massachusetts is of long standing. The introduction of professional supervision is comparatively recent. In 1870 an important step was taken by authorizing the formation of union districts of two or more neighboring towns with a common superintendent; and in 1888 State financial aid for such combinations was provided. As early as 1895, more than 90 per cent of all teachers and of pupils in Massachusetts public education were in supervised schools, while in 1902 the plan was made compulsory and applied throughout the State.

Schools for the Defective

The record of the State in this difficult field is one of real distinction, as may be indicated by the mere names of the Horace Mann School for the Deaf, in Boston, the Perkins

Institution for the Blind, in Watertown, and the Walter E. Fernald School, in Waverley. At the twenty-fifth anniversary (1894) of the first mentioned school, Alexander Graham Bell stated: "The telephone is one of the products of the work of the Horace Mann School for the Deaf, and resulted from my attempts to benefit the children of this school."

HEALTH IN EDUCATION

In no respect has progress been more marked or more beneficial than in the attention given to the health of school children and the physical conditions under which they work. This has in course of time come to include the following features: health protection, including location, equipment and care of school buildings; systematic inspection of scholars; and control of epidemic diseases. Since the war, Massachusetts has constructed nearly 300 new school buildings, with approved heating, lighting, ventilation, and sanitation.

Health is promoted also by direct instruction, by hygienic arrangement of programs, by physical training, and by the development of playgrounds, gymnasiums, and out-of-door sports. In 1921 Massachusetts enacted a law requiring every town and city to employ a school nurse. This requirement has been faithfully carried out by the local communities, so that all public-school pupils have the benefit of school nursing service. In 1906 Massachusetts passed the first State law requiring the employment of school physicians and an annual physical examination of all pupils.

In 1921 a law was passed providing for physical education in outdoor games and athletic exercises in all schools.

STATE EDUCATIONAL AID AND CONTROL (1919)

Down to 1917, a group of privately managed institutions received partial support from the State. The so-called Anti-Aid Amendment to the State Constitution, adopted in 1919, though aimed particularly against possible grants of public money to sectarian institutions, applied to a group of four technical schools and colleges. This made it necessary that any institution accepting State aid must accept full State control, ceasing to be a private institution. This condition was accepted by the Massachusetts Agricultural College and the Lowell Textile Institute; but not by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

Statistics, Public and Private (1890–1930)

Massachusetts, in comparison with other States, is one of the most densely populated, much the greater part of the population living in cities of considerable size. The proportion of foreign-born is also exceptionally high. In 1925, of 129,438 children between the ages of five and seven, 75,154 were in public schools; out of the 138,953 children from fourteen to sixteen, 101,333 were in public and 15,936 in private schools.

From 1890 to 1922 the population of the United States increased 68 per cent, but college enrollments were more than quadrupled. Massachusetts in 1889 harbored fourteen colleges and higher technical schools, with an aggregate registration of 7,225. In 1927 the corresponding figures were thirty-one institutions and a registration of 44,730, not including the five normal schools authorized to give degrees at the later date. In 1889 the 241 high schools were attended by 25,317 pupils. In 1929, there were 249 high schools attended by 129,926 pupils. School expenses, exclusive of buildings, in 1888-9 were $5,366,605: approximately $15 for each child between five and fifteen. In 1929, they were $69,244,997; a cost of $99 per pupil. The average monthly compensations for public-school teachers in 1889 were: for men $108.88; for women $45.93. In 1926 men received an average of $249 and women $149.

Nearly one fifth of the school population—an exceptionally high proportion—attends the private schools. The State Census of 1895 listed 400 such schools, including 32 kindergartens, 19 colleges and universities, 6 theological institutions, 17 industrial and normal training schools, 11 schools for defectives, 19 for music, art, etc., 11 for language, 31 for commercial purposes. In 1928 the statistics were as follows: out of 146,954 children between the ages of five and seven, 100,954 were in public schools and 29,816 in private schools. Of the 546,905 children aged from seven to fourteen, 445,605 were in public schools and 115,341 in private schools. Of the 148,966 children from fourteen to sixteen, 107,800 were in public schools, 15,354 in private schools, and 16,211 in public continuation, vocational, and special schools.

Among private schools, by far the largest group is the extensive system of parochial schools, maintained by the Roman Catholic church, now leading without a break from the elementary grades to the three Catholic colleges for men: Boston College, Holy Cross and Assumption Colleges at Worcester; and to Emmanuel (Boston) and Regis (Worcester) Colleges for Women.

Of other private schools, particular mention may be made of the relatively ancient and excellent private foundations of the Boston and Roxbury Latin Schools, and of Phillips Academy at Andover. Schools of more recent date are Groton (1884) and Middlesex (1901). Most of these are essentially preparatory schools for leading colleges; some of them draw pupils from distant States. Recently, an increasing number of private elementary schools aim at preparing younger boys for the secondary schools just mentioned.

Elementary and Secondary Education

Among the facts which determine the character and aims of public education should be mentioned: (1) General recognition of the need and value of education to the individual, both in enriching his personal life and increasing his economic efficiency; (2) recognition of the social utility of public education; (3) taking advantage of economic conditions which make it easy or difficult to prolong education through adolescence; (4) ideals or prejudices of the older generation as to the choice of the subject matter of studies; (5) reaction of more advanced schools upon the lower.

In general, educational institutions lean to the side of conservative stability: school programs and texts, school conditions and requirements yield but reluctantly to external influences. Only in the so-called "student activities" does youth have a free hand for the initiative which is reputed to belong to the immature.

Commissioner Smith, in his first annual report (1917), discussing conditions affecting reorganization, says: "The ideal of common-school education has not changed. Now, as always, it is the desire of parents and educators that children should come from the common schools resourceful, self-directive, and with good habits established. Fundamentally, the common school stands in the thinking of the people as an institution that ought to be kept quite free for utilizing such agencies as it may possess to aid the child in the development of his physical, mental and moral powers. Especially, the common school has in public opinion a very definite purpose—that of giving the child the rudiments of his education. . . .

"The general aims of secondary education, while they have offered courses quite different from those of the common schools, have not until within recent years radically differed, save in scope, from the general aims of the common schools—except, of course, that the secondary school has always been charged with the responsibility for providing the right form of approach to collegiate education. The other aims of secondary education have been rather vague and indistinct. Within a few years, however, there have been increasing demands that secondary education should provide avenues of approach to certain fields of activity. As over against preparation for college, the general terms 'preparation for life' and 'preparation for practical efficiency' have been used in connection with courses for those students who are not planning to go to college. Consequently, secondary education is now peculiarly the center of reorganization that is, to some extent, affecting all educational institutions."

Science in General Education

The high and sometimes extravagant hopes of the men of science who advocated the introduction of science in the high school have not been completely realized. The adaptation of the subject matter to instruction has been more difficult than was at first expected. Teachers and textbooks have had to be slowly developed; colleges have had to be persuaded that preparation in these subjects should be credited, if not required, for admission. Too often the college teacher of chemistry or physics, finding his new students worse than unprepared, has expressed a preference for those whose preparation has been purely classical.

Early in the present century it became gradually clear that the customary courses in chemistry, physics, botany, etc., as separate divisions of science, were not well adapted for introductory school needs. Since that time there has been a notable development of courses and texts in general science. These naturally cover a wide range of the phenomena of daily life, with a view to teaching scholars to look beneath the surface of their experience, and they endeavor to rationalize such matters as weather, hygiene, food, water supply, familiar machinery, light, heat, electricity, etc.

This method, however, if rightly used, does not replace the systematic intensive study of particular subjects, but forms an excellent preliminary for such study as well as sufficient preparation for the practical purposes of life.

Reaction of College Requirements on the Schools

The extent to which secondary schools should make college preparation their main objective has naturally varied widely with time and place. Requirements for admission to private colleges are not easily changed and are apt to be rigidly defined and rigorously administered. The classics and mathematics have long held a protected position from which it has been extremely difficult for newer high-school subjects to depose them. English, history and modern languages have gained full recognition; science subjects—usually chemistry and physics—have made some progress. What many schools have sought, with the strong support of the State Department of Education, has been the acceptance by the colleges of a substantial proportion of free electives as a basis for admission.

Of late years the considerable unification of college requirements through the College Entrance Examination Board has substantially relieved the difficulties in question. Cooperative relations of great value have also been much promoted by the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. In other parts of the country it is customary to admit high-school graduates to college on the basis of school certificates, which may, or may not, imply something more than the school diploma. In Massachusetts, Harvard College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and

Wellesley, Smith and Mount Holyoke Colleges for women, require all applicants to take entrance examinations in all subjects which are generally considered to call for special preparation or require more than average capacity.

Curriculum

Notable development in the secondary school curriculum during the forty-year period have been the following.

Among the enlargements in subject matter have been the following: (1) the general disappearance of Greek and decline of such other traditional subjects as Latin and mathematics even in college preparatory courses; (2) the wider introduction of courses in science, particularly chemistry, physics and biology; (3) some increase of attention to modern languages, with a marked decline, however, in German during and since the Great War; (4) increasing attention to vocational subjects and the establishment of specialized schools in which these are emphasized.

The evolution of the curriculum is interestingly illustrated by a comparison of the list of studies in a representative city high school in 1875 and in 1925. Common to both periods are Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, French, German, Bookkeeping, Geometry, Latin, and Mechanical Drawing. Besides these, in the later years Natural Philosophy is replaced by Physics; Civic Polity, by Problems in Citizenship; Botany and Agriculture, by Biology and Physiology; General History, by United States, European, English, Commercial and Ancient History; Surveying, by Trigonometry; Greek, by Spanish; Rhetoric and Logic, by English; Political Economy and Moral Science, by Commerce and Industry and Commercial Law. Additional new subjects include Moral Science, Agriculture, Stenography, Typewriting, Penmanship, Business Arithmetic, Salesmanship, Household Arts, Arts and Crafts, Freehand Drawing, Manual Training, and Music.

Textbooks

In the period of relatively fixed and stable curriculum, textbooks tended to be long-lived, and incentives to improvement in form and substance were few. With the progressive diversification of the curriculum and the development of at least partial freedom of election, the new subjects, if not yet worked into perfect pedagogic form, have the advantage of freshness and the stimulus of making a place for themselves in the face of resistant inertia. On the other hand, the older required subjects, reacting to this increased competition, have been forced to an increasingly thorough review of their subject matter and a new attention to improvement in form. Notably in arithmetic, the numerous ancient but relatively useless and wasteful complications have been vigorously attacked and gradually eliminated. Elementary geometry has ceased to be a memorized ritual and has been enriched by concrete applications and original exercises.

The law requiring the provision of free textbooks has simplified the process of improvement, and has eliminated the confusing tendency to use a variety of inherited texts in a given class. Mechanical processes of illustration have been highly developed. The school texts of the present day present an extraordinary contrast to those of forty years ago, both in interest and attractiveness, as well as in their naturally wider range of subject matter. The present law under which cities and towns are required to furnish free textbooks dates from 1884—the first of its kind. It may be regretted that it is thus made easy not to keep textbooks for later needful reference.

Mental Tests of Pupils

Since the extensive utilization of psychological tests in connection with the World War, there has appeared interest in developing tests of a type which may be of service in the grading of elementary schools and in the guidance of high-school pupils either into college or into vocations. These tests help to solve complementary questions, evidently of great public importance; such as whether many college students fail from lack of native ability which might have been ascertained in advance; and whether many high-school pupils of high native ability fail to enter college. As yet the methods of testing native ability in advance of school work, and in review of school work, would seem to be in the experimental stage, with possibilities of high interest. A recent survey of mental tests has led to the following statistical conclusions:

(1) About ten thousand seniors in Massachusetts public high schools plan to continue their education after graduation, although not over one half of this total has a reasonable prospect of success in an ordinary liberal-arts college.

(2) About one third of the pupils who are now in senior classes of Massachusetts high schools, and who intend to continue their education, are planning next year to enter a liberal-arts college or a higher technological school. Of these, two fifths are likely to succeed; while more than a quarter, if they actually attempt to carry out their expressed intentions, seem doomed to failure.

(3) A considerable number of girls (about an eighth of all the seniors in Massachusetts high schools) plan to go to normal schools. Of these more than half are below the intelligence levels of their sister pupils who plan to go to liberal-arts colleges.

(4) Those seniors who plan to enter business schools have about the same average capacity as those intending to enter normal schools.

(5) About 6,000 of the seniors now in the Massachusetts high schools are planning no further education after graduation. Of this number, the majority would have little chance of success in a liberal-arts college. Nevertheless, some of them, possibly two thousand in all, show distinct promise. Of these the number who will not go on with their studies, because they prefer to work, is about equal to the number prevented from going to a higher school from lack of funds.

(6) Hence, as a generalization, not more than a third of these graduates would find the academic college an institution suited to their needs and abilities.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES IN MASSACHUSETTS HIGH SCHOOLS

An interesting survey of existing conditions, made by a special committee in 1924, classifies extra-curricular activities from various points of view. The number of activities reported were 67, of which the most frequent were athletics, assemblies, debating, drama, orchestra, glee club, class meetings, and school paper. There were, however, 2 Greek Clubs, 2 Poultry Clubs, 1 Aero Club, 1 Etiquette Club, 1 First Aid and Nursing Club, besides 5 student Courts and Traffic Officers, 6 Forums, and a considerable group of foreign-language clubs. The general opinion of the committee was favorable to the reaction of most of these activities on school work. They are regarded as developing initiative, responsibility and cooperation, fostering rational school spirit, and in some cases increasing personal interest of teachers in pupils. Department clubs often stimulate interest and establish useful contacts with problems of daily life. The gradual organization of self-government develops personal responsibility, and does away with much of the traditional antagonism between teachers and scholars.

Junior High Schools

For many years the elementary school consisted of nine annual grades and the high school of four years. During the past two decades the traditional ninth grade has been abandoned by nearly all Massachusetts communities. About one hundred towns and cities now have their schools organized on the so-called 6-3-3 plan or a modification of it; that is, six grades in the elementary school, three grades in the junior high school, and three grades in the senior high school. These towns and cities include more than one half of the school population of the State. The educational arguments for or against this change are somewhat technical. and conflicting.

Junior Colleges

The history of the junior college in Massachusetts is as yet exceedingly brief. It must be considered in this chapter, inasmuch as the establishment of a system of junior colleges was recommended by the State Education Commission in 1923. The junior college at its best makes the college work of the freshman and sophomore years more accessible by offering it at a larger number of centers. The results of this work may or may not justify continuance of the student in a senior college or university. The plan meets a real need in regions where colleges and universities are difficult of access or overcrowded. On the other hand, there is not a little danger that the local junior college will be a college only in name, perhaps only an appendix of the high school. At present (1930) there are but two junior colleges in Massachusetts; one public, in Springfield, one private (for girls), at Bradford.

At Springfield, the school committee authorized the establishment in 1917 of courses in English, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Physics, French and German, corresponding with freshman college work, with parallel commercial subjects. The enrollment so far has been very small.

University Extension (1915–1930)

In 1915 a University Extension Division of the State Department of Education was established "to cooperate with existing institutions of learning in conducting University Extension Courses." Twelve years later 32,900 students were found to be enrolled for class instruction, 3,950 for correspondence; and nearly 1,600 for instruction by radio. Eighty-three courses, out of 220 offered, are listed as of college grade. The average age of registration is about thirty. Tuition fees are planned to cover approximately the cost of instruction, materials, and courses. In 1929 the total appropriation for university extension work by the State was $174,821. $160,722 was received in tuition fees, reducing the net cost to the public to $14,100.

Newer Types of Schools

Increasing recognition of educational values and needs by the parental population has steadily and very greatly increased high-school attendance, and at the same time has caused a very marked differentiation of aims and curricula. Forty years ago the high school was still to a great extent the straight and narrow path to the liberal arts college. Now it has become all things to all men's sons and daughters. Notable phases of this evolution have been the introduction of Manual Training in the 'eighties and after, followed by Domestic Science and, a little later, by the comprehensive development of vocational education. In recent years the term "modern school" has acquired a special significance in connection with various interesting educational experiments.

Normal School Training

No educational system can succeed without due provision for maintaining a steady and adequate supply of good teachers. Doubtless good teachers are born rather than made; but natural gifts need training and cultivation for this as for other professions.

In January, 1922, of nearly 17,000 teachers in the elementary schools of Massachusetts, about 15,600 had received substantial professional training. At the same time, with an annual call for about 1,000 elementary teachers, the aggregate enrollment in the normal schools of the State was about 3,000. It seems fair to infer that the proportion of untrained teachers is due rather to the failure to require training than to any lack of opportunity for later employment.

Less adequate is the provision for the training of teachers for secondary schools. Recent statistics indicate that about two thirds of the high-school teachers in the State have college degrees, with a far lower proportion in the case of teachers of manual arts, music, etc. The teacher of limited experience or training naturally is more apt to find a post in a small high school where, with a wide range of subjects and little supervision, the probability of poor results is greatest.

The requirements for admission to normal schools, as determined by the Department of Education, imply graduation from an approved high school; and an effort is made to select only students whose personal qualities justify the expectation of future success in teaching. Besides their direct service to the State, the normal schools render substantial aid through teachers' institutes, summer sessions, etc.

All normal students pay a fee for incidentals; nonresidents also pay $100 tuition. Less than a tenth of the students are men, and of these one third are in the Massachusetts School of Art, where preparation of teachers is not the main objective. It has been the recent policy of the State Department of Education to specialize the preparatory training of teachers; so that, for example, commercial subjects are emphasized at Salem, household arts at Framingham, academic subjects at Bridgewater, etc. These with the Junior High School in Boston now give degrees, the other schools devoting themselves to preparation of teachers for elementary work.

As a group, the ten normal schools make specific provision for subjects essential for teachers in the elementary schools, including kindergartens, the junior high schools, the commercial departments, the fine arts, the industrial arts, the household arts, and the school library service. Recruits for positions for teaching academic subjects in senior high schools are still drawn predominantly from the colleges; and no State provision is made for the more advanced professional education of school administrators.

The graduates are, as a rule, engaged in public-school work in the State, and a substantial proportion make the service their life work. Of about 18,000 public-school teachers outside of Boston, which has its own normal school, more than two fifths are graduates of the State Normal Schools.

In the words of the report of the State Commission of 1923: "In respect of the salaries paid to its normal-school workers, Massachusetts stands with the less progressive states; in respect of almost every other standard that can be applied in comparing states with reference to education, Massachusetts is well toward the top of the list." Fortunately conditions have improved since this was written.

Another agency which has had a marked effect on preparation for teaching of the natural sciences, particularly in Greater Boston, is the Teachers School of Science, maintained since 1878 by the Lowell Institute. This school has provided lectures and fieldwork in geology, zoology and botany. An outgrowth of the association of its past members has been the Children's Museum of Boston, maintained by private subscription.

Associations of Teachers

An important influence on the teaching, particularly of science, in secondary schools has been exerted by the associations of teachers of Chemistry, Physics, and Mathematics, each including in its membership both college and school men. The oldest of these is the Eastern Association of Physics Teachers, organized in Boston in February, 1895, "to afford an opportunity for a heart-to-heart interchange of ideas and a kindly criticism of current methods that would greatly improve the teaching of the subject in our schools and lead to a more intimate acquaintance of men of kindred tastes and occupations."

The association has exerted a strong influence in reducing the size of laboratory divisions, and has been helpful in drawing attention of members to improved equipment.

The New England Association of Chemistry Teachers has for its object the promotion of efficiency in the teaching of chemistry. It was organized in 1898 and membership is unlimited. The similar Association of Teachers of Mathematics dates from 1903.

Vocational and Technical Education

In 1872 the legislature approved an act to authorize cities and towns to establish industrial schools and instruction in "the elementary use of hand tools." This system was given permissive recognition in 1884. In 1895 every city of twenty thousand or more inhabitants was required to maintain as part of its high-school system the teaching of manual training. The Springfield Manual Training School (1886), the Mechanic Arts High School (Boston, 1893), and the Cambridge Rindge Manual Training School for Boys (1888), represent efficient leadership in this field.

Massachusetts was the first State to undertake in a serious way and on a large scale vocational education below college grade. In this broad field, particularly in industrial, commercial and home-economics education, the Commonwealth has been a leader.

Since the establishment of State-aided vocational education, it is estimated that more than 160,000 persons have received training in the day vocational schools. Ninety-seven schools are now in operation, providing instruction in forty-five different vocations, including agriculture and home-making occupations. At the present time nearly 60,000 persons are enrolled in such schools. Of these about 26,000 are in part-time compulsory continuation schools; 800 in part-time industrial schools; 22,250 in men's and women's evening classes; and 18,300 in boys' and girls' day industrial, homemaking, agricultural schools, and in high-school agricultural departments.

PRINCIPLES OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Conditions of educational organization and policy in Massachusetts, as in the United States generally, are such that no very sharp line can be drawn between collegiate and non-collegiate technical education. Certain institutions are easily assigned to one group or another; but for others the classification would be difficult; and in some cases work is carried on at both levels. The temptation for a school doing good intermediate work to aim higher, appropriating collegiate forms without reaching corresponding standards, is not easily resisted—particularly in Massachusetts, a State prone to lean to the side of toleration. A complementary tendency on the part of the American student and the American parent is the too frequent one of seeking the highest in form rather than the best in substance. Equality of opportunity is not matched by equality of capacity. The boy for whom the degree of the university is too difficult of attainment goes properly and honorably to a school of lower standards. It may be a disservice to him and to the community to offer him a cheaper degree. Particularly, credit is due those schools which, recognizing the great need and importance of intermediate technical education, have resolutely devoted themselves to that function.

While any definite measurement of the need just mentioned is impracticable, it is of interest that as long ago as 1906 a State Commission on Industrial and Technical Education reported: "In the long run industry, wherever in the world it is located, which combines with general intelligence the broadest technical knowledge and the highest technical skill, will command the markets of the world." The succeeding Commission on Industrial Education later added: "All industries, whatever their grade, need more men than are now obtainable, who are capable of acting as foremen, superintendents, or managers; men possessing the comprehensive insight, interest and skill necessary for the organization and direction of a department or shop. In general, such men are now developed only by chance; and they are then self-made men possessing the merits, but also the shortcomings of their training." Since that time substantial progress has been made as exemplified in the development of the Wentworth Institute and the Franklin Union and the Lowell Institute School for Industrial Foremen, as well as of the Textile Schools at Fall River and New Bedford.

Other Vocational Schools

A considerable number of day and evening schools offer instruction in business subjects to several thousand pupils. Of the two textile schools not giving degrees, and both under the direction of the State Department of Education, that at New Bedford, with about 1,500 students, offers courses of three years in length dealing with chemistry, design and engineering of cotton manufacturing. That at Fall River, with about 1,900 students, is partly on a two-year basis. In both the proportion of evening students is very large. On the whole, these vocational schools not only render a great public service, but are of particular advantage both to many young people who are not well qualified for collegiate training and to many industrial workers whose productive capacity can be materially increased by supplementary education. Unfortunately most of the opportunities are available only in the metropolitan district.

Franklin Union (1906 – 1930)

A codicil to the will of Benjamin Franklin, executed in 1789, reads in part as follows: "I have considered that among Artisans good Apprentices are most likely to make good Citizens, and having myself been bred to manual Art Printing, in my native Town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by kind loan of Money from two Friends there, which was the foundation of my Fortune, and of all the utility in my life that may be ascribed to me, I wish to be useful even after my Death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men that may be serviceable to their Country in both those Towns." The site for the Franklin Union, to which part of this fund was assigned, was provided by the City of Boston, and Andrew Carnegie in 1906 donated $480,000 as endowment. The day courses are intended to enable young men and women to find their proper places in the industrial and manufacturing world, receiving at the same time training in the fundamental principles underlying modern manufacture and communication. The evening classes aim to give further training to those already employed by supplementing the necessary technical knowledge for their daily work, thus increasing their efficiency and earning power. The work is limited to adults, with a few of the evening classes admitting students above sixteen. The subject matter of the evening courses extends from elementary arithmetic to metallography, industrial chemistry, theoretical electricity, etc. Instructors are drawn from nearby engineering schools and even more from men engaged in industry and engineering. Admission is dependent upon apparent fitness rather than on previous school preparation. The total registration since the opening of the school has been more than 26,000.

Wentworth Institute (1904 – 1930)

Wentworth Institute was incorporated in 1904 to furnish education in the mechanical arts on the basis of a bequest by Arioch Wentworth amounting to more than $5,000,000. Since its opening in 1911 it has given training to nearly 27,000 young men. For one-year day courses and for evening courses no formal entrance examinations are required; for two-year day courses applicants should be high-school graduates, or above high-school age with industrial experience. The day work includes one-year courses of apprenticeship grade for persons who wish to become skilled workmen; longer and more thorough courses for those with previous experience who wish to become master mechanics. The evening courses are similar, aiming to increase efficiency in present occupation, or to aid in securing promotion. The range of subject matter includes various branches of mechanic arts, methematics, drawing, electrical wiring, plumbing, architectural drawing, building construction, applied electricity, etc.

Lowell Institute School for Industrial Foremen (1896 – 1930)

The Lowell Institute School for Industrial Foremen was established in 1896 as a system of evening courses, conducted at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology by members of its staff. At present it enrolls more than 500 students, including some college graduates. The curriculum includes mechanical, electrical and building courses.

Higher Education in General

Any adequate history of the colleges of Massachusetts during this period would require many chapters and would resist integration or condensation. It must suffice here to make a selection of those institutions and features which seem to represent new tendencies or to have far-reaching influence. On this basis institutions founded, expanded, or reorganized during the period 1890–1930 will naturally have preference. Much that is said of the colleges for which these decades have been for special reasons a period of evolution would be equally true of others, of which a similar account is precluded. Mention only may be made, for example, of the Teachers Training Work in Hygiene and Physical Education at Wellesley, the special honors courses at Smith, the International Institute of Politics at Williams, as typical of many interesting and significant developments. Boston University, identified with the Methodist denomination, has become in recent years the largest educational institution in the State, with a wide range of professional and vocational work not unified as to location.

Transformation of the Old Line Colleges

In an earlier volume of this work the origin and growth of the colleges, for which the State is famous, have been described. Harvard University was virtually a State institution till the 'sixties. Its history from 1870 to 1909 is essentially the story of President Eliot's administration, which is summarized in another chapter of this volume. Under that leadership, the relatively provincial and predominantly classical college of the earlier date was steadily and surely transformed into a great modern university. Notable features were the thorough-going introduction of the elective system; the immense increase of attention to science, with corresponding laboratory equipment; the fostering of graduate study and research; the reorganization of the schools of law and medicine. In the late 'eighties these revolutionary changes were well established, the leadership of the university and its president assured.

In 1909 President Lowell, in his inaugural address, pointed out the danger to college solidarity due to the freedom offered by the elective system extending over an ever-widening range of subject matter. Under his administration, as elsewhere, there was a tendency in the direction indicated by his statement: "Moreover, the change from the life of school to that of college is too abrupt at the present day. Taken gradually, liberty is a powerful stimulant; but taken suddenly, in large doses, it is liable to act as an intoxicant or an opiate."

A noteworthy socializing step was the establishment of a group of dormitories for Freshmen. Recent emphasis on high standards of scholarship has led to the introduction of the General Examination and the Tutorial System.

The first recognition in Massachusetts of Education as a department of a university of liberal studies was the appointment in 1891 of Paul Henry Hanus as Assistant Professor of the History and Art of Teaching. In 1906 a Division of Education was established; and in 1920 the Graduate School of Education became one of the associated schools of the university.

The relation of the older colleges to the higher education of women has been significant. Harvard has declined to admit women undergraduates, but encouraged the establishment of Radcliffe College. It likewise admitted some advanced students of Radcliffe to courses, intended primarily for graduates, offered in the Harvard list of electives. Several other colleges, notably Boston University and Tufts College, have made equal provision for men and women undergraduates.

CLARK UNIVERSITY (1888 – 1930)

Clark University represents an interesting attempt to build a university on a somewhat restricted foundation. Dr. G. Stanley Hall, coming as its president from Johns Hopkins and Harvard in 1888, aimed to make Clark of similar excellence in the fields of Physics, Mathematics, Chemistry, Biology, Anthropology and Psychology; and persuaded the founder, Mr. Jonas Gilman Clark, and the trustees to start the institution on a purely graduate basis, granting the degree of Ph.D. Dr. Hall had gathered a remarkable faculty of young men—including Michelson and Webster in Physics; Story and Taber in Mathematics; Michael and Nef in Chemistry; Mall in Anatomy—but he found it difficult to protect his faculty against the potent attraction of the reorganized University of Chicago and at the same time to live within the limited university income and satisfy the wishes of the founder. In 1902, two years after the death of the founder, the resources of the university were increased to about $4,000,000; at the same time an undergraduate department was established with its own separate president (Sanford) and faculty. The new college included in its program certain novel features; for example, the severe restriction of athletics, and the reduction of the usual period from four years to three.

In 1920 Presidents Hall and Sanford resigned; and the two institutions were merged under the presidency of Dr. Wallace W. Atwood, who proceeded to make the university primarily the first graduate school of Geography in America, with considerable enlargement of the departments of Psychology, Economics, History, and International Relations, and relative restriction or elimination of the others.

COLLEGES FOR WOMEN

Except Boston University, there is no endowed Massachusetts college in which men and women undergraduates are placed on the same academic status. In Tufts College, a separate Jackson College has been established for the girls. Yet, within the boundaries of Massachusetts are four of the most celebrated and most frequented women's colleges in the United States,—Mount Holyoke, Smith, Wellesley and Radcliffe. These and other institutions for women only, are described and characterized in the chapter on Women in Massachusetts in this volume.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The flood of energy which after the close of the Civil War achieved such triumphs in transcontinental railroads and in general industrial development was naturally attended by a marked increase of interest in technical education. The national land grant of 1862 for the support of education in agriculture and the mechanic arts was assigned by the legislature, one third to Massachusetts Institute of Technology for the mechanic arts, and two thirds to the new Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst. Both institutions have interpreted their functions broadly.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology owed its characteristic features to the moulding influence of two of its presidents, William B. Rogers, who led in the long struggle for its foundation; and Francis A. Walker, who, coming to succeed Rogers in a critical time (1887), carried a heavy burden until his death in 1897. Rogers, a physicist and geologist, gave the initial impulse for a broad higher education, based on natural science but not slighting academic studies. Walker, economist, soldier, publicist, insisted not only on training for the service of industry and the state but on the value both of literary studies for the engineer and of applied science for men in all professions. Thus the Institute did pioneer work in the use of laboratory instruction in chemistry and physics for large bodies of students, and in the creation of laboratories of mechanics, hydraulics, steam and electrical engineering for fruitful combination of instruction and research. Necessarily, the cost was high; gifts and bequests came but slowly; the traditions of Massachusetts were against State aid for higher education. When finally ob-

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tained, it was scanty in amount and encumbered with onerous provisions.

Walker, like Rogers, died in harness. Soon after, there came the first of a long series of benefactions, which, without freeing the institution from difficult financial problems, have made its future far less precarious. Especially noteworthy in this connection have been the great gifts of Mr. George Eastman and the bequest of Mr. H. C. Frick, both residents of other States and not connected with the Institute. Among more notable recent developments have been the establishment of courses in Engineering Administration (1919), Aeronautics (1914, 1926) and Building Construction. The course in Engineering Administration aims to supply executives for industry somewhat as the older curricula have furnished engineers. Of graduate students in engineering in the United States, about one third are now attending the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The proportion of foreign students is also exceptionally high.

Education for Business and Professions

A history of higher education is largely a history of vocational education, as preparation has passed out of the method of apprenticeship to a master into that of systematic teaching in school. This process, long since completed for the professions of teaching, ministry, law and medicine, has been effected more recently in engineering and architecture. It is still in its early stages in commerce and industrial management.

The crucial importance of this development for the State need hardly be argued. In the words of the report of the commission of 1923: "Massachusetts has passed the limit for the extensive development of its natural resources and is now using its land through intensive methods of industrial production. There is an overwhelming increase in invested capital of machinery, buildings, and plants of various sorts. It is also noteworthy that the sub-professional, professional and clerical employees increase more rapidly than the wage-earners."

It is clear that Massachusetts can no longer depend upon its natural situation, its raw materials, or its early start for success in these and certain other lines, and that it must rely upon a well-organized and well-trained industrial population.

Harvard University took an important step toward meeting this need by the establishment of its Graduate School of Business Administration in 1908. Opportunities for specialization are offered in Accounting, Investment Banking, Commercial Banking, Business Statistics, Foreign Trade, Industrial Management, Marketing, and Transportation. In spite of the high tuition fee ($500), the school has grown rapidly, reaching an enrollment of 1,015 in 1929–1930.

Reference has been made to the recent development of courses in Engineering Administration at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Boston University organized evening classes in Business Administration in 1913, day classes three years later, leading in each case to the degree, Bachelor of Business Administration. The length of the course varies from four to six years according to the proportion of day and evening study. Similar work has been conducted by Northeastern University.

Lawrence Scientific School (1862 – 1930)

The Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard, founded about the middle of the last century, has varied somewhat in character and aims. From 1906 to 1914 it was a graduate school, like those of law and medicine. From 1914 to 1918 it was nearly discontinued in consequence of a cooperative arrangement between Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; subsequently pronounced unauthorized by the Supreme Court. Since the latter date it has been maintained on an undergraduate basis, with a present registration of 251. The cooperative plan to which reference has been made had been preceded by several previous efforts to make the institute virtually the engineering division of the university, with a view to eliminating what was deemed by some wasteful duplication. An important factor in determining the policy of the university has been the bequest of the late Gordon McKay, under which a large and increasing sum becomes available for education in applied science. The location of the Institute in Cambridge since 1916 facilitates a certain amount of informal cooperation with the university.

POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTES

The Worcester Polytechnic Institute, founded in 1865, has developed along somewhat similar lines on a less extensive scale, with a present registration of 564. Instruction of high grade in technology has also been maintained by Tufts College.

MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE (1867 – 1930)

The Massachusetts Agricultural College was founded in 1867, and is the only one of the so-called "land-grant" colleges, under the act of Congress of 1862, which is purely agricultural. The enrollment of students for work of college grade reached a maximum (690) in 1916-17 and was 592 in 1930, not including 48 graduates. The college, like most other agricultural colleges, has in the past focussed attention rather on production than on distribution, storage, and utilization. The farms and gardens of Massachusetts fall far short of meeting its need for food, and this condition has been growing worse during the period of the college. The State is vitally concerned that its only public college should do what such an institution can, not only to develop production but to eliminate waste of food material and to insure the best distribution and use. In hardly any other State is this aspect of the situation so urgent.

In comparison with other States the college has suffered from inadequate financial support and at times from too much State regulation. Massachusetts, having depended on private support of higher education, has not recognized the danger of economizing too rigidly in the management of the institution. A tabulation of occupations of the graduates for the twenty years 1903-22 indicates, for 1190 whose occupations are known, 763 engaged in agricultural vocations. This compares favorably with similar figures for engineering colleges. As in other States, the directly educational work of the college has been complemented by research and extension teaching.

NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY (1896 – 1930)

The Young Men's Christian Association, established in 1851, initiated systematic educational work for adults in 1896. The gradual development of the work led to the incorporation, twenty years later, of Northeastern College, changed in 1922 to Northeastern University. The day division is operated on the "cooperative plan," under which the student spends alternate five-week periods in the institution and in industry. This division includes the School of Engineering and that of Business Administration. The evening division includes a School of Law, established in 1898, and that of Commerce and Finance. Secondary and extension work are also conducted.

LOWELL TEXTILE INSTITUTE

The school was founded at Lowell by private donations in 1897. Receiving State aid from the first, it became completely a State institution in 1918. Both day and evening classes are maintained, only grammar school preparation being required for the latter. Since 1913 degrees have been conferred for the completion of four-year courses. In establishing these courses it was believed that, in addition to training in technical processes, it was desirable to give a broader education for administrative positions in the mills, enabling students as future managers and operators to deal intelligently with the larger problems of the textile industry.

RESEARCH IN APPLIED SCIENCE

The difficulty and the magnitude of the industrial and economic problems confronting the State emphasizes the urgent importance of corresponding provision for research. The inventive talent and general ingenuity of the Yankee are proverbial, but are less and less equal to the complexity of these problems, unless supplemented and reinforced by thorough scientific training.

The importance of agricultural research has long since been recognized by the national government in the liberal appropriations made for the support of agricultural experiment stations in connection with the land-grant colleges. Massachusetts has naturally profited by this legislation. Yet, in spite of the far greater importance of its manufacturing industries, the State has done relatively little to encourage needful research in the fields of applied science on which these industries depend. To a large and increasing extent this need has been met by private institutions, notably the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but much more needs to be done and is in fact done by other States. In the words of a recent report: "Unless Massachusetts adopts some plan for the support of engineering research, it seems very likely that its industries will in the long run be placed at a disadvantage as compared with those of other States where liberal State support is given to engineering research carried on at engineering colleges."

Professional Schools

In the older professions of theology, law, medicine, and (more recently) dentistry, schools of high rank are maintained by Harvard and Boston University, as well as by Tufts in medicine and the Roman Catholic colleges in theology. Northeastern University and the Suffolk Law Schools have large evening law classes.

While only the briefest mention can be made of these highly specialized forms of education, one notable aspect of legal and medical education is too fundamentally important to be overlooked. In its university schools of law and medicine, notably those of Harvard, Massachusetts may challenge comparison with any other State. On the other hand, a latitudinarian quality in the legislature, and presumably in the people of the State, has successfully resisted all attempts to establish high or even tolerable standards for the practice of these professions. Consequently inferior schools exist, inferior practitioners from other States are attracted to Massachusetts, and superior graduates from its own superior schools are encouraged to locate where standards are higher.

Science and Invention

Geographical boundaries have become less and less significant for science during these recent decades, with the extraordinary development of facilities for communication and transportation. The chemistry and biology of Massachusetts are the same as those of California; laboratories and workers, however, are localized subject to migration of the latter. Massachusetts as an older State, somewhat exceptionally provided with colleges, libraries and museums, and favored by wealth and density of population, has produced more than her share of scholars and inventors. In *Who's Who* she is second only to New York both as to birthplace and residence of persons of note therein. In *American Men of Science,* on the other hand, it appears that her relative superiority (like that of other eastern States) has gradually declined with the falling birthrate of men who have subsequently become scientific leaders. Of 601 such men selected in 1921, and still in the 1927 list, 106 held degrees from Harvard; 20, from the Massachusetts Institute; 6, from Clark; 5, from Williams. Among the ten strongest departments in the United States, Harvard was considered first in chemistry, physiology and zoology; second or third in astronomy, botany, geology, mathematics, pathology, physics, psychology.

Without venturing into technical fields or making any attempt at completeness of statement, mention may be made (without including the living) of Theodore Richards in chemistry for his refined methods in the exact determination of atomic weights; of Alpheus Hyatt, Frederick Putnam, Samuel Scudder and Alexander Agassiz for carrying on the tradition of the elder Agassiz in various fields of natural science; of William Sedgwick and his associates for biological investigations covering the whole field of sanitary science and public health; of Ellen Richards for pioneer work in the development of domestic science and the chemistry of water supplies; of William James, Josiah Royce and Stanley Hall in philosophy and psychology; of Charles Sargent in the development of horticulture at the Arnold Arboretum; of Edward Pickering in astronomy.

In engineering, notable achievements are the Boston Subway, the Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Systems, and the immense scientific industrial development of the General Electric and Edison Electric Illuminating Companies.

In aeronautics and related fields, researches carried on at the laboratories of the Massachusetts Institute and elsewhere during the later years of the Great War have had far-reaching influence.

New England Conservatory of Music

Another important professional institution is the New England Conservatory of Music, established in Boston in 1853. The aim is primarily to prepare students for a professional career. The registration in 1928–1929 included 3,070 students from all parts of the United States, and 77 from foreign countries. In 1929 five degrees were conferred, besides a large number of diplomas in particular fields.

National Educational Service of Massachusetts

Not only the larger institutions—Harvard, the Institute of Technology—but several of the smaller colleges, both for men and women, are eagerly sought by students from all over the country. Some of them have recently deemed it wise to protect the quality of their work against possible impairment by limiting the number of their students. Williams, for example, draws but 17 per cent of its students from Massachusetts, Wellesley 18 per cent, Smith 21 per cent, Mount Holyoke 26 per cent, in comparison with Harvard 39 per cent, Boston College 96 per cent, Boston University 81 per cent, etc. Massachusetts ranks first among the forty-eight States in the proportion of students from other States attending her colleges and universities.

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CHAPTER IX

LIBRARIES PUBLIC AND PRIVATE
(1890–1928)

BY CHARLES F. D. BELDEN
Director of the Boston Public Library

CONDITIONS FORTY YEARS AGO

"All nations recognize the United States as leading in the matter of libraries. The United States recognizes the New England States, and especially Massachusetts, as its head, and Massachusetts looks at Boston as the Mecca of the ideal library system." This statement, made by Melvil Dewey in 1889, at the dedication of the free library of Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, expressed the general opinion of the time. In articles and addresses dealing with library affairs, Massachusetts in the 'eighties and 'nineties was referred to as "the banner State," while the Public Library of Boston was spoken of as "the noblest institution of its kind in America, and the largest free circulating library in the world." The figures of the United States Bureau of Education in 1891 amply corroborate these testimonies. The statistics showed that at that time the number of libraries wholly or mainly supported by taxation was 179 in Massachusetts, as against 220 in all the rest of the Union; 29 states being totally without public libraries.

How far have Boston and Massachusetts maintained their preeminent position in the library world during these last forty years? Library conditions in America have tremendously advanced during the last generation. Towns which not long ago did not possess even a public school now have a modern library; cities which at the end of the last century did not spend a cent of public money on books are now spending millions of dollars. Hence Boston and Massachusetts no longer hold the unique position they once occupied. This does not mean that Boston and Massachusetts have fallen behind; it merely means that the country has caught up with their standards.

OUTSIDE INFLUENCE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Boston and Massachusetts have played a significant part in the advancement of the public library movement in America. Eighty years ago this city and State were the first to start the movement for public libraries. Forty years ago Massachusetts set the example, establishing public library commissions to promote library interest, especially in the towns of the Commonwealth. As soon as the Massachusetts Free Public Library Commission began to work, inquiries about its activities came from every State of the Union, even from various parts of Europe. At present all the New England States, and the majority of all the States of the Union, have established commissions.

In the field of public and private libraries, Massachusetts is still in the lead. It is the only State in the country in which there is no town, no matter how small, without the benefit of a public library. In 1930 Massachusetts harbors 415 free public libraries (excluding branch libraries) in our 355 cities and towns. The Public Library of the City of Boston stands acknowledged as the head of this great system. In addition it is one of the three outstanding scholarly public libraries of America. The Library of Congress and the New York Public Library surpass it in the wealth of their collections; but the Boston Library has set an example in the liberality with which its great collections are made available for consultation and for free circulation. So has the Massachusetts Archives, property of the Commonwealth, with more than a million pieces of manuscript, and still the richest mine of material for the early history of America. And there is the State Library, a public library in almost every sense, one of the greatest of its kind. Alongside these official, tax-supported collections rest the treasures of the Massachusetts Historical Society and of the American Antiquarian Society libraries, which make these manuscript resources well-nigh inexhaustible. To these should be added the great association libraries, like the Boston Athenæum, the General Theological

Library, and the libraries of a dozen or more colleges—particularly the vast Library of Harvard University, with its nearly three million volumes. It is obvious that Massachusetts is still in library affairs the "banner State," while Greater Boston is probably the greatest book center in America.

Rise of the Boston Public Library (1852–1895)

First established in 1852, the Boston Public Library in 1858 moved into one of the first public buildings erected in Massachusetts for the housing of books. This Boylston Street edifice was thought to be spacious, and even luxurious. In hardly more than twenty years the construction proved too small; from 71,000 volumes in 1858, the collections had increased to nearly 400,000 by 1880. Recognizing the need for a larger building, the legislature granted to the city a very valuable and central plot of land for the site of a new building. This tract was at the corner of Dartmouth and Boylston Streets—where the great library now stands.

The erection of the building was entrusted to the New York firm of McKim, Mead & White. The actual work was begun in 1888, and it lasted for seven years. Considerable financial difficulties arose. The cost, originally estimated at $450,000, exceeded $2,300,000. But the building—with its noble facade in Italian Renaissance style, with its spacious entrance hall, beautiful corridors and arcaded courtyard, and lavishly decorated with paintings and sculptures by some of the best contemporary artists through private gifts—won the admiration of both laymen and experts.

Contents and Circulation

Even a short review of the development of this library during the last thirty-five years requires recourse to figures, which more concisely than anything else reflect the facts.

In 1895 the Boston Public Library contained 628,000 volumes. By the end of 1928 this number had risen to 1,442,000. In 1895 the system included twelve branches and nine reading rooms besides the central Library. At present, with the elimination of the distinction between branches and reading rooms, there are thirty-two branches. The present number of card holders, possessed of the registered privilege of drawing books, is 149,000; and the yearly circulation of books for use outside the building is nearly 4,000,000. In Bates Hall alone —the main reading room of the Library, with a seating capacity of 310—some 300,000 volumes were used during the last year. How many of the 10,000 reference books kept there on open shelves were consulted, and how many times, remains of course uncounted.

The annual appropriation for 1928 was a little over $1,138,000. In addition, the Library has a yearly income of about $27,500 from its trust funds, the aggregate sum of which is $765,000. During the past few years the yearly sum of $125,000 has been set aside from the annual appropriation for the purchase of books; in addition to which the income of the trust funds is used almost entirely for that purpose. In trust funds and gifts, $466,000 has been received since 1889.

The number of acquisitions, through purchases and gifts, is steadily increasing. In the single year 1928, over 98,000 volumes were added to the Library. The problem naturally arises: where to find room for all these books? For the last ten years this question has been the chief care of the Library's administration. Although in 1918 an annex was built on the Blagden Street portion of the building, this relief can be but temporary: the need for more space is already pressing.

The Public Library Collections

One of the chief distinctions of the Boston Public Library lies in its exceptionally rich special collections. The private library of Nathaniel Bowditch, the eminent navigator and mathematician, was given to the Library in 1858. The library of Thomas Prince, one of the most outstanding collections of Americana, bequeathed by him to the Old South Church, was placed in the custody of the Library in 1866. In 1871 the Ticknor collection of Spanish and Portuguese books was received. The Barton collection of Shakespeareana and of other Elizabethan and Jacobean authors was acquired in 1873. In 1881 the library of Theodore Parker came into the possession of the Library.

Courtesy of Halliday Historic Photograph Co.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

Courtesy of Boston College

LIBRARY AT BOSTON COLLEGE

Under the care of such trustees as Edward Everett, George Ticknor and Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, and under the leadership of librarians like Charles C. Jewett, Justin Winsor and Mellen Chamberlain, the Boston Public Library has occupied a commanding position among the libraries of America. The City gave liberally for the development of the general collections, while scholars left to the institution their private collections.

After the early 'nineties the situation had perceptibly changed. Year after year it became increasingly difficult for the administrators of the Library to keep up its distinctive character. On one side, the city appropriations became more inadequate; on the other, the attention of donors turned to the rapidly growing university and college libraries.

Several important special collections, however, have been received since the 'nineties. In 1894 the library of President John Adams, formerly in the Public Library of Quincy, was deposited in this Library. In the same year Allen A. Brown gave his unusually rich music library, to which in 1909 he added his large collection of dramatic literature. In 1896 Thomas W. Higginson gave "The Galatea Collection of Books relating to the History of Women"; in 1897 the Boston Browning Society deposited its books. Mellen Chamberlain bequeathed to the Library his collection of rare manuscripts and autographs, together with several hundred choice printed books. This collection was received in 1900. In that year Mrs. Rufus W. Griswold presented a most valuable group of Poe letters, and letters of Poe's friends, to the Library. In 1917 Josiah Henry Benton left to the library his unusual collection of Books of Common Prayer, nearly seven hundred volumes, among them being many rare and early editions. The most important late acquisition of the library was the unique Defoe collection of Professor William P. Trent of New York, which was purchased in 1928.

The Library endeavors to do its best to serve both the average public and research scholars. At an expense of a quarter of a million dollars, a treasure room has been built, and the Barton Room and the north gallery of the third floor, where the special collections are located, have been put in fire-proof condition.

STATE LIBRARY OF MASSACHUSETTS (1826–1930)

The origin of the State Library may be traced back to 1811, when provision was made for the annual interchange of statutes between the States. The Massachusetts State Library is primarily a legislative reference library, kept according to the first statute on the subject, in 1826, "for the use of the governor, lieutenant-governor, council, general court and such officers of the government and other persons as may be permitted to use it." As the Library has increased, the number of other persons permitted to use it has also increased. In fact, the main portion of the Library has become in every sense public.

The State Library, as established by the Act of 1826, provided that the books and maps in the several departments of the State House should be collected in the Land Office. Thereupon, the collection of statutes by Massachusetts led to the formation of legislative libraries throughout the country. Additional statutes of 1836, 1860, 1882 and 1902 defined and redefined the scope of the Library. The trustees summed up these again in their annual report for 1910 as follows: "The library should possess the laws and the judicial decisions of the United States, the several States and Territories; the laws and the judicial decisions of Great Britain and her colonies and dependencies; and the statute laws, at least, of all the other countries of the civilized world. . . . The library's collection in this line to-day is unique. . . . The library should contain the congressional and public documents of the United States and of the several States; the parliamentary reports, *i.e.,* the sessional papers, of Great Britain and selected departmental reports of her colonies and dependencies. The library possesses most of these. . . . The library has a large collection of material relating to New England, and especially to Massachusetts as colony, province and commonwealth. This material includes history, biography, genealogy, town reports, maps and newspapers. All possible additions should be made to this collection." Among a number of other recommendations, the trustees suggested that each department of the government should have its special library. The policy thus prescribed has been systematically carried out—within the available means. To-day the State Library contains nearly 500,000 books and pamphlets.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE ARCHIVES (1821–1930)

The public archives from 1630 to date consist principally of papers relating to legislation, deposited there in accordance with the law. But the Archives contain also many papers not mentioned in the Massachusetts Bay Records, Province Laws, or Acts and Resolves.

The Archives first attracted the attention of the legislature in 1821, when the house of representatives ordered that the Secretary of the Commonwealth be directed to make out a statement of the condition of public records and documents belonging to the Commonwealth. In 1831 a fireproof addition was built to the State House for the safekeeping of the Archives; and in 1836 Joseph B. Felt was appointed to arrange the material. Within the next ten years all the papers relating to legislation had been classified up to 1780. These papers, about 200,000 pieces arranged under 76 topical headings, fill 241 volumes. Three volumes of Hutchinson papers and eighty-one volumes of miscellaneous papers belong also to this group, called the "Archives proper." From 1780 to date at least a million other pieces of legislative papers have accumulated.

The Massachusetts State Archives contain, in addition, the following groups of documents: about 5,000 maps and plans, from 1630 to date, including the official town series of 1794 and 1830, many of which are unique; the General Court records, from 1628 to date, including the judicial court records from 1628 to 1686; the printed House Journals from 1730 to 1779, the only perfect file covering that period in existence; the executive and legislative records of the Council, from 1692 to 1780; the engrossed acts from 1692 to date; the house and senate journals, from 1780 to date; the Council records and files from 1780 to date; the Charters of Massachusetts of 1628 and 1691, with the explanatory Charter of 1726 and the Exemplification; the Constitutions of Massachusetts, and the proceedings and papers of the various constitutional and other conventions of 1779-80, 1788, 1814, 1820, 1853 and 1917-1919; the military records of the Pequot, King Philip's, French and Indian, and Revolutionary Wars and Shays's Rebellion; miscellaneous records extending to every phase of the history of Massachusetts. The work of arranging and classifying is satisfactorily progressing, but as yet no adequate list of this immense material exists.

Town Libraries in 1890

The example of Boston in founding its public library was quickly followed by other communities of the Commonwealth. The Civil War interrupted the movement, but in the early 'seventies it was already in full swing. In 1839 Horace Mann, then secretary of the Board of Education, found that there were from ten to fifteen town libraries in the State, containing in all about 4,000 volumes. Alongside these were 299 "social libraries," with 180,000 volumes. Of these, 36, containing 81,000 volumes, were located in Boston. These "social libraries" were not open to the public; only 25,000 "proprietors" had access to them. Half a century showed a vast difference. Out of the 351 towns and cities of the Commonwealth in 1889, no less than 175 had free public libraries under municipal control; and 248 had libraries in which the people had rights or free privileges. In 1839 there were only 300,000 books in all the libraries of Massachusetts; in 1889 there were 2,500,000. Whereas in the 'thirties less than a sixth of the population had any right of access to books, in the 'eighties only about a sixteenth was without it. The 103 towns which had no libraries numbered only about 135,000 inhabitants, out of a total population of 2,239,000.

Free Public Library Commission (1890–1925)

With the desire to provide those 103 small towns with public libraries and to help the library activities in the others, the legislature of the Commonwealth in May, 1890, passed an act empowering the governor to appoint five persons to constitute a Board of Library Commissioners. Twenty-nine years later (1919), in a general redistribution of executive departments, this commission was placed under the Department of Education of the Commonwealth. Since then it has been known as the Division of Public Libraries.

The principal regulations of the original Statute of 1890 were as follows: "The librarian or trustees of any free public library may ask the Board for advice in regard to the selection of books, the cataloguing of books, and any other matters pertaining to the maintenance or administration of the library.

"The Board is authorized and directed to expend, upon the application of the board of library trustees of any town having no free public library owned and controlled by the town, a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars for books for any such town.

"Any town accepting the provisions of this Act shall annually appropriate from the dog tax, or shall otherwise annually provide for the use and maintenance of its free public library, a sum not less than fifty dollars, if its last assessed valuation was one million dollars or upward," with similar smaller sums for less populous places.

The Library Commission saw its task clearly from the beginning and addressed itself to it with great skill and enthusiasm. Its work during the last forty years is inseparable from the growth of the public libraries in the towns of Massachusetts.

A Free Library in Every Town (1890–1930)

One of the first acts of the State Library Commission was to make clear what it meant by a free public library. "The Commission desires it to be understood," it announced, "that its definition of a 'free public library' applies only to libraries that allow the free circulation of books for general reading to the homes of the inhabitants of the towns in which they are located, and that are managed as a public trust." Next, the Commission devoted itself to an intensive study of the existing conditions. Its first chairman, Caleb B. Tillinghast, then State librarian, compiled from the reports of the Board of Education a large collection of facts about the free libraries of the Commonwealth. This compilation—published with the first report of the Commission and filling nearly three hundred printed pages—is a monument of public library conditions in Massachusetts at the beginning of the 'nineties.

The field work of the Commission was begun at once. Enlisting the cooperation of officials, professional men and other citizens interested in libraries, the Commission started agitation, in every town not yet having a public library, for taking action to conform with the requirements of the Act of 1890.

The results were quick. At the annual town meetings held the following spring, 37 communities were reported as accepting the provisions of the act. A year later, 19 other towns came in line. Within five years, only 32 towns were without a free public library, and this number diminished from year to year. By 1904, Newbury was the only town without a library; but the inhabitants of this town enjoyed the privileges of the library of the adjoining town, Newburyport. In 1905 a new town, Plainville, was formed which waited for its library until 1908. In September, 1926, Newbury secured its own library. Since then, in point of free public libraries the towns and cities of the Commonwealth have been one hundred per cent complete.

Helping the Small Libraries (1900–1930)

In 1900 the legislature passed a new act, authorizing the commission to render additional aid, a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, to small libraries in towns the valuation of which did not exceed six hundred thousand dollars. In 1906 this act was modified to the effect that the commission was authorized to spend annually a sum not exceeding two thousand dollars. In 1914 this sum was raised to ten thousand dollars, and the number of towns to be helped was correspondingly enlarged. From that time on, all towns with a valuation under $1,000,000 had a right to ask for direct aid. The distinction between towns which had libraries before 1890 and those which had not was abolished.

To intensify the work of the commission, the appointment of a field agent was necessary. Since 1910 this representative of the commission has been in direct contact with the libraries, visiting them, discussing their problems on the scene, and making suggestions for various ways of improvement.

The Library Commission could not have accomplished its work with such success without the support of private individuals and various organizations. Among the latter, the Woman's Education Association and the Library Art Club have rendered particularly effective service. For some thirty years, ending in 1926, the Woman's Education Association maintained nearly two hundred traveling libraries, which it loaned to small libraries. In addition, it operated over sixty picture collections. Members of the association have systematically visited the town libraries since the 'nineties. These visits, regularly maintained for many years, helped to settle matters of policy and administration with trustees and librarians. The association's "Committee on Libraries," in addition has been active in the preparation of book lists, which have been regularly sent out by the Commission to public libraries in the State.

The Library Art Club was originally organized for obtaining and exhibiting photographs, or other works of art. Libraries, art and reading clubs, village improvement societies became members of the club—to the number of a hundred and over. Within a few years the club possessed nearly two hundred sets of pictures, which are still in circulation.

To promote cooperation, an act of the legislature was passed in 1911, authorizing inter-library loans. The larger public libraries when possible lend reference and other expensive books to the smaller libraries. The college and special libraries necessarily place more restrictions on their lending of books.

About one third of the small libraries immediately took advantage of the inter-library loan system. The larger number of the books were lent by the Boston Public Library and others from neighboring libraries. Soon these libraries found the demands upon them burdensome, and felt compelled to decline many of the requests. The smaller libraries turned for aid to the Commission, which has bought books on various subjects as required for their use.

In recent years the commission has extended its aid, under legislative authority, to numerous State and county institutions. The State prisons at Charlestown, Framingham and Rutland, the State industrial school for boys at Shirley, and the Essex County jail at Salem have been among the institutions thus aided.

Library Work with Schools, Children and Foreigners

The public libraries have included in their sphere of activity within the last thirty years two important new fields: the work with the schools and children, and the work with foreigners.

The use of libraries by children was not new even thirty years ago. The Boston Public Library established its Children's Room in 1895; and following this example many of the smaller libraries began to provide suitable facilities—low tables and chairs, or rooms set apart for children. The necessity of buying books for their special use became fully acknowledged.

The cooperation between public libraries and public schools has also gained in intensity every year. In recent years, library instruction has been regularly given in normal schools. In the larger number of the towns of the Commonwealth the school has became a regular distributing agency, loaning books for general reading both to children and adults. Most libraries, on the other hand, have granted special privileges to teachers and pupils. With the new method of teaching, based not only on textbooks but also on collateral reading, the dependence of the schools upon books is ever increasing. The new high-school buildings are now provided with library rooms, and more and more high schools are employing trained librarians.

Just as in earlier days a prejudice existed against children's using the library, so there was a prejudice against the foreign-born. This latter, too, has gradually broken down. The librarians are realizing that many of the foreign-born are well educated. Librarians are now eager to secure well rounded collections for them in their own language. The Library Commission has a special agent, who is constantly in touch with the libraries of towns and cities which have large foreign populations. In many cases the Commission itself supplies the books for the use of aliens. It has nearly four hundred such traveling libraries, printed in more than twenty languages.

LIBRARY BUILDINGS

One of the most conspicuous features of the development of public libraries has been the erection of library buildings throughout the State. After the Civil War numerous memorial libraries were built, both by individuals and associations. Not all these libraries were designed in an impeccable style; indeed, with their turrets and waste spaces the majority reflect a taste that today seems showy and unpractical. Yet they have served the need, and have fitted in with the other architectural monuments of the period. The Library Commission has carried on an effective propaganda for the building of suitable new libraries. Since 1890 over a hundred new buildings were erected in the State.

Today 316 towns own library buildings given by past or present residents, or in memory of former residents. Among these are 42 buildings to which Andrew Carnegie was the chief contributor. At present there are comparatively few towns without a library building or a home for the library in the town hall.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (1636–1930)

The library of Harvard University, begun in 1636, is the largest university library in the world. It equals in size the New York Public Library, and in this country it is second only to the Library of Congress in the number of its volumes.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the library of Harvard College contained hardly more than 20,000 volumes. Then in quick succession it acquired a number of valuable special collections, so that by 1840 it had about 50,000 books. In that year a new library building, Gore Hall, was erected. With the help of substantial trust funds, the library grew rapidly to 160,000 volumes by 1877, and to nearly 400,000 volumes by 1892. Justin Winsor, a born investigator and organizer, and from 1868 to 1877 superintendent of the Boston Public Library, took over the inert books and made them a living library. He developed the building up of special open collections for students, and "over night" books. He stimulated the use of books on the shelves by qualified investigators. He humanized the card catalogue. The need for a new building became imperative. Yet, for lack of funds, the college authorities were obliged to postpone building from one year to another.

In 1913 Mrs. George D. Widener, of Philadelphia, offered a suitable library building to the University in memory of her son, Harry Elkins Widener, a graduate of Harvard and a collector of fine books, who was lost in the catastrophe of the *Titanic*. The building, one of the most impressive and best-equipped fireproof library buildings in the world, was finished and dedicated in 1915. The capacity of its stacks is about 2,200,000 volumes. Each floor has a series of reading stalls, in all about three hundred; these stalls offer great comfort to the scholar, who thus has direct access to the books in which he is interested. There are also some sixty small rooms for the use of professors.

The term "Harvard University Library" comprises all the books in the possession of the university. Harvard College Library, located in the Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library, constitutes the central collection; but sixteen departmental libraries, integral parts of the University library, are housed outside of Widener Building. In the Widener Memorial Library alone there are some 1,548,500, mostly volumes and pamphlets, classified by subject; while the outside special libraries and the departmental libraries more than double this number.

Harvard Special Libraries

Hardly more than a mere enumeration of the departmental libraries can be made, though several of these are considered as the most nearly complete collections of their kind that exist.

	Volumes and Pamphlets
Engineering School	5,500
Theological School (Andover-Harvard Library)	190,700
Law School	318,800
Medical School (Boston)	160,600
Dental School (Boston)	4,900
School of Business Administration	125,000

School of Architecture	4,100
School of Landscape Architecture	13,000
School of Education (including Vocational Library)	43,000
Bussey Institution (Jamaica Plain)	37,900
Arnold Arboretum (Jamaica Plain)	46,000
Museum of Comparative Zoology	141,600
Peabody Museum	20,000
Gray Herbarium	35,600
Astronomical Observatory	64,000
Blue Hill Observatory (Readville)	25,100

Two of these special libraries occupy a status different from that of the other departmental libraries. The Andover-Harvard Theological Library was established through the affiliation of the Andover Theological Seminary and the Harvard Divinity School; and the books, though they are merged into one joint library, remain the property of whichever institution acquires them. The library of the Graduate School of Business Administration, called the George Baker Library, on the other hand, benefitted in part at its foundation in 1925 from the collection of business books in the Boston Public Library, several thousand of which have been deposited there. At the same time an agreement was concluded between the authorities of Harvard University and the Boston Public Library, according to which the Baker Library became technically a branch of the Boston Public Library.

The special collections of Harvard College Library, in and outside of the Widener Memorial Building, are too numerous to mention. The library's collection of incunabula numbers some three thousand volumes. In English literature and American history, the library is particularly rich in rare and valuable items, the most precious of which are kept in a special Treasure Room.

The administration of such an immense library is no simple task. At the head of the University Library is the Director, who is, ex officio, Chairman of the Council of the College Library and member of the administration committees of the departmental libraries. The general control and oversight of the college library is vested in the Library Council consisting of a chairman and six other persons. The departmental libraries are under the control of the schools or institutions to which they belong.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library (1865–1930)

In addition to Harvard University Library, there are nearly a dozen important college libraries or libraries of other higher educational institutions in Massachusetts. Perhaps the most outstanding among these is the library of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Library service at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology was for two decades supplied by a number of independent departmental libraries without any central organization, although there was a small collection known as the "general library." In 1889, when the first librarian was appointed, all these libraries contained about 18,000 volumes, not counting the pamphlets. The consolidation of these libraries took place at the time of the removal of the Institute from Boston to Cambridge. The library was systematically built up, until it now numbers 258,000 volumes, of which about 46,000 are in "branch libraries."

The Institute Library is, of course, mainly a library of scientific and technical literature. All fields of science and technology are covered, except a few in which the Institute gives no instruction nor conducts research; as, for example, agriculture and medicine. Among the few special collections are the Vail Collection in electrical engineering; the Baldwin Collection in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century engineering (on indefinite loan from the Woburn Public Library); the Dorr Collection in physics; and the Gaffield Collection on glass. Perhaps the most valuable portion of the library is its very complete collection of bound scientific periodicals. The cultural needs of the students are not neglected. Many books on cultural subjects are kept on open shelves in the central library, while one of the branches, the Walker Memorial Library, with over 7,000 volumes, is entirely devoted to recreational reading.

College Libraries

The Worcester Polytechnic Institute has a small yet good working library. The main collection is devoted to general reference, while the eight departmental libraries contain special collections. These latter are devoted to chemistry, civil engineering, drawing, electrical engineering, mathematics, mechanical engineering, physics, and physical education. The total number of volumes is about 23,000.

The Massachusetts Agricultural College, at Amherst, has another excellent scientific library—one of the best agricultural libraries in the country. It contains about 77,000 bound books, together with a large number of unbound books, pamphlets and magazines. The collection covers the general field of agriculture, science, literature, history and sociology.

The library of Clark University, at Worcester, is also strong in its research departments. It has about 130,000 bound volumes and pamphlets. The reading room regularly receives about five hundred journals. The Art Department is specially endowed, and is growing rapidly.

The branches of Boston University all have their special libraries. The College of Business Administration has a collection of 15,000 volumes; the College of Practical Arts and Letters, 4,000 volumes; the Law School, 17,000 volumes; the School of Medicine about 7,500 volumes and 5,000 pamphlets; the School of Religious Education and Social Service, about 8,000 volumes; and the School of Theology has also several thousand books. The College of Liberal Arts has its own reference collection; but the students depend perhaps even more on the great resources of the Boston Public Library.

The Library of Tufts College, at Medford, includes the Bolles collection on the history of England and of London, the Ritter music collection, and the library of the Universalist Historical Society. In all the library contains about 95,000 books. The Medical and Dental School of the college, located in Boston, has a collection of 5,000 volumes.

The Library of Boston College, at Chestnut Hill, has only recently moved into a new, beautiful building. The library—particularly rich in Catholic church history, Jesuitica, the history of the West Indies, Ireland and Africa—numbers some

110,000 volumes. Holy Cross College, at Worcester, has a library of similar nature, containing 75,000 books.

The Converse Memorial Library at Amherst College is an ideal library for a smaller college. The building, erected in 1917, has dignity and beauty. It has a capacity for 300,000 volumes. A fine general reading room is provided, and eleven department rooms. The collections exceed 150,000 volumes. Williams College, at Williamstown, has its college library proper and the Chapin Library of Rare Books. Both are located in Stetson Hall. The college library contains over 124,000 volumes and some 20,000 pamphlets. The Chapin Library, a gift of Alfred Clark Chapin, consists of about 10,000 volumes. Its main divisions are incunabula, Americana, and English literature. In addition, the collection contains a number of valuable manuscripts.

Among the women's colleges, Wellesley, Smith, Mount Holyoke and Radcliffe have fairly large libraries, each containing about 100,000 volumes. The library of Wellesley College contains also several noteworthy special collections: the Plimpton Collection of Italian books and manuscripts, chiefly of the Renaissance; the Ruskin Collection, a gift of Charles E. Goodspeed; and the collection of early and rare editions of English poetry, given for the most part by Professor George Herbert Palmer.

Boston Athenæum (1807–1930)

The great association libraries of Massachusetts, in their own sphere, have kept pace with the quick development, so characteristic of the last forty years. The Boston Athenæum is perhaps the most conspicuous among the association libraries. This is a general library, owned by shareholders. At the time of its foundation in 1807, the list of "subscribers" included the entire leading society of the town, and the larger number of the shares are still in the families of the original founders. The Boston Athenæum is a typical Boston institution.

With the constant interest of its public, the library of the Athenæum has quickly developed. In 1849, when its building was erected on Beacon Street, it contained nearly 50,000 volumes. It was larger than Harvard College Library; it was one of the largest libraries in America. As a meeting-place of the Boston *literati,* the Athenæum played an interesting part in the literary life of the period. This special significance of the institution has gone by; yet even under vastly different new conditions, the Boston Athenæum has kept its vitality.

The policies of the institution may be best characterized in the words of Charles K. Bolton, its librarian. "During the past thirty years," he wrote in one of his later annual reports, "the Athenæum has attempted to face its problems frankly. To live in the centre of the business district with our space and financial resources both limited, it has been necessary to abandon all idea of a general library, and restrict ourselves to a definite field. This field we sometimes define as a gentleman's library, keeping to such subjects as biography, history, travel, poetry, fiction, letters, and essays, frankly eliminating science in its more technical aspects, and works relating to the professions, in which we could not hope to excel. Neither have we attempted to transform the Athenæum into a circulating library wherein may be obtained fifty or one hundred copies of each popular novel. That need, it seems to us, must be met by commercial enterprises with which our Proprietors may ally themselves, while they still retain interest in the Athenæum."

Among the special collections of the Athenæum, the library of George Washington deserves first mention. The books which belonged to the first President number 384 volumes, and are chiefly on agriculture and military science. The library was acquired in 1855 from Henry Stevens in London, through a popular subscription engineered by Charles Eliot Norton. The famous King's Chapel library, a collection of Church of England books, sent to Boston in 1698 by the Bishop of London, have been in the Boston Athenæum since 1823. Substantial is the Athenæum's collection of views of old houses. The files of early Boston newspapers are also remarkable for completeness. The collection of first editions of American authors—Emerson, Hawthorne, Holmes, Longfellow, Lowell, Thoreau, Whittier—is especially rich.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1780–1930)

This learned society was founded in 1780, prior to the close of the Revolutionary War. Its library is as old as the institution itself. The Academy early established exchanges with most of the academies and scientific societies of the world—such as the academies of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Amsterdam, St. Petersburg, Rome, the Royal Society of London, etc. In this way it has acquired long and valuable files of the publications of these institutions. It has also acquired a selected list of scientific periodicals. The library, as it stands today, consists of about 40,000 volumes and several thousand pamphlets. It is the richest in the fields of physics, chemistry and mathematics.

Massachusetts Historical Society (1790–1930)

In 1790, under the guidance of Dr. Bellamy, was founded the first of State historical societies, for the purpose of the "preservation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts and records containing historical facts." The growth of the library was slow at the beginning; in the middle of the nineteenth century it contained about six thousand volumes and as many pamphlets. By 1899, at the time of the completion of the Society's new building on Boylston Street, the library possessed about 40,000 volumes and 100,000 pamphlets. Today the number of volumes alone exceeds 125,000. The Society's collection of American historical manuscripts is among the largest in the country; it includes such treasures as the Winthrop family papers, unique in interest for their portrayal of early colonial history. Besides collecting historical material, the Society regards as one of its chief functions the publication of such material. It has issued so far a hundred and fifty volumes, with further rich promise for the future.

American Antiquarian Society (1812–1930)

Similar in scope to the Massachusetts Historical Society is the American Antiquarian Society, founded in Worcester in 1812. It is dedicated to the collecting and preserving of materials for the study of American history. The field is strictly limited to America, North and South. Having a clearly defined purpose from the beginning, the library of the society had an excellent opportunity for acquiring material. Its collection of American newspapers, for instance, particularly for the period previous to 1820, is the largest in the country; and for the period from 1820 to the present time only the Library of Congress ranks with it. Also in general history the library is fairly complete for the early period, the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Civil War. In local history—that is, the State, county and town histories of the several States—the collection is the best in New England. American biography is particularly well represented. There are about 12,000 such titles in the library, besides 6,000 genealogies. Of special importance in this connection are the Jennison papers, containing about 10,000 biographies of Americans of the first half of the nineteenth century; the Rice Collection of 20,000 envelopes of newspaper clippings, mostly biographical; and the index of biographies in newspapers from 1875–1927, now in process of compilation, which will refer to over 150,000 names. The Spanish-American collection of the library now numbers over 12,000 titles.

In the economic fields, the collection of statistical material —18,000 town reports, 40,000 institutional reports, and 4,000 railroad reports—is especially noteworthy. In the subject of education, the library contains about 30,000 books and pamphlets relating to colleges, 12,000 relating to high schools, and 14,000 textbooks. Early American literature and printing are among the strong points of the library. Between 1639 and 1820 about 75,000 books and pamphlets were issued from the various presses of the country. Of these the library possesses over 40,000. The collection of manuscripts, exceptionally rich in documents of early New England history and of the Revolution, contains over 200,000 pieces.

The present building of the society was erected in 1910 and considerably enlarged in 1924. The library, with over a half million titles, is one of the best research libraries of the country.

SPECIAL SOCIETIES

The Essex Institute in Salem was founded in 1848 by the union of the Essex Historical Society and the Essex County

Natural History Society. In the library of the Institute the collection of manuscripts and broadsides, numbering over 350,000 pieces, is the most valuable. There are also several remarkable special collections: that of Essex County imprint and authors (25,000 volumes), local history (4,400), genealogy (2,000), newspapers (3,700), directories (5,000), commercial marine (2,300), log books (1,250), and over 3,000 volumes relating to China and the Chinese. The publications of the Institute include its Proceedings, Bulletins, Historical Collections, and many miscellaneous works.

The library of the New England Historical Genealogical Society—founded in 1844—has naturally specialized in works on New England: in town and county histories, in directories and registers, in genealogies and biographies. The section on English history is especially rich in parish registers and records of various kinds. The library has also valuable files of American newspapers, besides a large collection of manuscripts. Few genealogical books were printed in America prior to the founding of the society; and since then the library of the society has served as headquarters for works on American family history. The collection contains over 120,000 volumes and pamphlets.

The library of the Bostonian Society, founded in 1881 and located in the Old State House, comprises about 5,000 volumes and pamphlets relating to the history of Boston. It is a reference library, used largely by students of local history.

Among special societies of recent date are the Business Historical Society, operated in relation with the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

Social Law Library (1804–1930)

Years prior to the establishment of the State Library, Boston had its Social Law Library. This library was founded in 1804 and incorporated in 1814. At the time of its incorporation, the library was given quarters in the Suffolk County Court House, and since then it has always been located in the various court houses used by Suffolk County.

The standard field of the library is United States, English and Canadian law. Books relating to British colonial law or the law of other foreign countries have been only casually collected. The Social Law Library is in reality a private library. It is not open to the public or to law students, but only to such members of the bar as take out a membership in the library. The library is and has been managed in the past from the yearly dues of the members. Apart from members, the courts of Suffolk County are entitled to the free use of the library and, to a somewhat limited extent, also the Federal Courts and the Federal, State, and city officials. Attorneys from outside the Boston suburban area, who need to use the library only occasionally, are welcome to do so without charge.

One must note here that in all the other county court houses of Massachusetts the law library is free to the public. It is only in Suffolk County that the old system, in effect before the days of public libraries, still continues. But a free law library in the Suffolk County Court House is not regarded as necessary, since the law collection of the State Library—only a short distance away—is accessible to everybody. The Social Law Library has today some twelve hundred members and over 80,000 volumes.

Theological Libraries

Unique in its kind, not only in America but possibly in the world, is the General Theological Library, on Mount Vernon Street, Boston. It is a nonsectarian institution, founded in 1820. A Social Theological Library existed in Boston since 1807; but that library, united in 1823 with the Boston Athenæum, was in a state of stagnation. Besides, the founders of the General Theological Library, trying to include all denominations, had new aims in view. Since 1900 the books of this library have been free to all the clergy in New England. At present over two thousand of the five thousand clergymen in New England are using them; about five hundred personally, and the others through the mail. The board of directors consists of twenty-one laymen representing different denominations. The library contains about 45,000 volumes. The 14,000 printed sermons are catalogued by their scripture texts.

The Congregational Library, with its 75,000 volumes; the library of the Episcopal Theological School, in Cambridge, with 28,000 volumes; and the library of the Newton Theological Institution, with 41,000 volumes, should also be mentioned. A number of other larger or smaller theological collections of less importance are to be found in the Commonwealth.

Libraries of Clubs, Societies and Museums

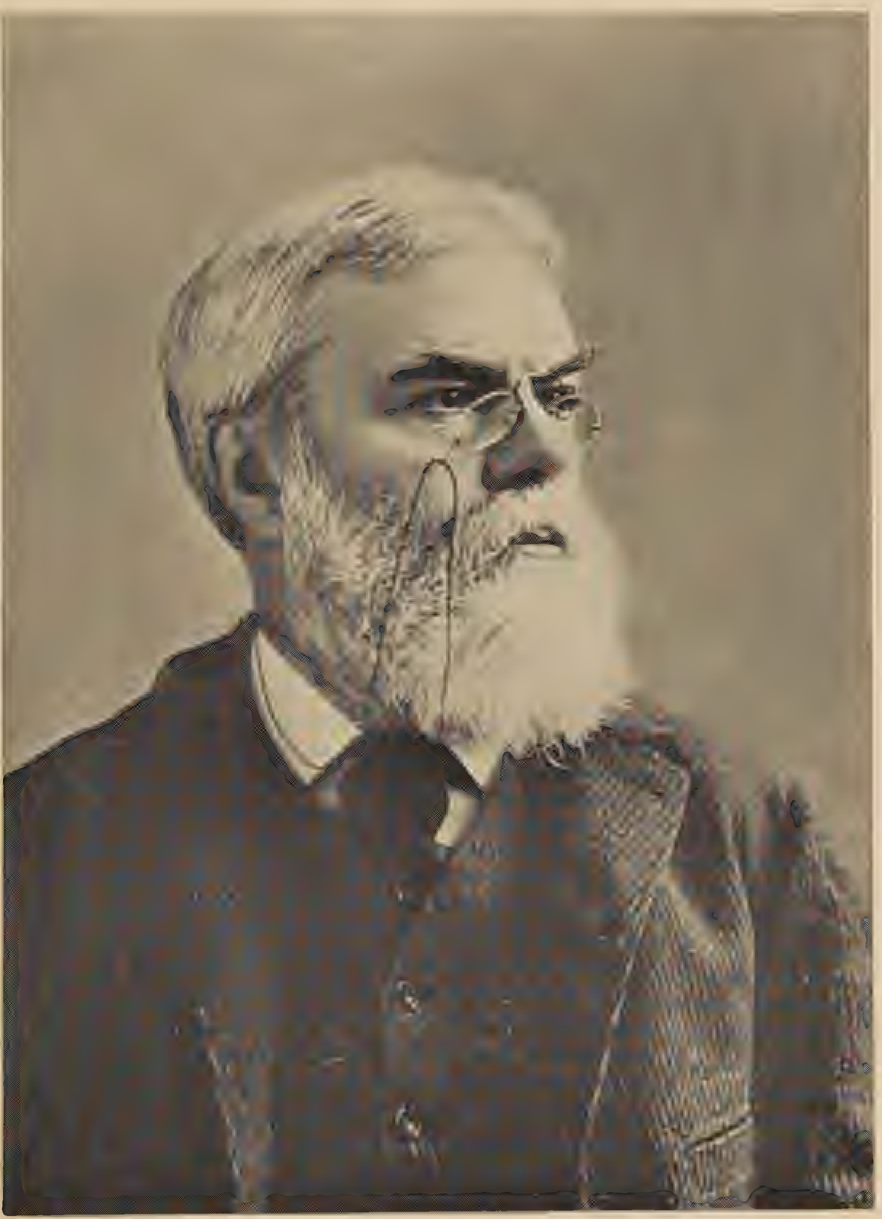
The Town Room Library is small, yet in a different way is almost as typical of Boston as the Athenæum. It contains the most important new books necessary for the information of social and civic workers. The Town Room is a department of the Massachusetts Civic League, an organization which devotes itself to promoting needed social legislation. Besides the books of the league, the library houses also the book collections of the Twentieth Century Club, the Monday Evening Club, and of the Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene. The whole library comprises about 5,000 volumes and pamphlets.

For lack of space, several libraries of worth and note cannot be included in this account. Yet mention must be made of the Library of the Museum of Fine Arts, with 40,000 volumes, many of which are particularly expensive; the Social Service Library, which, with 66,000 books and pamphlets, offers excellent opportunity for the study of social hygiene, child welfare, public health, penology, and all related subjects; the Boston Medical Library, which with over 125,000 volumes covers every branch of medical science; the Boston Society of Natural History, which contains some 52,000 volumes, besides 47,000 pamphlets; and the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, which has 27,000 volumes.

Special Libraries of Business Firms

An increasing number of large business firms—banks, manufacturing companies, big department stores, etc.—have established in recent years their own special libraries. In many instances the collections are quite considerable, reaching five or six thousand volumes; and what is more important, usually all books in these collections are "live" books. In Boston alone there are several scores of such special libraries.

In contrast to these specialized collections, there are the circulating libraries, about four hundred in Boston alone. These



Courtesy of Harvard University

Justin Winsor

libraries carry chiefly recent fiction and books of biography and travel.

Eminent Librarians

In conclusion it is proper to say a few words of the men who helped the libraries of Massachusetts to become what they are today.

The library of Harvard University has the longest uninterrupted history. During the seventeenth century nine graduates of the College served as librarians; during the eighteenth century there were forty-two librarians. Many of these men served only for the love of their work; they gave more in books and money than they received in salary. Among the names of the librarians of the nineteenth century are Charles Folsom, John Langdon Sibley, and Ezra Abbot. The present librarian emeritus of the university, William Coolidge Lane, may also be claimed by the Boston Athenæum.

Justin Winsor may be properly claimed by the Boston Public Library, which he served as superintendent from 1868 until 1877, following Charles C. Jewett. Winsor's accomplishments as a scholar, particularly as an historian, are elsewhere noted. As librarian, he was nationally regarded as a leader in the profession. Mellen Chamberlain was his worthy successor. The library is also proud to remember four fruitful years of service of Dr. Herbert Putnam, the present chief of the Library of Congress.

In the history of the Boston Athenæum the names of two librarians, those of William Frederick Poole and Charles Ammi Cutter are outstanding. The former, as editor of the *Index to Periodical Literature,* was a forerunner in large-scale bibliographical work in this country; and the latter was instrumental in the general acceptance of the modern methods of cataloguing.

To select a few where there are so many, seems always unjust. For not only Boston, but other towns and cities of Massachusetts were fortunate to have librarians who, real zealots in their profession, regarded the upbuilding of their libraries as their veritable lifework. The present era has many new requirements, but nothing can supplant the force which the personality of these earlier librarians gave to their institutions. Nevertheless, the librarians of the new generation, educated in the scientific methods of modern librarianship, are equally mindful of the highest ideals of service.

Public Service of Libraries to Massachusetts

The foregoing study of the mass of library material, the creation and expansion of libraries throughout the State, and the training of experts in library economy are a large element in the perpetuation of learning and the advancement of education. Through the facilities described above, the opportunity is given to young minds to begin that enlargement, which is in itself an education. Nothing is more potent in Massachusetts libraries than its arousing influence on the children of the community early to form the library habit.

The libraries have become very closely connected with the increasing use of books and periodicals all the way from the grades to the professional schools. The enrichment of libraries, which has been such a striking factor in the growth of the Commonwealth, makes possible a modern type of education which involves the use of first-hand materials in literature, in science, in languages, and in many other fields of human interest. The elective system in education would have been impossible without free access to collections of books organized for such use. The library system has been particularly useful in making it possible to assign individual topics for study and report.

Another great service of the libraries is the preservation, classification and cataloging of the sources of the history of the State, of the nation, and of mankind. The library demand for books of permanent value is a great encouragement to investigators and writers. This service has been especially valuable to the lawgivers of the State, through the rich collections in the State House and in Boston and other Massachusetts cities. The Commonwealth, the cities and the towns have made a large investment in libraries, which is returning a rich interest in the happiness, the knowledge and the powers of judgment of the people of Massachusetts.

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Much valuable material may be found in the files of *Libraries* and *The Library Journal*; also, in the annual reports of the public, private, and institutional libraries of the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER X

CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT, EDUCATOR OF THE COMMUNITY

(1834–1927)

By Albert Bushnell Hart
Professor Emeritus of Harvard University

The Five Protagonists

In each of the volumes of the *Commonwealth History,* one great citizen has been selected as typifying in himself the human forces which have produced the State of Massachusetts, during the period in which he lived. This protagonist in Volume I was John Winthrop, the pioneer statesman who guided in laying the foundations of the political and social systems of the infant state. For the Province of Massachusetts in Volume II, Cotton Mather typifies the intellectual and religious forces which helped to shape the growing colony. Out of the group of Massachusetts men who joined in laying the foundation of the American Union, as set forth in Volume III, John Adams stands out as the constitution builder of the State. No Massachusetts man in the nineteenth century, as set forth in Volume IV, better than Daniel Webster could represent the forces that made for a great and expanding member of a federal union that would last. For the fifth and final period of the series, the most outstanding individual was Charles William Eliot, for half a century the largest personal force in the expansion of the Massachusetts mind. Twentieth century Massachusetts has abounded in statesmen and soldiers, literary men, artists, and men of affairs. Among them Eliot stands out as the strongest intellectual character. He stood for education, for organization, for utilization of the human forces of his state.

The Boy Eliot (1834–1849)

No Massachusetts character ever better illustrated the apothegm that "the boy is father to the man." Charles William

Eliot was born March 20, 1834, on the site diagonally opposite the Parker House, at the corner of Tremont and Beacon Streets, Boston, son of Samuel A. Eliot and Mary (Lyman) Eliot. He was descended from Andrew Eliot, an emigrant from England to the town of Beverly in 1665. His grandfather Samuel A. Eliot and his grandfather Theodore Lyman were both successful business men, from whom he doubtless derived some of his extraordinary sagacity in business matters. His father, a graduate of Harvard and for a time its treasurer, served his city as mayor and his state as a member of Congress.

Charles Eliot loved in later life to recall his experiences, at home and at school. He has recorded that his great-grandfather Peabody was a blacksmith; and that "his father and mother, were carefully educated persons; and among his progenitors were several men who had been rich in their generation, able to support considerable establishments, and to give their children every accessible advantage." Down to 1900, twenty-nine of the family were graduates of Harvard College.

The interest that Charles Eliot to the end of his life felt in the education of children and youth is traceable to his lifelong discontent with the Boston private schools, through which he passed on the way to college. He never got over their inefficiency, their rigidity, and their lack of connection with practical life. Fortunately his father and mother encouraged him to enjoy an active outdoor life, including excursions in what was then the country round about Boston, and the use of boats at the family summer home at Nahant. These outdoor habits, in which he persisted all his life, without doubt contributed to his remarkable physical vigor. His intellectual associations were with Blue Boston in its most lively intellectual period. He was the friend and associate of George Bancroft, of Ralph Waldo Emerson, of Francis Parkman and the physicist Wolcott Gibbs, and the famous lawyers and judges and public men of his period.

The Harvard Student and Teacher (1849–1858)

For such a boy there could be no difficulty in entering Harvard College when he presented himself in the fall of 1849—"in a green roundabout," as a classmate remembered—and joined the student body of 350 young men. The College, after a brief trial of a weak and clumsy elective system under President Josiah Quincy, had gone back under President Walker to a hard and fast required course; in which every student studied Latin, Greek and mathematics every year of his course, with driblets of history and science and a few hazy electives. Eliot, however, struck his own road so far as possible. He was allowed to drop Greek at the beginning of his junior year, and throughout his life maintained a hostility to compulsory ancient languages in colleges.

Graduating in 1853, the next year he began his career as a teacher, an educator, a vitalizing force. He was appointed tutor in mathematics, and put his class in trigonometry to the novel practical experience of surveying the college grounds. Then he was tutor in chemistry, which became his professional subject. He established an innovation at Harvard by insisting on written examinations in his course, in a period when an analytic chemist was as rare as an Einstein nowadays.

The experience of his college life was thus described in his *Harvard Memories:* "In 1850–1853, I illustrated the same condition of things in Harvard College. From the middle of my freshman year till the end of my senior year I had, by favor of Professor Josiah P. Cooke, opportunities to study chemistry and mineralogy which no other undergraduate had; for I was made free of Professor Cooke's private laboratory and of the Mineral Cabinet of which he had charge. I also accompanied him on his visits to mineral localities and mining and metallurgical works. As I enjoyed very much these laboratory and field studies, I naturally gave a large part of my time to them. Nevertheless I stood well [second in his class] in my regular college work in all four years, there being time enough for both the compulsory and the chosen tasks, if one were diligent." Later he gave a brief course of lectures in the Harvard Medical School.

APPROACH TO THE PRESIDENCY OF HARVARD (1858–1869)

In the twenty years from 1849 to 1869, Harvard University underwent the presidencies of four men, none of them eminent except Jared Sparks. In that period, however, young Eliot was steadily coming to the front. As a tutor, along with Alexander Agassiz who was a kind of graduate student, Eliot rowed twice in a Harvard crew (not in an intercollegiate event); and his choice of red handkerchiefs to protect the heads of the athletes subsequently became the Harvard crimson. To the end of his life he preserved a lively interest in physical training for college students. In 1857 he was made assistant professor of chemistry.

In 1858 Eliot married Ellen Derby Peabody, and settled down to live in Cambridge. Presently the Civil War came on —but failed to disturb Harvard University. None of his colleagues except one (a former West Pointer) felt a call to seek service in the Union Army. In 1863 he declined the offer by Governor Andrew of a commission as lieutenant-colonel in a cavalry regiment in the Civil War. Nor was he attracted by the offer in 1865 of a large salary ($5,000 and a house) as superintendent of a textile mill. He once said to the writer of this chapter that his success in life was due to the fact that when he came home from Europe in 1865 they needed a professor of chemistry in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and he was appointed.

Meanwhile Nathaniel Thayer, a man of power, became a member of the Harvard Corporation in 1868, and sized up both the sterility of Harvard College and the potentiality of this aggressive, experimenting professor of chemistry. Presumably he was aware that vast ideas of possible reform of college institutions were forming in Eliot's mind. That mind was working out in its own way the general principles of education, of which he was to be apostle for nearly sixty years. Early in 1869 the thirty-five-years-old professor of science published two momentous articles on education in the *Atlantic Monthly,* which embodied the educational principles that underlie his subsequent practise and influence in education. Thayer's energy and confidence in his man carried his point. March 9, 1869, Eliot was informed that the Corporation was ready to make him president of Harvard College, then the most conspicuous post in Massachusetts.

HARVARD APATHY (1869)

The new president found himself enveloped in an atmosphere of difficulty and distrust. Harvard College numbered about 350 students;—the whole University about 1,088. The class of 1869 in Harvard College graduated only 111 A.Bs. The traditional college instruction there, as everywhere else in the country, was based on almost completely fixed courses, obligatory on all students, taught by recitation from textbooks. Scanty use of the library by students; no laboratory facilities for classes; the teaching force indifferent to science; no required reading; a schoolboy teaching of English composition. Such was Harvard education sixty years ago.

The President and Fellows of Harvard College (usually called the Corporation), the governing and deciding authority in Harvard, was made up of five fellows plus the president and treasurer. The Board of Overseers, which then included the members of the State senate, felt little interest in Harvard and less in educational reform. Some of the professors were eminent, but as scholars, writers or textbook magnates rather than as constructive teachers. Few of the graduates of Harvard dreamed of a radical reform of the whole teaching system in their own university. Still less were they aroused to a sense of the great changes in the social conditions of their State and of the whole United States, which required a radical departure in the methods of education at every stage. That conservative, poorly taught institution did not realize that intellectual dynamite was about to break down the apathy of a century.

The "young president" had several advantages. First of all was his fearless and confident youth; then his perfectly clear conception of an academic education based on a choice of studies instead of duress; his previous success in teaching based upon his own research and admission of students to research; and the confidence which he inspired in the conservative, practical men of affairs as an administrator, a leader, a discoverer of new methods of education, and a prophet of educational reform. He could foresee; and he could make others see with him.

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS (1869)

Nevertheless, this born reformer in the conservative community of Massachusetts, which was quite satisfied with its intellectual situation and was perfectly aware of the literary distinction of Massachusetts under the traditional educational system, experienced great difficulties in the progress of educational reform. The educational system of the State is elsewhere described: common schools, very poor in many small communities, graded schools in larger places and cities, routine textbooks, some academies for boarding pupils, half a dozen colleges, mostly headed by ex-clergymen, scanty libraries and collections. Fifty years later Eliot said: "There have been doubts, in times yet recent, whether culture were not selfish; whether men of refined tastes and manners could really love Liberty, and be ready to endure hardness for her sake." His inaugural address, delivered in 1869, contained almost every idea which he carried out in his forty years of service as president, particularly the elective system, of which he was the prophet and the champion. Then and throughout his life he was looking far beyond the borders of the university into the education best fitted to advance his State and his nation.

STATUS OF HARVARD (1869)

Before he could put his new ideas into effect, it was necessary for him to reorganize the administration of the whole university, and to bring about great changes in the personnel. "The University" he found subdivided into Harvard College, the Law School, the Divinity School, the Medical School, and the Lawrence Scientific School. These were practically separate institutions,—each with its own faculty and its own system. Each was carried on as a kind of private corporation, laying its own tuition and collecting the students' fees, with little interchange of students. Each established its own curriculum, its own conditions of entrance and graduation. As was the case in all the similar professional schools throughout the country, standards were incredibly low. A law degree was attained by attending two winter courses of lectures without examination. In the Medical School, one of the professors

Courtesy of Harvard University

SEVER HALL, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

stubbornly protested against Eliot's proposal to establish written examinations because, as he explained, Harvard Medical students could not write answers to questions; and some of them could not write at all! The Divinity School was not a place either of scholarship or enthusiasm. The Lawrence Scientific School had only 122 students, it was overshadowed by the college, and to the end of Eliot's administration was never placed on the same basis of work and scholarship as Harvard College or as the neighboring Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Like conditions obtained in all the Massachusetts colleges, and the secondary schools were no better organized or taught. The most hopeful educational movement was the foundation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston in 1871, where Eliot had been able to test some of his educational ideas.

The Presidential Task (1869)

President Eliot's lifelong conception of the functions of a college president were clearly stated in his Inaugural Address of 1869: "The President should be able to discern the practical essence of complicated and long-drawn discussions. He must often pick out that promising part of theory which ought to be tested by experiment, and must decide how many things desirable are also attainable, and what one of many projects is ripest for execution. He must watch and look before: watch, to seize opportunities to get money, to secure eminent teachers and scholars, and to influence public learning; and look before, to anticipate the due effect on the University of the fluctuations of public opinion on educational problems, of the progress of the institutions which feed the University, of the changing conditions of the professions which the University supplies, of the rise of new professions, of the gradual alteration of social and religious habits in the community. The University must accommodate itself promptly to significant changes in the character of the people for whom it exists. The institutions of higher education in any nation are always a faithful mirror in which are sharply reflected the national history and character. In this mobile nation the action and reaction between the University and society at large are more sensitive and rapid than in stiffer communities. The President, therefore, must not need to see a house built before he can comprehend the plan of it. He can profit by a wide intercourse with all sorts of men, and by every real discussion on education, legislation, and sociology."

THE ICONOCLASTIC PRESIDENT (1869–1880)

In this atmosphere of crusted conservatism and narrowness, the good men—such as Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes in the Medical School and Judge Parsons in the Law School—were helpless. There was a going in the tops of the mulberry trees when the new president appeared unsummoned at faculty meetings, and took the unheard-of step of presiding in the faculty meetings of these organizations, all of which were living chiefly on students' fees and endowed professorships.

One of the earliest and greatest triumphs of Eliot's regime was a reorganization of the Law School. He very soon called to the deanship Christopher Columbus Langdell, whose revolutionary views on the teaching of law had attracted Eliot's attention while Langdell was still a law student. The confirmation of that appointment made possible the introduction of the Case System, worked out in Langdell's brain, aided by a body of enthusiastic young teachers in the new system. It was anchored in the consciousness of the whole country by the later success of graduates of the Law School as practitioners, consultants and judges.

In the Medical School, Eliot encouraged and aided the vigorous professors to introduce new systems of research and of contact of students with actual cases of disease. To the Divinity School came a rapid change of instructors; and men of world-wide renown in their subjects were brought in. The Lawrence Scientific School did not fit into his system and went through several transitions. It took fifteen years from his induction as president to put into effect all his ideas of elective courses in the college, of research and laboratory requirements in the graduate schools, and of rigorous written examinations everywhere.

Thus he justified his own analysis of the relation of a president to a university: "The president of a university is in the first place its chief executive officer; but he should also be its leader and seer. In order to give the competent man every opportunity to exercise the functions of a leader and inspirer, he should be the presiding officer of the trustees, or other property-holding and controlling board, a member ex officio of any supervising board which the constitution of the university may provide, and the presiding officer of every faculty within the university."

The Human Element in the Eliot Reform (1869–1880)

Throughout his career, Eliot carried through his educational reforms by first reforming the men who must put the changes into effect. Some mossbacks in professional chairs gave up the struggle and resigned. A few continued as monuments of the past. Of others and of their successes Eliot spoke on his ninetieth birthday.

President Eliot quickly gathered about him in all the faculties a body of men of power, men of vision and men who were born teachers. One of his first steps was to find resolute men of learning in their fields to be deans of the professional schools. He early created a deanship of Harvard College, held in succession by two men of might—Ephraim Gurney and Charles F. Dunbar. Thus was established a relation of confidence between the authorities and the students.

The next great step in organization, which was set in action after ten years of thought and experience, was the creation of organized departments in Harvard College, each headed by a chairman. Each department held frequent meetings which included the young instructors, and voted upon plans of improvement in that particular field. With these officials, both the school executives and the committee chairmen, the president was in constant touch. They were consulted about new appointments; or the president, on his own initiative, called from other institutions in America and overseas men of mark to develop new fields of study.

The President in the Faculty

President Eliot always showed to very great advantage at the head of what first was a Faculty table, and gradually enlarged into a spacious Faculty room. His clearness, his fairness, his grasp of the subject, and his willingness to listen to everybody's contribution to a discussion, made him a model chairman. No man ever had reason to accuse him of taking amiss an argument against his own views. Late in life he admitted that he watched the debates and formed his judgments of young participants, whether they acknowledged the presiding officer or otherwise.

An example of his inability to look upon a difference of opinion on a standing question as a personal matter, was shown in the debate in the 'nineties over the president's proposition for a three-year course for the A.B.,—the only sweeping educational change which he ever proposed without its being adopted. He won over the Corporation; he secured an affirmative vote in the Faculty; it remained only to take the decision of the Board of Overseers, which was practically never denied to such propositions made by the president. Professor Nathaniel Shaler, who was greatly opposed to the plan, entered on an opposition which in other legislative bodies would have been called a lobby; and the Overseers killed the motion. Not long afterward there was a vacancy in the deanship of the Lawrence Scientific School; Nathaniel Shaler was made dean, because he was the man best fitted for that place.

Eliot Humor

The president had the reputation of being an austere man; yet there were occasions when the brow of Jove relaxed. For instance, after a violent athletic quarrel with Princeton, resulting in a severance of all athletic relations, the president one day submitted to the Faculty a letter from President McCosh, beginning: "The time has come to cease looking backward into the past, and to begin looking into the future," which caused the president to burst into such inextinguishable laughter that he was unable to finish the reading. The implied invitation to negotiate was accepted, and soon the Dove of Peace returned to the joint arks of the two Noahs.

Now and then there was a flash of convincing wit, as when the Faculty was debating a proposed new requirement for entrance; and the point was made that it might be given up because that requirement was not in force at Yale. Whereupon a member of the Faculty pointed out that the Yale Faculty had adopted it, to go into effect the next year. The President summed up the whole controversy in a sentence: "If we drop that requirement, and Yale puts it in effect, then Yale—will—take—our—place." That President Eliot was not devoid of a more searching humor was shown when a special public session of the Corporation was held in 1912 in order to do honor to Prince Henry, brother of the then German Emperor. In behalf of the Corporation, the President recalled the historical incident of Queen Victoria's declaration at the time of the Trent episode, in 1861, that she could not countenance war with the United States. Therefore the German visitor was created an LL.D. of Harvard "out of respect for his august grandmother," the Englishwoman.

National Education Reform (1869–1909)

Never did it enter Eliot's mind that the educational reforms which he brought about could stop at Harvard. From the day when his inaugural address rang out with its principles of freedom of choice, of contact with sources, of a learned body of teachers who would work with and not upon their students, President Eliot stood forth in the United States as the apostle of educational ideas which could be carried into effect in any live college, in schools far below the college grade, and in the highest laboratories of research. His position as head of a university rapidly growing in students, influence and wealth, gave access for his educational theories to other minds and other schools.

He always believed that those ideas could be applied almost at the beginning of the educational system. Therefore, throughout his active life he was in the habit of appealing to the American people in addresses before gatherings not only of the Harvard alumni but the alumni of other colleges, before learned societies, and before the great educational associations, national and State, general and special, which about that time began to spring up throughout the Union.

He always fought against rote teaching and memorizing as an anti-educational process, at every stage from the kindergarten up. For example, he attacked the system of teaching arithmetic in the lower Massachusetts schools; and he proved, by the actual experience of a friend who went over the whole body of principles and examples in the school arithmetic, that an ordinarily bright child could do all the arithmetic work of seven years in school in about seventy hours of elapsed time. He attacked the usual rote-reading books. He insisted on drawing as a school requirement. He always emphasized the value of interest in study or in sport. He demanded a training of the senses; an opportunity of experiment. As President Hyde of Bowdoin, a lifelong friend, said of him: "He has sought to extend the helping hand of sympathy and appreciation to every struggling capacity in the humblest grammar grade; to stimulate it into joyous blossoming under the sunshine of congenial studies throughout the secondary years; to bring it to a sturdy and sound maturity in the atmosphere of liberty in college life; and finally, by stern selection and thorough specialization, to gather a harvest of experts in all the higher walks of life."

Eliot's Personality

Before entering upon the nature and extent of the educational reforms, enthusiastically taken up by a group of young college presidents in the East, the West and the Far West, and by enlightened States and city superintendents of schools, and heads of high schools and grade schools, upon the general lines first marked out by President Eliot, the personality of the new educational leader should be placed in the foreground. Charles William Eliot was a man of unusual height and physical vigor, always in excellent physical condition—probably because almost to the end of his days he kept up systematic exercise; his carriage was perfect, his voice deep and sonorous. A birthmark, which would have made most men painfully conscious, faded out of the mind of those who met him or heard him speak. He was a man of power; and at the same time a man of noble and gracious bearing, and of personal dignity which was rarely assailed and could not be withstood.

His intimate friend, President Neilson, who was a professor at Harvard College and later president of Smith College, thus sums up his character and bearing: "Strong emotions under yet stronger control; broad interests seen in their just proportions; faith in the dignity and worth of man; a spirit that measures all institutions, whether political, industrial, educational, or religious, by their effect on individual character; a profound faith in spiritual unity and none in enforced uniformity; aristocracy of birth, breeding, and culture, coupled with a democrat's faith in his fellowmen and a democrat's fellowship with them whatever their culture or want of it; tenacity in the pursuit of his ends, unwearied patience in waiting on time for their accomplishment; disinterestedness in service and absolute devotion to his self-elected form of service; comprehension of great principles with mastery of details; a profoundly religious temperament that is eloquent in deeds but reticent in words; a Puritan's absolute candor and a Puritan's reserve; an open mind to truth wherever discovered and a clear discerning judgment of it; a command of English that sometimes pierces like a rapier, coupled with a stately and courtly presence—all have combined to make Dr. Eliot a great educator and a great citizen, a maker of men and a Nation's counselor."

Dean Briggs, for years one of his closest friends and professional associates, has recorded his judgment in stirring words: "He is one whom the angel would write down, not, it may be, as one who loved his fellow men, though he gave his life to their advancement,—for, democrat as he was, he had a certain aristocratic discrimination, though he never sacrificed his conscience to it,—but as one who used his gigantic powers in the determination to give every man a chance; who tenderly loved his family and his friends; who neglected no duty to home, to college, to country, or to the world; a true evangelist who preached the intellectual emancipation of all mankind."

Home and Family

His family relations were always very happy. His first wife, to whom he was deeply attached, died in 1869, leaving two sons. In 1877 he married Grace Mellen Hopkinson of Cambridge, who lived until 1924. His elder son, Charles

Eliot, became a landscape architect, but died at thirty-eight. His younger son, Samuel Atkins Eliot, became the head of a numerous family of sons, for one of whom the name of Charles William Eliot was revived.

During the greater part of the president's academic life he lived in the president's house, which was situated within the college precincts. After retirement from the presidency, he bought and occupied a house elsewhere in Cambridge. Taken all together, several years of his life were spent on an island off Mount Desert, and later in a house that he built near Seal Harbor.

He was very fond of sailing, of horseback exercise, and later of the bicycle; and he took particular pleasure in the profession of his son Charles, which aimed to perpetuate and enlarge the beauties of nature. The fortunes of his father and mother were lost in the panic of 1857. From his college salary, some profits from shore lands and other sources, he lived quietly and unostentatiously. He made many journeys in the United States, usually on his way to a public address. In the course of his life he made four long journeys to Europe; and in 1910 he took a journey around the world, and was everywhere received as a great American, a great educator and a great prophet.

A National Character

A most devoted son of Harvard and of Massachusetts, always full of dignity, always seeking the welfare of his university, Eliot's fame and his power were felt by the whole country. Few men of his time equalled him in the measured dignity of speech. His voice, his manner, his subject matter, were always original and effective. He was a powerful advocate and a bold antagonist; very apt in turning the tables on those who differed with him. He made many addresses, sometimes carefully written out in advance; frequently spoken without notes. He was never afraid to say what he thought, or to contradict statements that he did not believe. A friend says of him: "His very fighting was that of a great gentleman who observed all the rules of the game, and constantly played it on the terms suggested."

He never held any significant public office—perhaps a few appointments as a commissioner. For he would accept no appointment devoid of responsibility. In politics he did not adventure as a candidate, and very seldom made a political speech, except one in the 'seventies against the high protective tariff. The only opportunity of high political preferment that came to him was President Wilson's offer of the ambassadorship to Great Britain in 1913. This was the most serious mistake of Eliot's life. He was destined to live fourteen years longer. He was of the quality that was especially needed in that important office, when within a twelvemonth period the World War broke out. He had the health, the eloquence, the capacity, the courage, the patriotism necessary for that trust; and the history of the world might have been different had he been the intermediary between the American and the British governments in that troubled time.

Without being an officeholder, he was a great national character, known from end to end of the land. This came about partly because, just at the time when he was reorganizing Harvard University, extending the departments of teaching, strengthening the professional schools, adding to the subject matter of education, and working out methods for applying the elective system to college work, a galaxy of rich and powerful universities was being formed. Columbia, the University of Pennsylvania, the new universities of Johns Hopkins and Chicago, and the great State universities, were all in a process of reorganization and enlargement, and took account of how Harvard was working out its educational problems. President Eliot was a large figure among those asked to advise in these new developments and enterprises. The other New England colleges, while standing by their own social traditions, all came over to the elective system, modified to meet their traditions and codes. Many Harvard teachers and professors and graduates were drawn into the service of these old and new universities as executives or teachers.

Eliot's unflinching belief in the elective system was backed up by the founders of these new colleges; and by those who were rebuilding the old systems of education. Many times he was attacked; but he had great powers of self-defense. He never withdrew a principle that he believed to be true, because other people disliked it. From the first he insisted on wide publicity in all Harvard affairs. The changes and advances, set forth in his annual reports and his addresses, were widely read, partly because of the storm of protest from many old-fashioned educators. President Eliot was a born propagandist, like Emerson and Horace Mann and William Lloyd Garrison in intensity of belief and unwearied courage and in putting forward what he thought was true and necessary.

Origin of the Elective System

The first chapter in what might be called Eliot's Bible of education was the provision for elective studies. This was the principle of the German universities, which had been attended by such Massachusetts men as George Bancroft, the historian; Goodwin, the Greek scholar; Longfellow, the poet; and eminent scientific men. In Germany the disciplinary studies, making a body of uniform required work, were completed in the gymnasia, which were a kind of superior high schools. In the universities, from the eighteenth century on, German students selected the courses of the professors whose subjects and treatment most interested them. The tests of their readiness to go out into the world as learned men was the special examination and a thesis, based on a study of sources, both of which were essential for the degree of Ph.D. These university students knew not the reproach of American college students against their Alma Mater that they had to study subjects that did not interest them under instructors who did not teach them.

Championship of the Elective System (1869–1909)

The elective system, briefly described in his inaugural address, and in his mind never seriously altered, was the foundation of his educational gospel: viz., that interest in studies was the basis of scholarship, and that the elective system destroyed the main excuse of the lazy man. The one essential subject that he thought everybody must take, whether he liked it or not, was English Composition. He was also interested in students having a knowledge of the English classics. The main test in all studies was a written examination.

The whole Eliot theory of education has been summed up in a phrase which he never expressed in that brief form: "Everybody is more interested in the things that he is interested in than in the things he is not interested in." Eliot (whose opinion was shared by most educated men brought up under his influence) to the end of his days believed that a genuine elective system should be free and unhampered; while on the other hand the conduct of elective courses, their standards, the amount of intellectual effort required, should be nearly enough equal so that any combination of (say) four or five courses taken in a year should involve as much work as any other combination. Another essential was that in sequence to the introductory courses in any subject would be maintained a body of related special courses in the same field. Another part of his educational gospel was that the secondary schools ought to provide the essential introductory courses in all the main subjects of learning.

Under this system grew up the Harvard curriculum, which included an imposing list of beginning courses, with follow-up opportunities. At the outset this system was confronted by the spectre of "soft courses." Courses at Harvard and elsewhere might be elected by hundreds—or in the great western universities by thousands—of note-taking students, for whom it was very difficult to supply the necessary pabulum. This difficulty was in part overcome at Harvard by a system of multiple teachers and assistants, combined with written theses and other individual pieces of work.

The elective system solved the problem of the arts colleges throughout the country; but it could not be made to fit in well with the curricula of scientific and engineering schools, where for each specialty there are courses which all students in those specialties must pursue. Under the Eliot system, wherever put in force, grew up a body of very large courses—for example, the Harvard courses in Fine Arts—which were difficult to handle. After the retirement of President Eliot, his successor, President Lowell, worked out a plan for groups of assistants in large courses, which gradually developed into the tutorial method of the 1920s.

Scientific Foundations and Collections

From 1865 on, there arose in Massachusetts a sense of the value of special collections, museums and laboratories. Those were the days of development of the art museums, of scientific collections, of great libraries, of the foundation of its State Agricultural College.

Among them were the Harvard Observatory, which much preceded Eliot, and became one of the leading scientific institutions in the world; though, until much later, it furnished no specific instruction to students. The great museum collections of Agassiz became the foundation of courses and laboratories in zoology and kindred subjects and a center for learned men. Lecture courses in the Fine Arts were followed by art collections and museums. Anthropology was developed into a large apparatus of learning in that field.

Particularly President Eliot gave all his weight to the building up of a great library, open for the use of students to a degree never before known in Europe or America. President Eliot had many wealthy friends who gave freely to these institutions which were, in effect, laboratories within their sciences. Other great universities throughout the country built up similar large-scale accessories to courses in the sciences and in the arts. The result has been a broadening sense of the importance of specialties, particularly in science, which must be backed up by expensive apparatus and facilities. President Eliot, himself a scientific man in early life, had the profoundest belief in the possibility of using such collections in connection with undergraduate study.

Professional Schools

President Eliot's interest and generalship were only a first impulse in the development of a new system of professional education throughout the United States. It was a period of fruitful educational ideas all over the land, especially in the State universities, which everywhere in the West took the leadership exercised in Massachusetts by the group of private universities and colleges. They had their own problems and their own systems. Some of their ideas—especially the higher education of women—were reflected back to Massachusetts.

They were also ready to put into effect the new Harvard methods.

The Harvard Law School, under the immediate guidance of Dean Langdell, perfected its own methods into the elaborate case system. It then trained up young men as organizers and as teachers, who had a share in the development of similar law schools all over the country. The Divinity School could not be galvanized into a large body of students, but included teachers of great eminence in languages and the archæology of the Biblical nations. Wealthy and powerful friends furnished Harvard with the means to erect academic buildings which are almost British Museums in size and in the extent of their libraries. Such adjuncts to higher education were provided all over the land.

President Eliot was from the first especially interested in the Medical School, where for several years he had a running fight with professors who did not see the need of all that clinical instruction and opportunity. Out of the Faculty of Medicine emerged a separate Dental School. Late in life, at the instance of the Medical Faculty, President Eliot was made an honorary M.D. of Harvard University, in recognition of his services. Special schools were established under President Eliot in Architecture, in Public Health, in Education and in Applied Biology.

The Lawrence Scientific School was never successful under that name. President Eliot for a time transformed it into a sort of division of Harvard College, in which students could steer for an S.B. degree instead of an A.B. That was one of the few failures in President Eliot's plans. Though a scientific man by training, he could not admit that technical schools require a very different type of training, in which electives come not at the beginning but late in the course. President Eliot, who had once been a professor in the Institute of Technology, favored a combination between Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology which would prevent duplication and combine resources into the most important school of the kind in the country. The alumni of M. I. T. were hostile to the plan, and it encountered legal obstacles which brought about its abandonment.

One of the most important educational advances made under the direction of Charles William Eliot was the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, now paralleled by advanced schools in other colleges of Massachusetts. The impetus for this institution, which now numbers about a thousand students, came from other sources, but it was cordially taken up by President Eliot. It began with a group of so-called graduate courses, given on about the same footing as the undergraduate courses, and by the same instructors. Gradually it was developed into a separate school, with a dean of its own. The greater number of the students are preparing for college and university teaching. From the first, undergraduates were admitted to courses for which they were qualified. Under these auspices, which are the common property of all large universities, the students who are working for a Ph.D. degree are numerous. In this respect the graduate schools of the great American universities are now the nearest American approach to the great German universities. They are superior to most foreign universities in laboratories, museums and libraries, in the number of available courses, and in opportunities for research for large numbers of students.

SEMINARY COURSES

Another of the contributions of President Eliot and the men who worked with him to the educational system of Massachusetts and of the whole country was his insistence on individual investigation and the preparation of theses as indispensable for advanced education and as a desirable method for qualified college students. He must have observed that method in Germany, where it had become a highly valued part of the system of higher education. He thus describes it in one of his books: "The highest instruction given in the American universities is given in those intimate meetings of small groups of advanced students with their teachers, which are variously called seminaries, conferences, or research courses. . . .

"The members of any seminary may follow special lines of inquiry, pursue their own work, and confer individually at stated times with the instructors under whose guidance they are conducting their researches; but the seminary or conference also gives opportunity to the instructor to present results of his own work to the advanced students in his subject."

"All this written work gives the student who does it thoroughly, excellent practice in accumulating and sorting materials for discussion, summarizing arguments, and describing clearly complicated proceedings; and inasmuch as facility in such work is often highly useful to its possessor in after-life, much is to be said in defense or advocacy of the thesis. On the other hand, the thesis often raises grave questions in the minds of both student and instructor as to the degree of independent labor which it represents, or rather as to the amount of copied and quoted matter which it may properly contain."

Interuniversity Relations

This method was hardly known for college students until applied in history by Henry Adams, who, early in President Eliot's administration, was brought in to teach American history. One of his seminary students was Henry Cabot Lodge, later a Senator from Massachusetts. Eliot had a natural conviction that, in every subject of study, contact with sources is essential for the teacher and has a very enlivening effect upon students of every degree of advancement.

In one of his addresses he complained that his university had no funds which could be used to aid teachers in service to enlarge their field by study in foreign or other American universities; and particularly to work out some inquiry within their field, for which special research was necessary. That difficulty was in part met by the sabbatical leave of absence, which frequently was used for such special research; and after his retirement a large fund was established at Harvard to make possible such special studies. He was much interested in the system of exchange with foreign universities, which has spread far beyond the bounds of Harvard University; and in an annual exchange of teachers with a group of six western endowed colleges, which has proved useful both to Harvard and to these allies.

Women's Education

In another chapter in this volume is described the development of the higher education for women in Massachusetts, in which, although Harvard has never admitted women to any of its undergraduate courses, academic or scientific, President Eliot's influence has been a great aid to the development of the higher education of women. In 1882 Professor Goodwin of Harvard and a group of Cambridge ladies, who were part of the university circle, received a woman student, later professor of Greek of Vassar College, as a student of her specialty. Other women asked for like privileges in their subjects. The result was the organization of Radcliffe College, which is elsewhere described in this volume.

President Eliot undoubtedly expected that the result would be a woman's college on the same plan as Barnard College, which is one of the constituent parts of Columbia University. Apparently he was willing that it should become an acknowledged part of Harvard. Other influences were strong against that degree of coeducation. A settlement was finally reached by which Radcliffe College was separately incorporated with its own funds and its own Board of Trustees and its own plan; but all the instruction was to be given by teachers offering courses at Harvard College, with the same methods of instruction as in their Harvard classes.

On those conditions, the Corporation agreed to certify that the Radcliffe degrees were "equivalent" to the similar degrees conferred by Harvard University. Young women were to be admitted to college courses open to graduate students, in the same classrooms as the men; and to have equal privileges in the libraries and laboratories for advanced work. The immediate personal relatives and friends of the Eliot family were very active in pushing the new enterprise.

Just about the time when President Eliot appeared on the Harvard horizon, the University of Michigan—and later Cornell University—admitted women to their undergraduate and graduate instruction, an example which has been followed by practically all the State universities, and by many endowed colleges. In Massachusetts, the Harvard-Radcliffe method of coordinate colleges has been followed by Tufts College and some others. The largest and strongest collegiate institutions for women, however, are separate. Wellesley, Smith, Mount Holyoke, Boston University and Wheaton are elsewhere described in this series. The marriage of Alice

Freeman, a former president of Wellesley College, to Professor Palmer of Harvard, next neighbor to President Eliot, was the nearest approach to a reception of women into Harvard College. A woman professor has, since President Eliot's retirement, been appointed to the Harvard Medical School; which, however, admits no women to its classes.

Influence of Harvard on Secondary Education

That a gifted son of Harvard, conspicuous for his abilities as an educator, an administrator and a reformer, should have undertaken and accomplished the task of reorganizing what might be called his hereditary institution, might be considered all in his day's work. At the beginning he was dealing chiefly with his own people. He does not appear to have foreseen the great numbers of Harvard students who would come from other sections of the country than New England. That, in the midst of these struggles and triumphs, he should turn his attention to the problems of the high schools, the secondary schools, the common schools and the kindergartens of the country, was an evidence of his broad patriotic spirit.

The secondary schools were in a sense a part of his job, inasmuch as they prepared or thought they were preparing boys for Harvard College. The elective system rested upon the presumption that freshmen came to college well grounded in the ordinary secondary studies. President Eliot realized that one of the greatest difficulties in the elective system was that boys came to it unprepared by hard and well-directed study, except in the classics and mathematics, plus a little modern languages. He very soon realized that such preparation did not prepare them for the freedom of the elective system. Therefore he made it his business to call attention to the defects of the secondary schools. The masters and teachers and trustees of those schools at first protested; but could not resist his powerful attacks. He therefore took them into his confidence, recognizing them as an essential part of the educational system of Massachusetts and of the whole country. Associations of the teachers in the various secondary subjects were formed. A New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools was formed.

THE COMMITTEE OF TEN (1892)

President Eliot came into contact with the National Educational Association, organized chiefly by western men; and in 1892 that association, at his instance, formed a "Committee of Ten" to go into the question of the methods of teaching the subjects required for applicants to enter college anywhere. That committee proposed to the National Council of Education to call a series of conferences; and the National Council appointed a committee, of which Charles W. Eliot was chairman, with authority to provide for subcommittees. The Committee of Ten met November 9-11, 1892; and under the leadership of President Eliot authorized conferences in secondary subjects, and prepared a list of questions as a guide for the discussions. Eliot raised the funds necessary to make possible the meetings of nine subcommittees, of ten individuals each, to meet and to frame a plan for improvement in the ten fields—Latin; Greek; English; other Modern Lanuguages; Mathematics; Physics; Astronomy and Chemistry; Natural History; History, Government and Political Economy; and Geography.

The reports of those conferences, which included eighty-eight persons, part of them college and part of them secondary teachers, were widely circulated and had a great influence in enlarging the curriculum and improving the methods of secondary schools throughout the country. In many fields, these original reports were supplemented by later conferences and commissions.

The starting point of this transaction, which aroused school-teachers, school boards, and college faculties throughout the country, was the fruitful mind of Charles W. Eliot, combined with his extraordinary ability to think out methods of bringing people to act in harmony, and his national influence as a great educational force.

EFFECT ON SECONDARY EDUCATION

Of the nine reports, eight appear to have been written by Harvard graduates or teachers who had been aroused by President Eliot's educational ideas and had been selected as among the leaders in their fields. The reports were followed by a series of deeper investigations made in various parts of the country by committees of the classical, mathematical, historical, scientific, and other subjects taught in the schools. The agitation led to a better understanding all over the land between the colleges and the schools; to a better correlation of subjects; to an improvement in methods and textbooks; and particularly to a sense of unity of purpose in all stages of education.

To establish a relation between Harvard University and all the other universities on one side and the secondary schools on the other side was possible because the two systems were working on the same young people, and with a common purpose. President Eliot divined that both colleges and secondary schools were suffering because of defects in the lower schools. His point of view was well set forth in his book on *Educational Reform,* published in 1901.

"We need more school-time in the year; that to get this safely we must have better ventilation, more gymnastics, and more interesting instruction; that the actual amount of work accomplished should be carefully considered on a large scale—not in a single school, as I have done, but in many schools, by many teachers and many superintendents, to see if the present low limits of actual attainment cannot be enlarged; that the selection of subjects requires reconsideration; and, lastly, that the grading of pupils should be by proficiency."

INTEREST IN LOWER SCHOOLS

Throughout his life Eliot found opportunity to urge the improvement of the younger school children: first, because some of them were starting on the road to higher education and ought not to waste their time; but still more because most of them would never get to college, and comparatively few of them to a high school. Hence the elementary schools were the great opportunity of aiding the community by improving the quality of its population. He was always asking for more money for the public schools; for better salaries and conditions for teachers; for professional education as a requisite for teachers.

In 1891 he prepared a plan for "shortening and enriching the grammar school course." He strongly protested against the trivial literature used in the lower schools. He pointed out that all the books required to be read in an ordinary high-school course in two years could be read aloud in forty-six hours, and that a high-school graduate in fifteen hours did all the examples in the arithmetic used by children during two years. He never ceased to protest against this waste of the springtime of young minds.

Eliot as a Democrat.

Outside as well as inside his educational influence, within and without the precincts of Harvard University, Eliot was a large state and national figure, a great American citizen. He was never a candidate for an elective office,—perhaps as a "highbrow" he could not have been elected. He was a Mugwump in the Mugwump period. He was known sometimes to vote the Democratic ticket in later years. At one time he made a public speech against the protective tariff system of the period.

A democrat in the stricter sense of the word he always was, though of aristocratic descent, brought up among wealthy people, a part of the bluest circle in Blue Boston. To the end of his days he was a believer in the brotherhood of man and in the capacity of the average man to have a part in his own government. In a letter on this general subject he says:

"Doubtless Harvard University contains a larger proportion of children of well-to-do parents than the western universities contain; but this does not seem to me to be a disadvantage to Harvard. After all is said about democracy, it remains true that acquiring some property is an evidence of some sort of merit in the parents—that is, of intelligence, or honesty, or health, above the average, or sometimes all three. Free institutions have no tendency, so far as I see, to obliterate distinctions founded on such merits; and all institutions of education contribute to the transmission of such merits."

He was very much affected by the reports concerning the physical and mental status of the young men taken into the American Army in 1917-1918. Therefore he demanded that "the medical examiner, the school nurse, and the district nurse, every school system in the country, rural as well as urban, and their work should go on incessantly, not for a few days out of the year, but all through the year. The first duty of these permanent officials should be following up the children to their homes and instructing their parents as to remedial action. Since it will not be possible to obtain permanent improvement in society as a whole in respect to the bodily defects of children and adolescents until the whole community has been enlightened in regard to nutrition, housing, community cleanliness, and the medical means of controlling epidemics and resisting the spread of venereal diseases, this medical instruction, to be given through physicians and nurses employed at public expense, is the most legitimate kind of public instruction in a democracy become heterogeneous."

In a letter on the conditions of Harvard College he wrote: "You said at the start of this discussion about raising the College fee that you wanted the College open to young men who had either money or brains. The gist of our difference lies, I think, in this restricted alternative. I want to have the College open equally to men with much money, little money, or no money, provided they all have brains. I care no more than you for young men who have no capacity for an intellectual life. They are not fit subjects for a college, whether their parents have money or not. . . . I care for the young men whose families have so little money that it would make a real difference to them whether the Harvard tuition fee were $150 or $225. . . . To my thinking, they constitute the very best part of Harvard College."

ELIOT AS A LITERARY MAN

Charles William Eliot was almost as distinguished in his literary writings as in his administrative service. First in the list of the Eliot works is the collection of fifty *Reports of the President to the University*. These are admirable as a clear and thorough review of the transactions of the preceding academic year. They are also full of the same philosophy, of work, of continuous work, of well-organized work, of productive work, that appears in his public addresses. The series might almost be called a condensed history of half a century of Harvard; it contains also most of his philosophy of education and much of his philosophy of life.

The bibliography at the end of this chapter lists all of the works of Charles William Eliot that were published in bound volumes. Of those, several are collections of periodical articles or addresses: for instance, *Contributions to Civilization; Civil Service Reform and Popular Government; Religion of the Future; Individualism and Collectivism;* and *Educational Reform.* Early in his professional life he published, with his co-professor Storer, *A Manual of Qualitative Chemical Analysis,* which appears to be his only permanent contribution to his branch of experimental science. The one extended work which came from his brain and pen was his *Charles Eliot, Landscape Architect,* a tribute by a sorrowing father to his son. The two volumes contain some personal remembrances, and much of his philosophy of the happy life.

He lived and was active fourteen years after his retirement from the presidency, but unfortunately did not put on record his reminiscence and life experience,—which might have been a noble contribution to American literature and of the world's knowledge of a great spirit.

Hence the literary reputation of Charles William Eliot is based in the public mind mostly on his editorship of the Five-Foot Shelf of Books. This idea seems to have come from a New York publisher who diagnosed the opportunity for an authoritative selection from the world's literature. Of that set, millions of volumes have been taken up by the public, and he is more widely known in the United States of America as the editor of that series than as the apostle of a national system of education that would develop the powers of the American people.

Eliot the Seer

At seventy-five years of age, Eliot preferred to withdraw from the great responsibilities of the presidency of Harvard; but he still made addresses, and from time to time wrote or spoke on public affairs. The World War in 1914 hit him hard. He looked upon it as a struggle between "men of violence and perverse ambition." One of his greatest utterances is an article in a magazine on the basis of the continuance of the republic, which he found to be: "the principle of toleration in religion—universal education, the steady cultivation in all classes of correct conservation, just reasoning and the taste for good reading, a better family life, opportunities for the enjoyment of fresh air and natural beauty," and the "extreme publicity with which all American activities are carried on."

Climax of the Ninetieth Birthday (1924)

To few great men is it given to witness the outcome of their own life work. The thread of some is broken off in the middle; some finish their work early and outlive their touch with mankind. To Eliot came the surpassing experience of continuing to be a national figure almost to the end of his ninety-three years. The highest moment in the life of the man to whom had come great successes and great honors was the celebration of his ninetieth birthday at Harvard College, March 20, 1924.

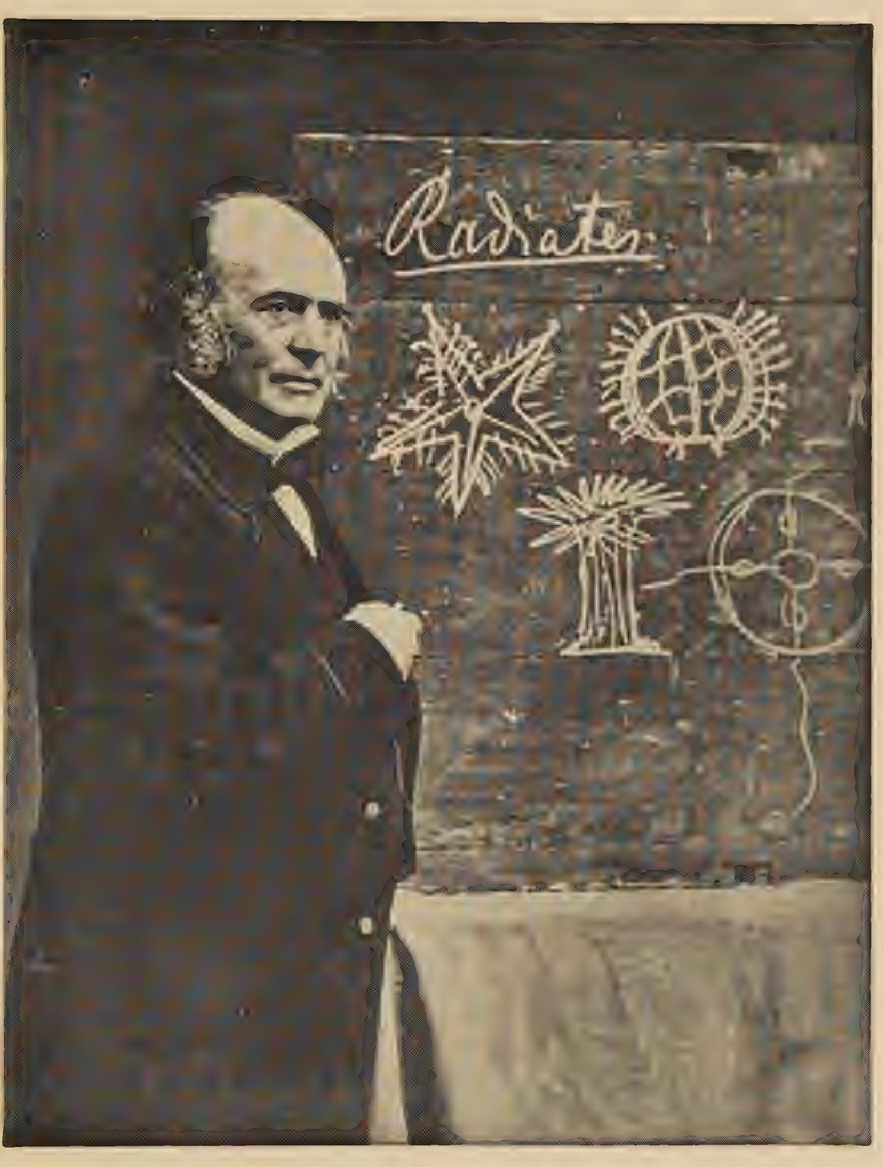
A throng of graduates and distinguished guests crowded Sanders Theatre (the inadequate public hall of the University); messages came from the students. In all nearly 250 messages of congratulation were received from the faculties and students of Harvard, from the Harvard Clubs throughout the world, from sister colleges and universities, from learned societies, and from the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth. Half a score spoken addresses were levelled at the venerable figure who occupied the seat of honor, including the words of Governor Cox and Chief Justice Taft.

On this, the crowning day of his life, the great man had prepared no formal reply in writing. He listened carefully to each speaker, and once asked a neighbor to repeat something that had just been said: "I want to use that," was his explanation. No speech of his whole life was so intimate, so direct and so personal as this.

He began: "Dear Friends: The affectionate note of these tributes goes straight to my heart. It fills me with wonder; but it touches me deeply. This day is going to be one of the happiest and most delightful of my memories." One of the speakers had credited him with unusual courage, to which he replied: "That has never entered my mind. . . . I confess to recognizing another quality to which President Lowell referred—a readiness for combat. . . . I never stopped in any attempts of mine because I encountered opposition. . . . I was eager to do something in the future. . ." He admitted the influence on his career of strength and health: "Joy in work has been the source of a large part of the satisfactions of my life."

He would have not been Eliot had he not touched by the way upon the men with whom and through whom he had made his life great,—James Russell Lowell, Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Asa Gray, Louis Agassiz, and others. In this twenty minutes, which was almost the close of his active life, his mind went back to the other people who had shared in his labors and in his triumphs; and he closed in a trumpet call, emphasized by the nearness to the end of the World War: ". . . let me, finally, emphasize the duty of Harvard men, of all educated men, to serve their country in peace as well as in war. I call upon the younger Harvard graduates, to serve their country with devotion and at sacrifice in peace as well as in war."

Unwearied by the experiences of this famous day, in the afternoon President Eliot spoke in the open air to the assembled students of the University. He abounded in the homely advice which was the warp and woof of hundreds of his addresses throughout his life. "Serve the country, serve her in peace as well as in war. . . . Wherever you live, take every chance that comes to you . . . for serving the public welfare." "Use the opportunities of selecting studies . . . in what work, in what profession, you can find joy all your life. . . . It does not involve introspection, reflection on yourself, or any effort after 'self-expression'. . . . Do not put off marriage too long. . . . If you find that you do not like the profession upon which you have entered, do not stay in it. . . . You cannot all expect to live as long as I have; but I hope you will live long enough to experience the kind of happiness I have enjoyed today."



From a photograph Courtesy of R. L. Agassiz

LOUIS AGASSIZ

The Gift to Massachusetts

Eliot's mind never felt itself circumscribed by political boundaries. He was proud of his Massachusetts ancestry; he paid many tributes to the spirit of Massachusetts people, one of the wittiest of which was his remark that "he did not sympathize with the Pilgrim Fathers, but with the Pilgrim Mothers, who had to live with the Pilgrim Fathers." His greatest feat in education was to transform his college from a Massachusetts institution to a national institution; throughout his life he was among the livest, most public-spirited and most successful characters in all Massachusetts history.

He was an unusual compound of a master in administration, who knew how to drive a thousand-horse team without tangling the harness, and at the same time was a seer and a prophet. Of his ninety-two years of life, after deducting four or five years spent outside the United States, and the vacations in Maine which did so much to prolong his days, he must have spent at least eighty years of fruitful life in Boston and Cambridge.

He was one of the earliest teachers in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which was fostered by the State. He was one of the founders of Radcliffe College and a friend of all the Massachusetts colleges, whether for women or for men. He sympathized with the immigrants into Massachusetts, and welcomed their sons into Harvard. He was a past master in the art of softening the hearts and opening the pockets of the monied men of Massachusetts for good causes. He had the keenest interest in the plain, straightforward, supporting citizen; one of his best writings is his brief *Biography of John Gilley,* a farmer fisherman, who was a summer neighbor down in Maine. He carried the name of Massachusetts into every State and city in the United States.

He believed in his neighbors. Above all, he was a lifelong apostle of democracy, and what he meant by democracy can best be stated in his own words: "For me democracy simply means freedom for each individual to arrange his training and his life-career so that he can do his best for the common welfare. You all understand that the variety of human nature is such that one man's best is very different from another's, just as one man's mental habits and powers are different from every other's. With these varieties in human nature democracy has to deal; and the hopes of democracy depend on whether all these varieties are developed and made serviceable."

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CHAPTER XI

PUBLIC FINANCE OF MASSACHUSETTS (1890–1930)

By James J. Phelan and Donald G. Robbins

The State Debt (1877–1917)

The purpose of this chapter is to treat in a condensed form the subject of public finance in Massachusetts. Included therein are the supervisory functions of the Commonwealth with relation to private finance, and also some account of the developments of private finance, for the period from 1890 to 1930. In forty years perhaps more has occurred in these fields than in the entire previous period since the Revolutionary War.

The Commonwealth approached the last decade of the Nineteenth Century with its financial house in excellent order. Due in part to substantial Civil War expenses, and in part to the cost of the Hoosac Tunnel and other railroad ventures on the part of the State, the gross debt of the Commonwealth at the end of 1877 reached $33,220,000, or a net figure of $22,335,000 after deducting sinking funds. With retrenchment in expenditures and the accumulation of sinking funds, due in part to exceptional items, such as the profit of nearly $3,500,000 from the Back Bay Land Development enterprise, the debt was substantially lowered. The sale of the Troy and Greenfield Railroad and the Hoosac Tunnel to the Fitchburg Railroad in 1887, aided in the reduction of the net debt to $5,616,000 at the end of 1888. Against this debt the Commonwealth held Fitchburg Railroad stock, later exchanged for $5,000,000 of Boston and Maine bonds. Unsold lands from the reclamation venture on the Commonwealth Flats in South Boston, amounted to perhaps $2,000,000.

State and Local Improvements (1890–1915)

About 1890 began a rapid expansion of the projects and activities of the State government. The legislature, subsequent to 1888, constructed a substantial addition to the rear of the State House, the total expense rising to about $6,150,000. After 1913, further appropriations were made for the construction of the east and west wings to the amount of $1,800,000.

In 1890 the elimination of dangerous grade crossings required the passage of an act authorizing the expenditure of not over $5,000,000 for this work. The railroads affected were to pay 65 per cent of the actual cost, and the balance was to be divided between the State and the cities or towns in which the work took place. By 1896, $1,500,000 had been borrowed for the purpose. Additional funds were subsequently authorized, until by the end of 1915 bonds totalling $11,300,000 had been issued.

The increased demands for better highways throughout the State, in 1894 led to borrowings for construction, well distributed throughout the State. For this phase of highway expansion a total of $10,230,000 had been borrowed by the end of 1915.

The years 1894 and 1895 marked the beginning of substantial loans for construction of a consumptive hospital in Rutland, an hospital for epileptics in Monson, and an hospital for the insane in Medfield. In 1901, a still more elaborate program was undertaken in the expansion of various hospitals and institutional buildings throughout the State, so that by 1915 something over $9,500,000 of bonds had been issued for these purposes.

For the construction of armories to accommodate companies of the State Militia in the cities of the Commonwealth, the Legislature in 1888 authorized loans, the cost to be assessed back upon the cities in which armories were erected. Under this plan, some $3,000,000 was so expended. Under an act of 1907, the cost of construction and maintenance of armories was taken over by the Commonwealth, with refunds for amounts expended by the cities for that purpose. The Armory Loan then became a direct, instead of a contingent, obligation of the State; and with the construction of added armories, by 1915 this State loan had risen to $4,700,000.

The combined result of all these increased activities of the State government financed by funds outside of the ordinary revenues of the State, was the steady growth of the State debt, the net amount of which (after deducting the sinking funds accumulated for debt retirement) reached $30,404,000 by the end of 1915, and the larger sum of $33,658,000 by the end of 1917.

Sewerage Systems (1876–1915)

This same period was marked by a rapid expansion in the use of the credit of the State for projects, largely of an engineering nature, which had grown beyond the proper scope of a single city and could most soundly be undertaken on a consolidated basis for the benefit of a number of towns and cities. This work centered in the metropolitan area, including the towns and cities within ten miles of the State House. In a large measure it grew out of projects initially undertaken by the city of Boston itself. Boston was among the first cities in the country to develop its sewerage system in a large way.

In 1884 a commission was created by the legislature to report on general systems of drainage for the Mystic, Blackstone and Charles River Valleys; on the protection of public water supplies; and on various methods of sewerage disposal in these territories. The report of this commission was expanded by the State Board of Health; the legislature in 1889 established the Metropolitan Sewerage District, and created the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission to build, maintain and operate comprehensive sewerage systems for the district. With funds borrowed through State credit, expenditures for the comprehensive systems thus developed rose by 1915 to $16,000,000. For the interest and sinking funds to care for this indebtedness, the towns and cities in the district were assessed with their respective proportions.

Water Systems (1846–1915)

The question of water supply next received similar legislative attention. As early as 1846 the city of Boston went westward as far as Cochituate and later to the Sudbury River watershed for its water supply. In 1895 the State Board of Health, at the direction of the legislature, submitted a comprehensive report carefully analyzing possible sources of additional water supply for the entire Metropolitan territory, considering sources as far away as Lake Winnepesaukee in the central part of New Hampshire. The result was the passage of an Act by the Legislature of 1895 creating the Metropolitan Water District and establishing the Metropolitan Water Board to administer its affairs. The District was to take over the supply systems owned by the city of Boston and to develop additional sources of supply on the south branch of the Nashua River, about fifty miles to the west of Boston. The initial expenditure authorized by the legislature for this purpose was $27,000,000, the largest single appropriation ever made by the State up to that time. Total expenditures had by 1915 risen to $42,000,000.

Public Parks (1875 –1917)

In the field of public parks, developments initiated by Boston led to a more comprehensive development through the entire Metropolitan District. The admirable system of parks and connecting boulevards constructed by Boston from 1875 onward made such an impression, that in 1892 other surrounding communities secured legislation looking to a comprehensive plan. As a result the recreational problems of the Metropolitan District were developed as a whole under State authority through the creation of the Metropolitan Park System and the appointment of the Metropolitan Park Commission in 1893.

This great public improvement was financed through State credit in the same way as the other metropolitan projects, with interest and sinking funds apportioned to the communities benefited. One half the amount of certain loans devoted to metropolitan boulevards were assumed by the Commonwealth itself, and by 1915 loans for this purpose had totalled over $15,000,000.

A further public project undertaken along the same line was the development and improvement of the Charles River Basin, with elimination of the unsightly tidal flats by the construction of a dam at the lower end of the Basin. This project was undertaken in 1903, and eventually cost about $4,200,000.

Through these various activities, by the end of 1915 the

State had placed more than $76,000,000 of its credit at the service of specific portions of the State. The net amount, after sinking funds, of this indirect or "contingent" debt of the State rose steadily to $61,962,000 at the end of 1907, and then began to decline slightly. In 1917 the net contingent State debt stood at $54,325,000.

Total State Expenditure (1890–1915)

The generally increased scale of activity, reflected in the increase of debt, resulted naturally in a steadily increasing expenditure for current operation. Such increase took place in the cost of legislative, executive and judiciary functions—still the greatest rate of increase took place more as a result of added activity of other departments. The annual cost of hospitals and correctional institutions increased from under $600,000 per year in 1890 to $6,300,000 in 1915; while expenditures under the heading "correctional" rose from $775,000 in 1890 to $1,275,000 in 1915, and $2,392,000 in 1917. For educational purposes, expenditures grew by 1915 from under $200,000 per year to nearly $2,000,000. The entire amount expended by the State Government for current operation and maintenance in this period rose from $4,100,000 in 1890 to about $17,500,000 in 1915.

Direct State Taxes (1860–1915)

The State has long derived its revenue largely from certain excise taxes, parts of which it shares with towns and cities. Ever since 1860, any balance required for expenses above the amounts so obtainable has been assessed back upon the towns and cities of the State substantially in proportion to their assessed valuations. The deficiency thus assessed back was termed the "State tax."

At the beginning of the period under discussion, the State was deriving income of approximately $400,000 per year from insurance taxes; just over $1,000,000 a year from a tax on savings deposits; $1,400,000 from the State's share of the taxation of corporations and banks; and $400,000 per year from liquor licenses. Taxes on savings deposits and revenue from liquor licenses approximately doubled, while revenue from taxes on insurance companies rose from $429,000 in 1890 to $1,343,000 in 1915.

The assessment of the State tax back on the towns and cities has always tended to keep the issue of State expenditures reasonably close to the voters of the State. New sources of revenue were sought to help pay the mounting expenses of operating the expanding functions of the State government. In 1891 a tax was laid upon collateral legacies, and in 1908 a tax was laid upon direct inheritances of property. In 1915 the combined revenue from these two taxes had risen to $3,282,000.

With the introduction of motor vehicles and the need for added highway expenditures, the license fee for registration of motor vehicles became a substantial source of revenue—in 1915 it was $1,200,000, and in 1917, $1,962,000. Almost from the start such revenue was set aside directly for highway construction.

These added revenues did not, however, prevent substantial increases in the amount which was necessary for the State to assess back upon the towns and cities. From 1890 until 1903 the State tax remained at or below $1,750,000. Then it rose steadily to $9,750,000 in 1915.

World War Bonds

The World War brought many problems to the Commonwealth, in the handling of which prominent citizens contributed personal time and effort in an amount that cannot be estimated. The largest single burden on the Commonwealth was the payment of a bonus of $10 a month to those entering the service prior to January 15, 1918, and another bonus of $100 to every Massachusetts citizen who served in the Army or Navy of the United States. A total sum of approximately $22,000,000 was required for these two items, complete payment of which was provided through special taxes in the years 1919 to 1923 inclusive.

Later Finances (1918–1929)

From the war period on, the requirements of the various administrative departments of the Commonwealth have continued to expand. Education now calls for about $7,000,000 annually; mental diseases about $10,000,000 a year; correction about $3,000,000 a year; and public health just over $2,000,000. For public works in 1928 was spent $13,900,000, largely for highway construction. The combined expenditure of the Commonwealth in 1928 was $51,600,000, besides $1,120,000 interest on debt and $1,042,000 towards debt retirement. The total includes some items formerly paid from income of individual institutions, and not reported among general expenditures.

With the issue of notes in 1919 to take care of war bonus payments, the net debt rose to $40,433,000. During the last ten years the debt has been steadily cut down to $11,181,000. This improvement has been accomplished in spite of the fact that the direct State tax assessed back upon towns and cities has steadily decreased from $14,000,000 in 1921 to $8,500,000 in 1929.

These favorable conditions have been made possible through the growing income of the Commonwealth from its other sources of taxation. The share of the State from taxation of corporations of all classes, including insurance companies, banks, savings deposits, public utilities and other business corporations, has grown with the expansion of all of these types of business to just over $11,000,000 per year. With the rising wealth of the citizens the income from inheritance and estate taxes has risen to slightly under $11,000,000 annually. Motor vehicle fees, with the rapid increase in the use of automobiles, have risen to over $13,400,000 in 1928. A reduction in 1929 appears to have been more than made up by the 2 cent per gallon tax on gasoline sold in the State for automotive purposes.

In the year 1928 the total income from all these sources was $34,567,000, comparing with $11,269,000 in 1915. As indicated previously, the difference between revenues from these sources and the total expenditures of the Commonwealth is derived from the direct State tax and from miscellaneous departmental fees, sales of products from prison industries, etc.

The contingent debt of the State rose nearly $8,000,000 in 1920, due to advances for construction of the Cambridge subway. Another important addition to the contingent debt of the State has been for the extension of the Metropolitan Water Supply System to reach sources of supply further west in the State. The total Metropolitan Water Supply expenditure has now reached $60,000,000. The net total of the contingent debt, after sinking funds, rose to $57,107,000 in 1920, but since 1923 has remained close to the $51,000,000 mark.

Growth of a Budget System (1691–1910)

The desire for a more adequate budgetary system was in nowise a new development in the history of the State. Under the Province Charter granted the Colony in 1691, the General Court, elected by the citizens of the Colony, was given the power to levy taxes; the resulting funds to be disposed by warrant under the hand of the governor (appointed by the Crown). The conflict of these two interests led to a budgetary development by the legislative branch, sufficiently complete to permit a single bill to cover substantially the entire appropriations.

Following the disruptive effects of the Revolution on the finances of the State, various attempts were made to centralize the preparation of estimates for submission to the General Court for appropriations. In 1849, this work became the function of the auditor, so continuing for many years. In 1905, the fiscal year was changed to terminate on November 30 instead of December 31, in order that the actual, instead of the estimated, expenses for the last fiscal year might be stated to the legislature early in its annual January session, in connection with estimates for the ensuing year. The financial leadership of what came to be termed the Ways and Means Committee, grew steadily throughout the entire period.

Early Budget Machinery (1910–1918)

In 1910, the constant attempt to develop a more complete coordination of income and outgo resulted in a law which for the first time in the history of the State drew the governor into the budgetary process. Estimates were to be transmitted to the auditor by November 15, and by the latter to the governor and council the first week in January. The governor was then to transmit to the General Court, with his recommendations, departmental estimates and estimated revenue; and in the case of special appropriations and capital outlays, he was to recommend the amount to be raised by issuance of bonds. This was the first law passed by any State, definitely turning over to the Governor the responsibility and opportunity of drawing a budget.

The next year a Democratic governor faced a Republican legislature. The governor secured authority for the employment of experts to investigate estimates submitted by departments. Subsequently the Budget Act was repealed, and a Commission on Economy and Efficiency created, consisting of the Auditor and two appointees of the Governor and Council, to collect and transmit to the Governor and to the Legislature estimates of expenses and recommendations as to appropriations. In 1916 its powers were transferred to the new Department of the Supervisor of Administration.

The 1917 legislature passed a bill bringing under legislative control, through the requirement of annual appropriations, revenues of special funds previously expended under standing laws and without specific appropriation. The same Legislature appointed a joint special Recess Committee on Finance and Budget Procedure, with authority to prepare a preliminary budget or financial scheme for the year 1918.

This committee proceeded in a very thorough-going way to prepare a budget, which was passed by the legislature substantially as drawn. In May, 1918, the legislature passed a bill, prepared by this same committee, embodying the important essentials of an executive budget system, providing for the review and assembly of estimates under the authority of the Governor and recommendations by the Governor as to appropriations and as to the sources from which funds should be derived. The budget system so established lacked mainly permanence, for which a constitutional amendment was necessary.

Budgetary Improvement (1918–1930)

The Constitutional Convention of 1918 proposed the necessary permanent basis for the comprehensive system now in force. Other amendments limited the purposes for which the

Commonwealth may borrow money; required a two-thirds vote of the General Court for authorizing loans; and provided for the reorganization of the executive and administrative work of the Commonwealth into not over twenty departments. The budget as now presented annually by the governor early in the legislative session embodies a comprehensive view of the financial situation of the Commonwealth, a careful study of required expenditure and sources of income with recommendations as to whence any necessary additional funds would be derived. A complete appropriation bill is embodied in the governor's budget report.

Municipal Finance (1890–1915)

From 1890 on, the towns and cities of the State were confronted with much the same financial problems as the Commonwealth itself. While the revenues from their share of taxes on corporations and banks rose from $2,360,000 in 1890 to $6,907,000 in 1915, the State tax assessed upon them more than offset this increase. By 1915, expenditures of cities and towns for operation and maintenance had reached $78,193,355; for the cities and towns over 5,000 in population the total was $71,187,961 compared with $49,034,614 in 1907, the earliest year in which adequate tabulated municipal expenses included even the largest towns. The increase in total taxes levied on polls and property for city, town and county purposes from $29,753,000 in 1890 to $82,610,186 in 1915, indicates that the entire period was marked by an expansion in the functions of local as well as State government.

Even these rising assessments upon the citizens came far short of paying for all of the projects undertaken. The combined net municipal debt of all cities and towns in the State stood in 1890 at $70,700,000 and at $194,788,000 in 1915. Hence the legislature in 1911 demanded a report upon municipal finances and indebtedness. This report was especially helpful in bringing out weaknesses of existing legislation; and furnished a basis for comprehensive action taken by the 1913 legislature, which aimed to prevent the incurrence of fixed debt for current expenses, to prevent the improper refunding of debt, and to provide more certain means for insuring payment of the debt at maturity.

The debt limit was left substantially unchanged at 2½ per cent of the average three-year assessed valuation for cities and 3 per cent for towns. Incurrence of debt for improper purposes was largely eliminated by broadening the lists of specific allowable purposes for indebtedness within the debt limit, and slightly broadening certain purposes, such as water supply, gas or electric plants, and playgrounds, for which debt outside the limit might be incurred.

It was required that all cities should operate under a budget recommended by the mayor, the city council being permitted to reduce but not increase items. Towns and cities were also permitted to request the Bureau of Statistics to install uniform accounting systems to show clearly their operations and condition. The Bureau of Statistics, later termed the Division of Accounts, has become a clearing house of information and a source of advice to towns and cities on financial matters, which has gradually improved the financial soundness and stability of municipal affairs throughout the State.

Taxation of Intangibles (1915–1930)

One of the most difficult problems with which towns and cities had to contend was the proper assessment of intangible property, such as bonds, stocks, etc. Not only was it difficult to ascertain the amount of such holdings of any individual, but strong competition existed between towns and cities in the effort to attract citizens of substantial wealth to establish their residence therein because of low tax rates, or low assessments of intangible property. On the basis of recommendations of a special legislative commission of 1915, the 1916 legislature established a tax on incomes, both those derived from wages, professional or business efforts and those derived from interest, dividends and the purchase or sale of property, both tangible and intangible. This tax replaced local taxation of intangibles and is assessed by the State on a uniform basis. After deducting the cost of collection, the revenue is distributed back to the towns and cities in proportion to their respective assessments under the State tax. This brought into the towns and cities revenue of $12,540,000 in 1917, gradually rising from that figure. The new tax has been more uniformly enforced, and has eliminated the difficulties and irregularities of the previous situation.

The taxation of motor vehicles presented difficulties through lack of uniformity and through frequent deferment of purchase date beyond the tax assessment date. In 1929, the general property tax, as applied to this form of property, was replaced by an excise tax, levied on all motor vehicles, registered and kept in the Commonwealth. The tax is assessed at a rate uniform throughout the State.

Increasing Local Expenditures (1915–1930)

From 1915 to the present, the scale of municipal expenditures has continued to increase. Expenditures for maintenance and operation in 1915 were $78,193,355; in 1927 they were $200,372,072, while payments for interest and debt retirement had risen to $43,653,470. Schools accounted for $69,610,069 of current expenses; highways, $23,579,850; protection of persons and property, $33,056,852; health and sanitation, $16,928,483: each of these figures being well over double the expenditure of twelve years earlier.

The combined net debt of towns and cities has increased from $194,301,223 in 1915 to $283,601,975 in 1929, an average annual increase of $7,357,000. The increase during the past ten years has been at the rate of $9,509,000 per year, but for the last two years at a rate of only $2,139,660. At the end of 1929, $77,105,309 (over a quarter of the entire net debt) is classified as "enterprise debt," which, as a general rule, is retired from earnings of the projects for which they are incurred (water supply, for instance) without burdening other revenue.

At the same time, the revenues of cities and towns from their share of corporation taxes have grown from $6,907,191 in 1915 to $14,932,406 in 1928. Taxes on polls and property for city, town and county purposes rose from $82,610,186 in 1915 to $201,429,240 in 1928; while an income tax of $23,828,276 replaced tax on intangibles, formerly included under general property tax. Gross real-estate valuation increased from $3,573,681,970 in 1915 to $6,292,963,588 in 1929. During the greater part of the period, property taxes assessed increased even faster than valuations, so that the average tax rate through the State rose from $19.05 in 1915 to $30.34 in 1926. It has, however, since declined to $29.12 in 1929.

Early Massachusetts Banks (1784–1865)

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts from the beginning exercised particular care in its supervision of matters having to do with the financial well-being of its inhabitants. During the past century this supervision has been exercised particularly with reference to corporations created under State laws for the purpose of receiving deposits of money from the public at large, especially the various forms of banking and insurance companies.

The beginning of banking in Massachusetts, with the incorporation in Boston of the second bank chartered in the United States, in 1784, has been referred to earlier in this work. The first comprehensive banking law was passed by the General Court in 1829, superseding the system by which individual charters were granted. By 1837 there were 134 banks in Massachusetts; but as a result of the panic in that year, 32 of these banks failed in the ensuing seven years. This led to the establishment of a system of official bank examinations by the State in 1933, and the creation of a Board of Bank Commissioners.

Between 1840 and 1855, only two Massachusetts banks failed, both meeting their obligations in full. The crisis and suspension of specie payments in 1857 brought trying conditions which were successfully weathered. The banking capital of the State about this period reached a maximum in 1862; the 138 banks had a combined capital of $67,544,200.

With the passage of the National Banking Law in 1863, giving privilege of issuing circulating notes only to the National Banking Associations thereunder created, the State banks rapidly transferred to national bank charters. By the end of 1864, Massachusetts had 51 national banks, and a year later 207, with a total capital of $79,582,000. By the end of 1889, the number of national banks had risen to 256, with a capital of $96,867,000 and deposits of $164,498,000.

Early Savings Banks (1816–1865)

Massachusetts possesses the second oldest savings bank in the United States, and has from the first been among the leading States in the encouragement and protection of its mutual savings-bank system. This bank, The Provident Institution for Savings, was incorporated by the General Court in 1816 and is said to have been the first savings bank incorporated by any governmental agency. Its incorporators petitioned the General Court for its establishment, "in order that all classes of the community may be exercised to the practice of frugality and especially industrial mechanics, either journeymen or masters, seamen, laborers, and men of small capital, widows, and others, may receive from their savings of wages or profits, regularly deposited and systematically invested in public stocks or otherwise, a profit proportional to the success of the institution and prosperity of the country."

In 1834 a general law was enacted, establishing a uniform charter and conditions under which savings banks might be incorporated and operate. This required an annual report of the financial condition of each institution, which is said to be the earliest effort of general legislation in this country to make public the record of the condition of such institutions.

Rise of Trust Companies (1865–1889)

Further commercial banking activities developed under State charters in the growth of trust companies, initially formed to transact safe deposit and trust business. The first such charter was granted in 1865 to the Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Company, which actually started business in 1875. The Worcester Safe Deposit and Trust Company was actually the first safe deposit company to operate in Massachusetts (May 1, 1869). The New England Trust Company, opened February 20, 1871, was the first in Boston. Up to 1888, eleven trust companies had been chartered, in each case by special act of the legislature, and by that date most of them had opened commercial banking departments in addition to the more specialized business for which they were created.

In 1888 legislation was enacted establishing and making uniform the conditions under which safe deposit and trust companies might be organized. These laws contained general provisions for trust companies to act as trustees under wills. In 1899, supplementary legislation permitted trust companies to act as executors under wills. In 1908, after a prolonged dispute, trust companies were permitted to add savings departments and receive savings deposits substantially on the same basis as the savings banks.

By the end of 1889, Massachusetts had a total of 256 national banks and 12 trust companies, with a total capital of $101,667,000 and deposits of $199,366,000. About that time Boston, with a population of 400,000, had sixty national banks with a capital of $53,300,000; whereas New York City, with a population of 1,500,000, had only forty-five national banks with a combined capital of $48,330,000. Evidently Boston banking capital was more plentiful than was warranted. This pointed toward the absorptions and consolidations that were to occur within the next ten years.

Few were the failures of national banks. The largest and most disastrous of this period was that of the Maverick National Bank, with a capital of $400,000 and total assets of $10,218,000 (1891). The first failure of a trust company was the Suffolk, with a capital of $100,000 and total assets of $316,000. Originally formed to negotiate and guarantee mortgage loans on western farms, the transference of its business to other lines of activity proved disastrous.

In the panic of 1893, all Boston banks suffered, but less severely than in 1837, 1857 and 1873. While upwards of two hundred banks, chiefly in the West and South, failed at this time, the banks of Massachusetts all came through successfully.

Bank Consolidations (1898–1908)

The results of this period of strain were no doubt a contributing factor leading to the series of consolidations that took place, beginning a few years later. In 1898, fourteen consolidations took place in Boston alone among the national banks, the first in the trust-company field occurring in 1904. A number of the consolidations were accompanied by liquidation or reductions of capital, so that in 1905 the capital of the 28 national banks in Boston was $28,400,000, reduced from

$53,850,000 for 60 banks in 1894. Deposits rose in that period from about $170,000,000 to $223,827,477. The trust companies in Boston during this same period gained in number from eleven to nineteen, with gains in capital, surplus and deposits.

By 1907, the banks throughout the State were in a stronger condition than ever. During the currency panic of 1907, when a number of New York banks were forced to suspend, the Massachusetts banks came through in excellent shape. Bank stocks had begun to return to favor as investments. While in 1898 the average dividend on $49,650,000 of capital was 2.3 per cent, in 1905 the average dividend on $28,400,000 of capital was 6.35 per cent.

In the consolidations referred to above, the lead was taken by the National Shawmut Bank, which was founded in 1836 as the Warren Bank, shortly becoming the Shawmut Bank, and later the Shawmut National. In 1898 it became the National Shawmut, and in that year absorbed nine other national banks—the Columbian, Eagle, North, Hamilton, Market, North America, Howard, Revere and Boston; all originally founded as State banks. In 1901 it absorbed the National Bank of the Commonwealth and the Third National Bank. It then represented the consolidation of twelve former National Banks and was carrying on business with a capital of $3,500,000, compared with a total capitalization of $13,050,000 of the former Banks before their consolidation.

The National Shawmut later absorbed four other National Banks—National Exchange in 1906, the National Bank of Republic in 1908, the Eliot National in 1912, and the Citizens National in 1927. These consolidations, with additions made to its capital and surplus through subscription by stockholders, brought it at the close of 1929 to a capital of $20,000,000, surplus and undivided profits of $12,559,246, and deposits of $183,231,165.

Another consolidation of the same period centered around the First National Bank. About 1898 the Massachusetts National Bank, founded in 1784 as the Massachusetts Bank and the oldest bank in the State, suffered from a serious loss of confidence with the failures of the Globe and Broadway National Banks. John W. Weeks, later Congressman and Senator

From a photograph by Henry Havelock Pierce Courtesy of Sinclair Weeks

JOHN W. WEEKS

from Massachusetts, and still later Secretary of War in the Cabinets of Presidents Harding and Coolidge, assumed the presidency in 1900 and began building up its deposits. In 1903 a consolidation was effected with the First National Bank of Boston, founded in 1859 as the Safety Fund Bank. In 1904 the National Bank of Redemption was acquired; this had previously acquired the Shoe & Leather National, which earlier had acquired the Everett National and Blackstone National. Thus, the First National Bank of Boston, representing at that time the consolidation of six former National Banks, was doing business with a capital of $2,000,000 compared with the former capital of the merged institutions totalling $5,200,000. Its growth will be referred to later.

There were also consolidations among the Boston banks and consolidations from time to time in other cities of the Commonwealth, one of these being the merger in 1906 of five banks in Springfield under the name of The Union Trust Company.

Federal Reserve System (1914–1930)

The passage of the Federal Reserve Act in 1914 strengthened the entire banking system through the concentration of bank reserves, the rediscounting of commercial paper, the providing of an elastic currency, and through open market operations. The Reserve Banking System has become a nation-wide clearing house for check collections, collection of notes, drafts, etc., and for wire transfer of funds; and is also the fiscal agency of the Federal Government itself.

The national banks were given a period of six months to decide as to whether they would become members or give up their charters. Though membership on the part of trust companies in the Reserve System was optional, twenty trust companies became members by the end of 1918. The Federal Reserve Act also made it permissible for national banks to have trust departments and savings departments, thereby placing them on a more even basis with the privileges of the State banks.

About this period a particularly rapid increase took place in the number of trust companies in the State, the number being 114 at the end of 1920. During the same period there were some consolidations among both the trust companies and the National banks and a few National Banks incorporated under Massachusetts laws as trust companies.

The most serious catastrophe in the banking history of the State came with the closing of four trust companies in Boston in 1920, following evidence of gross mismanagement and making of poor loans. A fifth trust company was closed during the following year. In only one of these closed trust companies did the savings depositors lose any part of their principal, and in that case it was less than 8 per cent.

Trust Company Regulation (1865–1930)

The trust companies from the start had been placed under the supervision of the Savings Bank Commissioner, who replaced the Board of Bank Commissioners, abolished at the end of 1865, when the National Banking Act went into effect. In 1876 a Board of Savings Bank Commissioners was established, and in 1906 this was replaced by a Bank Commissioner with deputies.

Massachusetts, by its general laws of 1888 to establish conditions under which trust companies might be incorporated, was the first State to require trust companies to keep a fixed reserve against deposits. The Bank Commissioner in Massachusetts in his annual report for 1907 reviewed all of the recommendations of a committee appointed by the New York banks to survey the causes of the panic of 1907, and discussed their bearing upon conditions in Massachusetts. As a result, legislation recommended by the Bank Commissioner was enacted, requiring trust companies in Boston to increase their reserve from 15 per cent to 20 per cent of demand deposits. The first trust company failure resulted in the passage in 1892 of a more definite method for enforcement of the liability of stockholders. The experience of 1920 and 1921 was crystallized in the enactment of the recommendations of a special Recess Commission on Revision of Banking Laws, including a more adequate and complete separation of savings departments and commercial departments of trust companies, a more frequent report to the commissioner of the amount of reserves, more adequate audits, bonding of officers, and more clearly defined penalties for fraudulent action.

In conformance with the trend elsewhere, the period from 1921 on has been marked in Massachusetts by further consolidations and concentration of bank capital.

The Atlantic National Bank (founded in 1828 as the Atlantic Bank) in 1909 absorbed the Metropolitan National; and in 1912 merged with the Fourth National, which had previously absorbed the National Hamilton Bank, to form the Fourth Atlantic National Bank. In 1922 the Peoples National (dating from 1833) was added. The Commonwealth Trust in 1914 had absorbed the Hamilton Trust (a consolidation of the New England National and South End National), and in 1923 merged with the Fourth Atlantic to form the Commonwealth Atlantic National Bank. The Boylston National was absorbed the same year, and, in 1926, the Massachusetts Trust Company (the second of that name) which had previously absorbed the Haymarket National Bank. In 1928 the name was changed to the Atlantic National Bank, and the Commercial Security National was added, thus bringing this bank to the end of 1929 with capital of $8,000,000, surplus and undivided profits of $8,503,882, and deposits of $114,111,190.

First National–Old Colony Trust Combination (1929)

The year 1929 was conspicuous for expansion in banking capital and consolidations of banks throughout the country. The most notable event of the year in Massachusetts was the consolidation of the First National Bank of Boston with the Old Colony Trust Company, the largest New England trust company.

The early consolidations of The First National Bank of Boston have already been traced. In 1923, it absorbed the International Trust Company, dating from 1879, which, in the previous nine years, had successively absorbed the Lincoln, Dorchester, Old South and Hyde Park Trust Companies, and the Market Trust Company of Brighton.

The Old Colony Trust Company had been founded in 1890 and had had a particularly rapid growth, both through its own activities and successive consolidations, starting in 1910 with the absorption of the City Trust Company and the Copley Trust Company, the former of which had previously acquired the Bunker Hill National, Mercantile Trust and the Massachusetts Trust (the first of that name). The Old Colony later absorbed the Bay State Trust Company and the Pilgrim Trust.

With the merger, the entire commercial business of the combined institutions was brought together under the Federal charter of The First National Bank of Boston. The Trust and Savings Departments were consolidated under the Massachusetts charter of the Old Colony Trust Company. The First National-Old Colony Corporation was created to bring together the security business which had been developed by both the merging institutions, the ownership of this corporation, like that of the Old Colony Trust Company, being placed in the hands of trustees for the proportionate benefit of stockholders of the bank. The First National Bank of Boston thus reached the end of 1929 with capital of $43,500,000; combined capital assets of $115,329,548 (including the capital, surplus and profits of the Old Colony Trust Company and First National-Old Colony Corporation); combined deposits of $539,384,895; and combined trusts of $309,325,295. Early in 1930 the American Trust Company was absorbed, which raised the combined capital assets to well over $118,000,000.

Group Banking

A further feature of interest in Massachusetts banking has been the development of several groups of banks with enough of the stock of each held by a single holding company or trust to create a community of interest between the banks. The most important of these groups is the Old Colony Trust Associates, formed by interests allied with the Old Colony Trust Company before its merger with the First National Bank. This organization has acquired control of nineteen banks, including one in Springfield and one in Lowell, with the remainder distributed through metropolitan Boston territory. The community of interest thus established between these banks and the merged First National Bank and Old Colony Trust Company interests benefits the individual units through exchange of operating information and uniformity of policy, and the development on the whole is in line with the growing demand which has appeared throughout the country for expansion of banking activities along the line of group banking or branch banking.

Federal Reserve Bank

The Federal Reserve System and the strength and flexibility which it added to our entire banking system have already been mentioned. An important part in its establishment was the activity of John W. Weeks of Massachusetts. Prior to his term as Senator, he had served for many years as a member of the Banking and Currency Committee of the Federal House of Representatives; and was also a member of the National Monetary Commission, which, in the words of Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon, "did so much hard and useful work in preparation for the reform of the Banking and Currency System that came later with the passage of the Federal Reserve Act."

Senator Weeks devoted unremitting time and effort to the perfecting of the bill embodying the Federal Reserve System, and he was an active proponent, both in committee and on the floor of the Senate, of the advantageous features of the bill, and equally vigorous in pointing out and helping to eliminate unsound features. The success with which the Federal Reserve System has met the tests of succeeding years is a tribute to his knowledge and judgment in financial matters.

The features of the Federal Reserve System need not be detailed here, but mention should be made of the part played by the Federal Reserve Banks as fiscal agents of the Federal Government in the distribution of the Liberty and Victory Loans during the World War, and especially the part played by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.

World War Finance (1917–1920)

With the offering of the First Liberty Loan in 1917, the minimum allotment of the First Federal Reserve District (New England) was set at $240,000,000. Subscriptions totalled $332,447,000, but the final allotment was $265,017,900. For the Second Liberty Loan, $476,950,000 was subscribed, the allotment being $408,530,000.

Much of the work of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston during this and succeeding years consisted of financing the great war loans and supplying the needs of industries of the district, assisting member banks of the State and the district through rediscounts. During 1918, the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston placed more than $1,000,000,000 of government securities, Treasury certificates, Liberty Loan bonds and war savings stamps in New England; and collected more than $300,000,000 in Federal taxes.

For the Third and Fourth Liberty Loans, the New England quota of $750,000,000 was well exceeded by the $986,638,500 actually subscribed and allotted, Massachusetts contributing $633,660,650. For the Victory Loan in 1919, $425,159,950 was actually subscribed against the New England quota of $375,000,000; actual allotments were only $371,910,150, of which Massachusetts contributed $222,114,650. For the five loans, Massachusetts was allotted a total of $1,307,069,600.

Boston Clearing House (1856–1928)

The Boston Clearing House, organized early in 1856, has been an important factor in the functioning of the banks of New England. The clearing house system itself was inherited from the Old World. The creation of the Boston Clearing House was in recognition of the advisability of establishing an organization for the convenient settling of daily balances.

Shortly after its inception the Clearing House underwent a severe test of its usefulness in the panic of 1857 and the accompanying suspension of specie payments. The Clearing House Association voted "that the bills of any associated banks may be received in liquidation of their daily balances instead of specie, to an extent not exceeding 2½% to 5% of the capital of such bank." The storm was successfully weathered after a trying period of two months.

In later times of stress, notably in 1873, 1893 and in 1907, the Clearing House was of substantial assistance through the issuance of "clearing house certificates" for use in the settlement of balances. This feature later became unnecessary through the establishment of the Federal Reserve System.

Of especial interest is the following vote of the association, passed April 24, 1893: "The Associated Banks of Boston, relying upon the ability and the determination of the government to maintain gold payments, hereby tender to the Secretary of the Treasury one-half of the gold reserve held by them, in exchange for legal tender notes, and the Clearing House Committee is directed to carry out the terms of this resolution."

The result was that about $4,000,000 was deposited with the subtreasury.

The Boston Clearing House Association gained country-wide attention, when, in June, 1899, it established a "foreign department," for the collection for its members of checks on banks scattered throughout New England. This later came to be known as the Boston System and was adopted by other clearing houses throughout the country. Upon the inception of the Federal Reserve System in 1914 it was adopted as a whole by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston for clearing of out-of-town checks for members, and later by the Federal Reserve System.

The Boston Clearing House Association in 1930 numbers 18 members, including 9 national banks and 9 trust companies. In volume of clearings it is exceeded only by New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. Its clearings in 1915 were about $8,000,000; in 1928 they were nearly $26,000,000.

Savings Bank Practice (1865–1930)

Massachusetts savings banks have from the first been mutual institutions, operated primarily with regard for the safety of principal of the depositors and without profit to any others than the depositors themselves. Investments are permitted in a limited list of securities, which has been further defined and restricted from time to time, including obligations of railroads, municipalities, States and governments, bank stocks, real estate mortgages, and certain loans on personal security. The depositors of banks are on an entirely mutual basis, all earnings (after relatively small management expenses) accruing for the benefit of depositors and payable to the depositors in the form of dividends, after setting aside semi-annually a small percentage of deposits toward the accumulation of a guarantee fund, until this fund equals 5% of the deposits.

The law of 1838 included among the duties of the three bank commissioners the visiting of each savings bank at least once each year. Whenever in the opinion of a majority of the commissioners, the institution was insolvent or had exceeded its powers, or it appeared that its further operation would be hazardous to the public, the commissioners were empowered to apply to the Supreme Court for an injunction restraining the institution from further operations. Changes in the make-up of this supervisory agency, covering savings banks as well as other forms of banking under State supervision, have already been noted.

Legislative enactments in 1908 gave the Bank Commissioner power to direct discontinuance of unsafe or unauthorized practices; required that the auditing committee of each bank must cause an audit to be made yearly; and redrafted the provisions covering the investment of savings-bank funds. The establishment of branches was also permitted, and savings departments of trust companies were authorized. In 1910 it was required that the annual audits of savings banks should be made by certified public accountants approved by the Bank Commissioner. Early in 1911, savings banks were given the permission to collect savings of school children through the principals or teachers of schools in their respective towns and cities.

Security of Savings Banks (1830–1930)

In the history of Massachusetts savings banks, there have been only twenty-three failures in which banks were finally liquidated and passed out of existence. Ten of these failures occurred as the result of the panic conditions of 1873, largely because of mortgages on real estate on a much overpriced basis. Other failures have been due to dishonesty on the part of bank officials or employees. The average amount paid to depositors of the banks which failed has been 82.23 per cent of their deposits, and the total amount of the loss in the period of over 110 years has been less than four tenths of a mill on each dollar entrusted to the savings banks. No year since 1879 has failed to show a growth in deposits. The growth of the last forty years is shown in the following table:

Year	No. Banks	No. Accounts	Deposits
1889	177	1,029,694	$332,723,688
1899	186	1,477,447	518,202,048
1909	189	2,040,894	743,101,481
1919	196	2,532,036	1,114,313,692
1929	196	2,948,833	2,035,799,106

Cooperative Banks (1877–1929)

Cooperative banks, which under the name of building associations had existed for some years elsewhere in the United States, were established in Massachusetts in 1877 by legislative authorization of cooperative saving fund and loan associations, a name changed in 1883 to cooperative banks. The purpose of these organizations, as originally stated, was "to enable persons of moderate means depending upon their own savings to provide themselves with homes which they shall own." Loans of these institutions are restricted to first mortgages on real estate and pledge of shares; and provision is made that a borrower must be a member of the association.

The history of cooperative banks in the Commonwealth has been particularly satisfactory, only seven of them having been closed since cooperative banks were first established. Five of these, liquidating for lack of business in their communities, paid approximately 100 per cent on liquidation; and of the other two, one paid 100 per cent and the other 89 per cent. The growth of these banks is indicated in the following tabulation:

Year	No. Banks	Total Assets
1879	10	$205,235
1889	93	7,106,629
1899	125	26,744,647
1909	140	55,945,634
1919	190	154,879,639
1929	227	543,654,998

Credit Unions (1909–1929)

Massachusetts was the first State to incorporate credit unions (1909). They are to be found in many of the large industrial and mercantile companies, and also as community enterprises. The original act required a character qualification for membership, loans to be made to members only and to be secured either by property or by additional endorsers; and strict requirements that the objects for which the loans are actually used shall be approved by the credit committee. The credit union laws were strengthened in 1926. The following tabulation shows briefly the growth of the credit unions:

Year	No.	Assets
1911	17	$25,942
1919	60	2,791,165
1929	299	16,152,699

Regulation of Deposit Concerns (1902–1921)

The Bank Commissioner and the General Court have from time to time extended their authority over other individuals or organizations receiving money from the public, such as banking associations formed or incorporated under charters of other States. In 1906 power was given to commissioners to proceed against such organizations if further operations seemed against public welfare.

At about this same period a State survey was made of all individuals or organizations receiving money on deposit, leading shortly to the passage of an act (1905) placing under the supervision of the banking department "all persons engaged in the selling of steamship or railroad tickets for transportation to or from foreign countries, or in the supplying of laborers, who, in conjunction with this business, carry on a business of receiving deposits of money for safekeeping, or for transmission." This same act provided that persons carrying on business of this type should be placed under a bond to be filed with the State Treasurer and Receiver-General, and also provided specific regulations for the conduct of the business. The control thus authorized did not prove adequate, with the result that there were several failures in

1920 and 1921. Later legislation provides for their gradual elimination.

SUMMARY OF BANK ACTIVITIES (1929)

These steps in improving supervision have enabled the governor of the Commonwealth to say (1929): "Massachusetts has always been in the forefront in the safety of banking institutions. Eight hundred and thirty-four banking institutions were under supervision on June 30, 1929 with aggregate assets of $4,500,000,000, a gain in assets of more than $257,000,000. The last legislature passed an act, which prohibited individuals and others than banks engaging in the business of receiving deposits of money for safekeeping."

SUMMARY OF BANK STATISTICS (1889–1929)

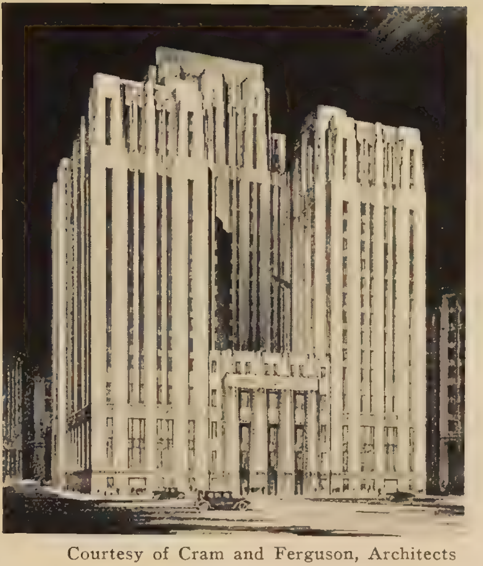
	Oct. 31, 1889		Oct. 31, 1929	
	No.	Assets	No.	Assets
Savings Banks	179	$350,635,971	196	$2,244,710,667
Trust Companies				
Commercial Depts.	12	43,496,158	102	789,325,927
Savings Dept.....	..	......	87	252,083,730
Trust Depts......	4	3,253,515	63	732,235,815
Collateral Loan Cos.	2	375,378	..	....
Mortgage Loan Cos.	2	1,834,738	..	....
Mass. Hospital Life Insurance Co.	1	20,853,791	1	36,895,833
Cooperative Banks .	93	7,106,752	227	543,654,999
Sav. & Loan Assns..	..	......	3	4,491,867
Foreign Banking Corp.—Branch ...	..	......	1	2,269,591
Credit Unions	..	......	299	16,152,699
Persons, etc. receiving deposits	..	......	14	2,277,183
Total under State Supervision	..	$427,556,303	..	$4,624,098,311
National Banks	256	372,189,000	154	1,603,371,000
Total Banking Resources		$799,745,303		$6,227,469,311

Fire and Marine Insurance Companies (1795–1930)

The insurance business in Massachusetts and its conduct, both on the part of the home companies and of other companies operating within the State, are under the supervision of the Insurance Department of the Commonwealth. The early maritime activities of Massachusetts developed the need for marine insurance, which was undoubtedly conducted by individuals or informal groups of individuals before the development of the corporate form of underwriting. A charter was obtained from the legislature in 1795 for the first insurance corporation in Massachusetts, the Massachusetts Fire Insurance Company. In 1799 it became the Massachusetts Fire and Marine Insurance Company. Other insurance companies followed, both mutual and stock companies, with increasing emphasis upon the writing of fire insurance. By 1858, there were 34 stock companies in the Commonwealth and 84 mutual companies writing fire or marine insurance, or both. In addition, 38 companies incorporated elsewhere were writing insurance in the State.

The years 1871 and 1872 were disastrous to Massachusetts companies. Losses in the Chicago fire in 1871 caused three companies to suspend; and the Boston fire the following year caused the suspension of 26. By 1890, the Massachusetts companies writing fire and marine insurance numbered only 15 stock companies and 51 mutual; while 112 companies incorporated in other States and 27 companies incorporated in foreign countries were writing insurance in the Commonwealth.

The Massachusetts and other companies profited by the lessons of the fire in increasing the territorial diversification of their risks, so that by 1889 approximately only one half of the premium income of Massachusetts fire and marine companies was from Massachusetts business. The total volume of business of the Massachusetts companies, however, had more than doubled in the period from 1858 to 1889, and the amount of insurance written in Massachusetts by companies incorporated elsewhere had reached substantial proportions.



Courtesy of Cram and Ferguson, Architects

PROPOSED FEDERAL BUILDING, BOSTON

Courtesy of the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co.

JOHN HANCOCK MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE BUILDING, BOSTON

Life Insurance (1818–1930)

The earliest life insurance company in the Commonwealth was the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, incorporated in 1818 to take advantage of an act of 1814 allowing the trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital to grant annuities on lives. By its charter this company was to pay each year to the trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital one third of the net profits from the insurance on lives during the preceding year. This obligation was also to be applied to any other person or corporation who should be empowered to insure lives within the Commonwealth. In the charter of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company (1835) this provision as to profits was included; but as it was a mutual company, the only profit in respect to the provision as to the Massachusetts General Hospital was finally determined as the excess in dividends paid to stockholders over 6 per cent on the guarantee capital of the company. In 1870, the general requirement that life insurance companies pay a portion of profits to the Massachusetts General Hospital was repealed.

The Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company has gradually ceased insuring lives, confined its operation to annuities and trust funds, and now reports to the Bank Commissioner. Two of the earlier insurance companies incorporated in other States have had a similar history, giving up life insurance underwriting and confining themselves largely to the handling of trust funds, thus leaving the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company as the oldest chartered American life insurance company now operative.

Early Fire and Marine Insurance Legislation (1807–1860)

Legislation with relation to conduct of the insurance business began in 1807 with a resolve calling for the publication by each company of a statement of its capital stock paid in, its investments and the amount of its reserves. In 1818 the first State act was passed, defining the powers, duties and restrictions of marine insurance companies. This was followed by a general law authorizing all companies to insure against fire. In 1837, all companies having specific capital were required to make returns to the Secretary of the Commonwealth instead of to the Treasurer, and in 1838 the first official report was published covering the business of insurance companies.

In 1852 the first Board of Insurance Commissioners in Massachusetts was created, consisting of the Secretary, the Treasurer and the Auditor of the Commonwealth.

Based on a report of this Board of Insurance Commissioners, the Legislature in 1854 enacted a comprehensive codification of the insurance laws of the Commonwealth. In 1855 the Board was changed from the ex-officio Board to one of three members appointed by the governor, and the Insurance Department was created. An important piece of work of the Board within the next few years was the establishment of reserve values for all life insurance policies in force, which led the way to present sound legal standards of policy reserves.

The essential features incorporated in the codification of insurance laws in 1854 have been little changed in their fundamental nature. As one of the later commissions stated it: "We should require conditions of the fullest publicity, and compliance with tests of solvency and honesty."

The Insurance Commissioners were empowered to examine all Massachusetts companies and to require annual reports thereof in order to be satisfied that each company was solvent and able to meet its obligations. Similar certified reports are required from companies incorporated elsewhere, which operate in Massachusetts. The laws also provided certain restrictions on the investment of the capital of stock companies and the investment of the reserve of both stock and mutual life insurance companies.

Non-Forfeiture Life Insurance (1861–1899)

A step vigorously opposed at the time, but which has since formed the basis of similar legislation in practically all States, was taken with the passage in 1861 of the "Non-Forfeiture Law" with reference to life insurance companies. Elizur Wright, insurance commissioner from 1858 to 1866, had repeatedly recommended that a policyholder upon allowing his policy to lapse should not thereby forfeit all the equity which his premiums had created. The new law gave to the policyholder in such a case paid-up insurance representing 80 per cent of the reserve which he had created. In 1880 the law was further revised, providing for more equitable benefits to the policyholder, either in cash or in paid-up insurance.

Amendments to the insurance laws have been passed year by year. Standard forms were provided for fire insurance (1873), and new and improved forms were made compulsory (1881). An Anti-Rebate Law was passed (1887), placing a penalty upon any rebates or discrimination between life-insurance policyholders. The so-called "endowment orders" were eliminated (1891). Life insurance on the assessment plan was ended (1899), and fraternal insurance was placed on a more adequate standard of solvency. Massachusetts insurance laws have from the beginning formed a model for other States.

Savings Bank Insurance (1907–1930)

In 1907 a forward step in insurance policy was taken with the enactment of legislation permitting savings banks to undertake the business of life insurance. This was designed to provide insurance in limited amounts largely to those who would pay premiums on a weekly basis, and at a minimum cost through elimination of the solicitation of business and the extra cost thereby incurred.

Each savings bank that undertakes the handling of life insurance contributes to a General Insurance Guaranty Fund handled by the State Department of Banking and Insurance, as a guaranty fund for all of the savings-bank insurance departments in operation. At the end of 1928, with little publicity and no solicitation of accounts, ten savings banks had insurance departments, with total assets of $7,419,000 and life insurance in force totalling $57,836,763.

Workmen's Compensation Insurance (1911–1930)

In 1911 legislation was enacted providing for a definite scale of compensation in case of injuries to employees of industries within the Commonwealth in which the employer accepted the provisions of the act. The act took away certain of the old legal defenses from the employer who did not accept the act, so that such employer could not allege contributory negligence on the part of the employee or on the part of a fellow employee; nor could he allege that in accepting employment the employee had assumed the risk thereof.

The act further provided for the formation of a mutual company to write insurance to cover the liability of employers with reference to the workmen's compensation obligations. Other companies, however, soon began to write policies covering this type of insurance; and the mutual company established by the act subsequently changed its name and broadened its operations to include similar types of insurance both in this State and elsewhere.

Automobile Insurance (1925)

Increase in the number of automobiles in the Commonwealth, and in the frequency of accidents in which the automobile driver at fault was found to be without resources with which to indemnify the person injured, led to agitation which resulted in the passage in 1925 of a law requiring that each automobile owner, before receiving a license to operate his automobile in the Commonwealth, should give evidence of having sufficient insurance (or the equivalent in the form of a deposited bond) to provide indemnity up to $5,000 in case of accident. The Insurance Commissioner was to hold hearings and establish rates for this type of insurance. This law has led to much discussion of the rates established and the suggestion of alternative methods of handling the problem, but to date no alternative has been adopted.

Growth of Insurance (1889–1928)

The recent period has been particularly notable in the increase in total insurance written within the State; and likewise in the increase in insurance written by Massachusetts insurance companies both within the State and elsewhere. The territorial diversification of fire risks, carrying further the lessons of the Boston and Chicago fires, has been substantially increased. For the 54 Massachusetts fire and marine companies in 1928, only $9,708,000 out of total premium income of $53,756,000 was from Massachusetts business.

Compared with 112 fire and marine insurance companies incorporated in other States and 27 branches of foreign companies which were writing insurance in the Commonwealth in 1889, in 1928 there were 235 companies from other States and 47 branches of foreign companies. The premium income on fire and marine business written in the Commonwealth by these outside companies increased over fivefold, from $6,964,000 in 1889 to $38,659,000 in 1928.

In addition to this type of business, there are now many other types of insurance, nonexistent in 1889, or not of sufficient importance to be separately tabulated. Workmen's compensation has already been mentioned, this class of business in Massachusetts requiring premiums in 1928 of $15,206,000. Total accident and health insurance in the Commonwealth brought in premiums of $5,248,000, while liability insurance, including the compulsory automobile insurance previously referred to, brought in premiums in 1928 of $23,226,000. Property damage and collision insurance (including automobile) required premiums of $7,610,000; while fidelity insurance, burglary and theft, and other less important types of casualty insurance brought in premiums of over $6,500,000.

Growth in life insurance has been particularly striking. In 1889 there were five life insurance companies incorporated in Massachusetts, with total policies in force of $200,321,000; in 1928 this had risen to ten companies with total policies in force of $7,054,822,000, not including the $57,836,000 of savings bank insurance policies previously referred to.

Considering Massachusetts business alone, the Massachusetts life insurance companies in 1889 had in force $53,093,000 of regular life policies; while in 1928 the ten Massachusetts companies and ten savings bank insurance departments had in force $829,591,000. Other companies operating in the Commonwealth in 1889 had $154,067,000 of regular life policies in force in the State, while in 1928 this had grown to $2,006,331,000. In addition, weekly payment or "industrial" policies totalling less than $30,000,000 in 1889 had grown to $1,063,084,746 and group insurance, a new form since the earlier date, had reached a total of $260,864,094 at the end of 1928.

Regulation of Public Utilities

Regulation of public utilities within the Commonwealth has grown with the growth of railroads and street railways, telephone and telegraph companies, gas and electric companies. Publicity has been required as to financial conditions and operations, and regulative policy has aimed at equity between stockholders and the public. As early as 1842, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw marked out some of the general principles, subsequently followed, in the following terms: "It is true that the real and personal property, necessary to the establishment and management of the railroad, is vested in the corporation; but it is in trust for the public. The company have not the general power of disposal, incident to the absolute right of property; they are obliged to use it in a particular manner, and for the accomplishment of a well defined public object; they are required to render frequent accounts of their management of this property, to the agents of the public."

Railroad and Public Service Commission (1909–1919)

In 1869 the legislature established the Board of Railroad Commissioners, the first railroad commission in the United States, with Charles Francis Adams a member of the first commission and its leading spirit during his service of ten years. At first this commission had no power to make orders but could investigate and recommend. As time went on, it was given power to issue orders in certain limited fields, such as safety appliances and railroad crossings. In 1893 it was given authority over the issue of stock by railroads and street railways. In 1913, it became the Public Service Commission, and acquired the added power to make orders in relation to rates and service, both on complaint and on its own initiative. The Public Service Commission at the same time was given the regulation of rates "for transmission of intelligence by electricity," the telephone and telegraph companies for six years prior to this time having been under the general supervision of the Highway Department.

In 1885 the Board of Gas Commissioners was established, with power from the outset to fix, upon application of certain public officials or petition of customers, the maximum price to be charged for gas. Electric light companies were first incorporated in Massachusetts in 1882; and in 1887 the Board of Gas Commissioners became the Board of Gas and Electric Commissioners, with powers expanded to cover electric lighting operations in the same degree as gas companies. In 1894, this board was given power over the issuance of stock of gas and electric companies, and in 1914 its jurisdiction was extended over water companies in the same degree as over other companies under its supervision.

Department of Public Utilities (1919–1930)

In 1919 the Public Service Commission and the Board of Gas and Electric Commissioners were consolidated under the Department of Public Utilities, bringing together all of the then-existing powers over rates, operations and issuance of securities of the various types of public-utility companies in the Commonwealth. In 1927 an added provision permitted the department to act with reference to rates on its own motion, as well as on petitions from others.

In its regulation of utilities, the Massachusetts department has kept a somewhat unique position. While decisions elsewhere give particular weight to "reproduction cost" as a basis for the establishment of property valuations for use in making rates, the Massachusetts theory has based rates upon the amount of funds "prudently and honestly invested," with much less weight attached to reproduction cost.

In 1921, in order to prevent exploitation of the public through the sale of unsound securities, the department was given a degree of supervision over the offering of securities for sale within the Commonwealth.

The operations of railroads and of telephone and telegraph companies in Massachusetts have not been confined to State lines; hence accurate data to show the growth of their operations during the last forty years is lacking.

By 1928, the investments of gas companies in plant and equipment had grown to $119,226,266; and annual revenue from the sale of gas, to $34,242,562—over seven times the revenue in 1890.

Although the first electric companies in Massachusetts were incorporated only in 1882, sixty-eight companies were operative by 1890. By 1928, investment in plant and equipment for production of electricity had risen to $334,779,603; and revenue from the sale of electricity, to $86,138,975.

Investment Banking

The growth of wealth in Massachusetts in the early years of the past century led not only to the development of the industrial and transportation facilities within the State, but to substantial and growing interests elsewhere. Massachusetts capital played a leading part in the development of western railways, in the development of the Michigan copper mines, and, at a later period, in the development of the telephone and electrical equipment industry.

The Boston Stock Exchange, organized October 13, 1834, (the third in the country) was the outcome of the foresight of a group of local men as to the value of an organized securities market, both in the industrial upbuilding of New England, and the growing need for capital to back the pioneering activities of Massachusetts and New England groups beyond the bounds of New England. Early securities traded were those of insurance companies and banks, the canal and industrial companies, and in an increasing degree securities representing Massachusetts activities elsewhere. Foreign exchange and purchase and sale of specie were important items in early days.

Transactions at first were private, and it was not until after the first ten years that the Exchange gave its quotations to the press. Members sat at desks and were required to do their trading at desks. There were two sessions or "boards" daily, one shortly after 10 o'clock in the morning and one at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Each session was opened by the president of the Exchange, who "called" each stock in turn, upon which all members having orders in that stock would endeavor to effect transactions. Transactions of early days were regarded as "enormous" when this deliberate procedure prolonged the first board up to the opening hour of the second board.

About 1885, actual desks on the floor were given up and the five-hour daily continuous session was instituted; and in 1888 the Exchange started the publication of its own daily transaction sheets.

In 1892 a Stock Exchange Clearing House was organized, the second of its kind in this country, in order to reduce the money requirements for daily settlements, and to decrease the risks involved in delivery of securities between offices. Later a comparison department was added so that comparison tickets might be delivered and exchanged at a single point.

Many of the industrial and railroad securities, which had their sole market on the Boston Stock Exchange, later grew more national in distribution and investment importance, and transferred major activity to the larger New York Stock Exchange. Activity on the Boston Stock Exchange declined somewhat, but in recent years it has played an increasing function through the trading thereon of many stocks listed elsewhere, as a means of reaching the investment reservoir of Massachusetts and New England, particularly in transactions involving odd amounts. Transactions on the Boston Stock Exchange had reached as high as 17,000,000 shares annually in the pioneering phase of activity, dropping below 4,000,000 shares in 1918 and 1921, with a subsequent rapid rise to 19,069,000 shares in 1928 and 24,625,000 shares in 1929.

Transactions on the Boston Stock Exchange, however, are far from representing the range of activity of Massachusetts and New England investment capital. Of the 82 registered firms included among the membership of 139 of the Boston Stock Exchange, 45 firms have memberships on the New York Stock Exchange, 8 on the Philadelphia Exchange, and 9 on the Chicago Stock Exchange. The number of leased wires between Boston and New York devoted to investment purposes has increased about 100 per cent in the last ten years to 195 at the present time. All of these factors indicate the increasing range of distribution of Massachusetts investment and speculative capital.

Supplementing the investment facilities offered by the organized Exchanges, the investment business, in offering and maintaining markets in unlisted securities, has steadily increased. While the offering of new securities within the

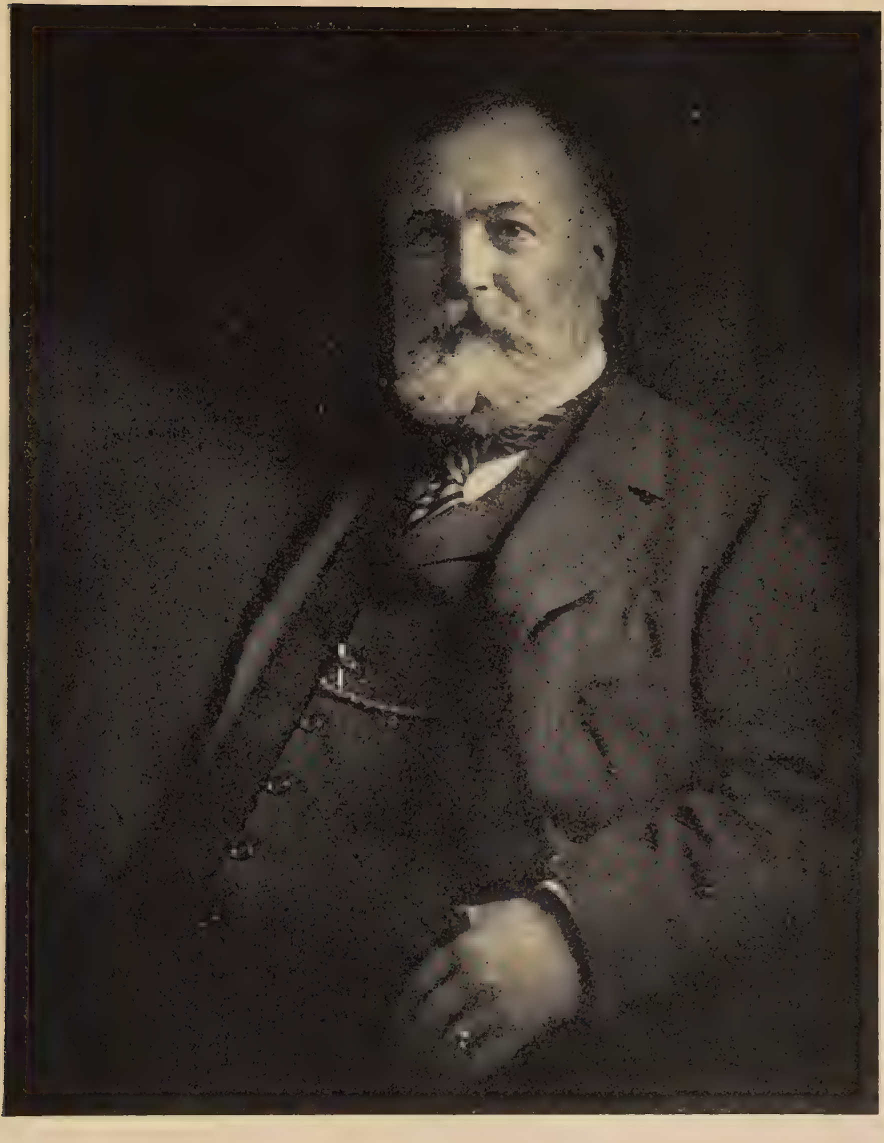
Commonwealth has since 1921 been subject to oversight by the Department of Public Utilities, the investment business has not required supervision which would give figures as to its growth. Supplementing the growth of the investment banking houses themselves, Massachusetts banks and trust companies in recent years have to a rapidly increasing degree provided their customers with investment service, the larger ones forming separate security corporations which, like many of the investment banking houses originating in the State, have expanded their operations far beyond Massachusetts territory. A similar increase has occurred in the number of offices in the State of investment organizations with headquarters elsewhere. With all of these increased facilities, Massachusetts capital has undoubtedly been afforded its share in a widening variety of new investment offerings, the total of which in 1929 reached over $10,000,000,000 for the entire country.

Financial Journalism (1859–1930)

Financial journalism has grown with the increase in wealth and the expansion of investment interest. The *Commercial Bulletin,* founded in 1859 by Curtis Guild as a weekly publication, was supplemented in a constantly increasing degree by the ably conducted financial sections of the daily newspapers in Boston. The Boston News Bureau, founded in 1887 by Clarence W. Barron, was a particularly vitalizing factor in the development of prompt presentation and interpretation of financial and economic news. The activities of that organization have grown to national importance with the founding in 1897 of the Philadelphia News Bureau, the acquisition in 1901 of the *Wall Street Journal* and the founding in 1921 of *Barron's,* a financial weekly. Under Barron's leadership, these publications have unquestionably been a powerful influence in establishing the present practice on the part of corporations to give the public more complete and informing operating figures.

Credit Standing (1861–1930)

The financial story of the last forty years is, as we have seen, one of rapid growth in the range and magnitude of projects undertaken by the State and municipal governments



From a photograph by Garo, Boston — Courtesy of the National Financial Weekly

CLARENCE W. BARRON

for the general welfare, with a consequent steadily mounting total of indebtedness. Material wealth and financial resources have expanded even more rapidly. Native conservatism has been constantly evident in the financial history of the Commonwealth, in keeping commitments in proportion to resources, thereby maintaining an enviable credit standing.

The Civil War period was trying to the State's credit as it was to the Federal government and to other States. Massachusetts 5 per cent bonds dropped from 105 in 1855 to as low as 85 in 1861. Committing itself in 1862 to pay in gold coin the principal and interest of all State bonds then outstanding or subsequently issued, Massachusetts paid a total premium of $3,703,556 on purchases of gold during the period of suspension of specie payments. This policy was reflected in 1871, when the State treasurer negotiated loans in London at about 5 per cent. By 1889 the State could place loans as low as 2.55 per cent. The rates on State loans in subsequent years tended to keep close to 3 per cent until 1902. Then the general trend was upward, until in 1921 loans were placed at as high a rate as 4.235 per cent. Early in 1930 loans were placed at 3.93 per cent; but with generally easier money, Massachusetts bonds by April, 1930, were selling on about a 3.65 per cent basis.

In 1870 the Governor of Massachusetts said in his inaugural: "Our bonds find ready sale in Europe, and at prices higher than any other American Securities." That credit has been well maintained, with Massachusetts State and municipal obligations still commanding a premium in the market over similar obligations of other States. The sound financial condition, which this credit standing reflects, is in turn an evidence of the good judgment and soundness of the men who have guided and continue to guide the financial policies of the Commonwealth.

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CHAPTER XII

TWENTIETH-CENTURY MANUFACTURES (1890–1930)

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Expansion in Modern Machinery

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the day of the machine in Massachusetts industrial life moved toward its zenith. And with it came the era of quantity manufacturing; of large corporations, seeking efficiency in management and methods; of extensive labor movements, seeking the humanizing of what is somewhat grossly termed the "machine age."

As was to be expected, machinery intensified the manufacturing activities of the people everywhere, and especially in Massachusetts. Appearing gradually and spreading in diversity during the years following the Civil War, it symbolized conquest,—enthralling, significant conquest. Many a manufacturing process which seemed forever fated to be manually performed yielded at last to the human genius for invention.

Financiers and executives, whose courageous initiative had already dotted the Massachusetts horizon with factory chimneys, possessed amply the imagination to perceive the possibilities which machinery created; and forthwith they put their faith and their money more extensively than ever into the industrial enterprises of the Commonwealth.

The expansion thus precipitated forked in two directions. Existing industries grew as machine methods were applied to their operations, with a tendency toward fewer but larger plants. And there arose many a new venture concerned solely with the building of machines with which to supply the long-established industries engaged in producing commodities for public consumption.

Through years of incessant adjustment and readjustment, years of unretarded net progress, Massachusetts thus fitted herself to maintain her national markets and enhance her export trade. Her manufactured products show this in their ascending market value: $1,035,000,000 in 1890, and $3,426,000,000 in 1925, with every expectation of exceeding $4,000,000,000 in 1929.

Before the passing of the eighties, Massachusetts was striding on toward modern industrialism. The dominance of manufacturing, which since the middle of the nineteenth century has supported fully half the total population, kept abreast of the nation's growth. The supremacy of the State in fine textiles, worsteds, woolens, boots, shoes, and high-grade writing paper did not appreciably languish when competition appeared in other sections. And the Yankee facility for inventing things was flowering in many forms, most of them affecting the industrial trend.

New Types of Machines (1885–1930)

A decade or so before the modern period opened, F. B. Norton, a studious potter in Worcester, spent several years learning how to produce a superior emery wheel, to be driven at high speed by mechanical power. This craftsman, in association with others, in 1885 organized a company which gradually came to specialize in grinding machines. Its resultant preeminence sprang from the work of a group of brilliant inventors, especially another of the Nortons—Charles H. Norton, called "the father of cylindrical grinding."

At the turn of the century the production of grinding wheels and grinding machines at Worcester was already a high art. These machines would do the extraordinary; they would perform work of unbelievable precision. By their means, finely tempered mechanical products, true to the fortieth part of a hair, could be economically manufactured in quantity for the needs of high-speed transportation. By their means, also, machine tools for producing other mechanical products of superbly fine quality could be constructed.

Here was the very spirit of modern Massachusetts industrialism—the grinding process, fundamental in its influence upon twentieth-century manufacturing, in the nation itself as well as in this Commonwealth. Scores of famous Massachusetts products have achieved greater excellence and retained their economic status because of modern grinding machines produced in their very midst.

Machine building itself is essentially new in Massachusetts within the last seventy-five years—and in its most marvelous refinements it is more particularly a twentieth-century development. Cotton goods, woolens and silks, boots and shoes, paper and cordage, furniture and confectionery were all once made by hand. But the great textile mills of Massachusetts have long depended upon power looms, much of this equipment coming from places within the state, from Hopedale, Lowell, Worcester, and Northbridge. Shoe machinery has been obtained for years by every large shoe factory in Massachusetts from an immense plant at Beverly, and from other machine makers in Boston and Waltham. The machines that have equipped Massachusetts confectionery establishments come largely from Springfield. Paper-mill machinery is built at Holyoke, Pittsfield, Lawrence, and Worcester.

New Forms of Power (1895–1919)

In the last decade of the nineteenth century came another influence—new power units, typified in the steam turbine and the electric motor. Both represented economy combined with efficiency, especially the electric drive, which obviated the necessity of a power plant on the premises. Soon the electric public utilities expanded sufficiently to make the generation and distribution of power an industry in its own right.

The total horse power of steam engines employed dropped off between 1914 and 1919, and the increase of electric motors accounted for this change. In 1914 electric motors were less than one sixth of the total, while steam engines were almost two thirds of the total. In 1919 the motors handled one third of the total, and steam engines supplied a slightly larger proportion, while steam turbines represented one sixth of the total.

That form of power which is cheapest of all in its operating cost and oldest of all in its availability—water power—has remained dominant to a large extent wherever found. It is a development of recent years that not all the mill power on the banks of these foaming streams comes direct from the rivers themselves. Less water power and more steam and electric power has been the trend for fully a generation.

Yet water power was originally the lure that brought into existence the State's great textile industry; and the production of textile goods is still the largest manufacturing enterprise in Massachusetts. It stands first among numerous conspicuous industrial achievements of the Bay State. Never once in the last forty years has this leadership been threatened.

Spindles and looms have steadily multiplied at those ideal water-power sites on the Merrimack, the Quequechan, and the Acushnet, where teeming industrial cities have arisen within a few generations—Lawrence, Lowell, Fall River, New Bedford. Changing conditions have not been able to change the economic status of these places, nor unseat the Commonwealth from its place as first of the textile-manufacturing States; although the competition in the South has, since the middle 'nineties, been an increasing problem to the Massachusetts mill owner.

Certainly no indications appear of a collapse in the Massachusetts textile industry. Nearly six million spindles were whirling in 1890; ten years later almost eight million were counted. Today Massachusetts has in excess of twelve million, and her cotton mills produce more than a fourth of the total value of America's cotton goods.

Within the borders of the State stands the premier spindle city of the nation—Fall River, whose one-hundred-odd cotton manufactories represent fifty millions of invested capital and keep busy four million spindles. No other cotton-manufacturing city in the United States can equal that.

The years have brought industrial preeminence also to Lawrence. What Fall River is in cotton manufacturing, Lawrence is in woolen. Thousands of looms stand in her mills, and the value of her annual woolen output, which was twenty-nine million dollars in 1890, is close to one hundred and fifteen million at the present time. Nearly two hundred million yards of cloth, both woolen and cotton, are contributed to the domestic and foreign markets by this community of weavers created by the Essex Company, the original water-power group, and named for Abbott and Amos Lawrence, conspicuous leaders in that enterprise.

WOOLENS AND SILKS (1890–1930)

The woolen industry in Massachusetts in its latest development is particularly distinguished by an unusual and yet a typical modern enterprise at Andover, known as the Shawsheen Village unit. It represents the ideal of the late William M. Wood, and is distinguished by its production facilities as well as by the particularly definite concept of human relations among the individuals who form the entire personnel, no matter in what position they are working. It is encouraging to the fraternal doctrines of the sociologists and a credit to the industrial life of the nation, as well as that of the State.

MODERN TEXTILE PROBLEMS (1895–1930)

Until the last ten years, the manufacture of silk cloth in Massachusetts had gone quietly along as a minor branch of the textile industry, handled in a score or more of plants in Boston, New Bedford, and Fall River. Then came the discovery of rayon, the Philippine fibre from which is produced imitation silk of fine sheen and glowing colors. It had all the elements of wide popularity, as Massachusetts mill operators readily learned.

Experimentation began immediately. Several progressive and courageous manufacturers succeeded in producing rayon for the commercial market, and a large New Bedford mill adapted its entire plant for converting rayon threads and yarns into the forms required by the textile industry. The instant demand that developed gave to this product a romantic fascination. It is one of the astonishing events in the present-day textile world of Massachusetts, and possibilities of the future appear unbounded.

IMPROVEMENT IN PROCESSES

The last ten years have revealed a progressive spirit in textile development. It has been evident in the careful study of the public's mind, the readiness to try new methods, the desire to negotiate with labor instead of necessarily fighting it, the promptness with which the improved forms of machinery have been adopted, and the refusal to feel downhearted over the competition of the southern mills. Automatic machines and especially the multiple-loom system have become determining factors in the day's operations of all the larger mills. More conciliatory tactics have been exhibited by both the management and the workers to avoid the demoralizing labor struggles of the past. Lawrence, once a turbulent center of the labor war, has recovered its industrial peace these many years.

SOUTHERN COMPETITION (1893–1930)

The bugbear of southern competition has been more or less of a cloud on the horizon for the better part of twenty years. Textile mills were first established in South Carolina in 1893, increasing steadily in that State and in North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, throughout the 'nineties. These mills put in electric motors from the beginning. Indeed, they were pioneers in adopting the electric drive. New England mills, more conservative, were nearly all electrically lighted, but for a long time they could not bring themselves to believe that electricity was competent to operate machines—or at least that it could do so economically. In addition to this advantage, the southern mills were aided in manufacturing coarse cotton goods by humidifying processes and by ventilating systems, which created atmospheric conditions required by the product and beneficial to the operatives. Lower living costs, too, had their effect upon the investment necessary for labor.

Thus textile competition, possessing sufficient possibilities to make it appear formidable, came forward in the South. In time it led to a comparative investigation, inaugurated about 1919 by Massachusetts textile concerns, into conditions in the industry both in Massachusetts and the southern States. This study laid some stress upon the absence of individual power plants in most of the southern mills. The power for operating those mills was purchased from electric power companies, and that practice meant energy at a lower cost per horse power.

Other advantages favored the South—lower freight rates; lower local taxes (at least at that moment); the proximity of raw material; greater cooperation and understanding between employer and employee, arising from the smaller mill units, and the predominance of workers of native ancestry. To be sure, the southern worker was earning less—32 cents per hour, on an average, in Virginia; 29 cents in North Carolina; 24 cents in Georgia; 22 cents in South Carolina; 21 cents in Alabama—compared with 40 cents in Massachusetts.

The actual supremacy of Massachusetts continued as striking as it has always been. Although North Carolina, the leading southern textile State, in 1921 actually possessed a larger number of cotton mills—343, as compared to 182 in Massachusetts,—it employed but 66,000 workers in these mills, while Massachusetts could report 106,000. Furthermore, the value of textiles manufactured in Massachusetts in that year was more than $300,000,000, compared with $190,000,000 in North Carolina. That Massachusetts has held her own through more than three decades of this sectional rivalry is eloquent of the ever-expanding markets and doubly eloquent of the inherent vitality of this industry of the Old Bay State.

THE MACHINE AGE IN SHOEMAKING (1890–1910)

The shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts went through a struggle fully as sharp, a struggle singularly parallel in its essential aspects. For generations prior to 1890, Massachusetts shoes were nationally famous. The industry possessed the proud heritage of having supplied the bulk of the national demand; but this was when the population of America was not yet so overwhelming nor so widely distributed.

Even during the 'eighties the shoe salesmen of Lynn, Brockton, Haverhill, Marblehead, and Worcester penetrated to the Mississippi and beyond, exhibiting a variety of smart styles and taking orders amounting to millions of dollars. The first shoe machines had come in during the preceding twenty years: the McKay sole-sewing machine, the Gallahue shoe-pegging device, the McKay channeler, and the McKay nailer. The progress that these inventions inaugurated in manufacturing methods has continued with increasing ingenuity ever since.

McKay leased his machines on a royalty basis, so that they remained his property; and he organized a service staff to go wherever needed in case machines broke down. Around 1890, so great was the advantage of this machinery, many shoe manufacturers bought their own machines; but these did not have the benefit of a repair service, which remained a distinct need. Finally, Sidney W. Winslow and George W. Brown established control of all machines for bottoming shoes. They built up a corporation which maintained a highly skilled service organization and in addition introduced still newer types of machines to perform operations which were previously manual.

As early as 1891 thirty-three distinct types of machines were in use in the shoe factories of Massachusetts. Today there is scarcely a process that has not yielded to machinery. The resulting transformation has been epochal. Shoemaking at the present time is as unlike shoemaking fifty years ago as can well be imagined. And the great changes in machinery and in factory systems in use all over the world were originated in Massachusetts.

Moreover, Massachusetts is the style center for the footwear of the nation. With all the competition of other localities, the authority as to new styles has remained in this State, the original seat of the industry and still the great workshop from which comes the largest proportion of the product.

External Competition in the Shoe Trade

Not until the middle 'nineties did the Massachusetts shoe industry encounter serious competition. New York State then began to produce shoes in volume, almost simultaneously with the establishment of factories in the Middle West. In both cases the underlying force was the development of nearby markets, springing from the tremendous increase in population. This is a permanent factor which must be reckoned with. No intelligent Massachusetts shoe manufacturer will decry this natural trend or bemoan his misfortune in encountering such rivalry. If Massachusetts now were to shoe the nation—as the State once did, practically speaking—it would require factory facilities greater than could be financed at home, and transportation service beyond the physical possibilities of existing railroads.

Actually it is not the rise of sectional competition in boot-and-shoe manufacture that so profoundly impresses the imagination; such a development was inevitable as the country grew. It is rather the unshaken stability of Massachusetts as the nation's shoe center in the face of this competition and in the face of transportation difficulties which grew as the nation grew. More people meant larger markets, regardless of geographical rivalry, and the goods simply had to be transported. Freight congestion and inequitable freight rates were perhaps unavoidable, although none the less unfortunate.

Against such conditions the Massachusetts record is one of undeniable industrial achievement. In the total value of the product the steady gross gain is apparent: $117,000,000 in 1890; $188,000,000 in 1910; $442,000,000 in 1920. The last phenomenal increase was largely the result of war conditions.

However, the story assumes a different aspect when the relation of Massachusetts to the rest of the United States is viewed, for this is a record of a decreasing hold, although it is still dominant. Massachusetts in 1900 was producing 44.9 per cent of the nation's output of boots and shoes; in 1909 her percentage was down to 41.4 per cent, in 1914 it was 39.4 per cent, and in 1919 it was only 35.3 per cent; it rose slightly in 1923 to 35.5 per cent.

Labor Conditions in the Shoe Industry (1880–1930)

Doubtless the traditional conditions peculiar to shoemaking have had their share in complicating the modern problems of this great industry. An occupation which began in little home shops, and was carried on for a long period largely in the homes of the shoemakers, was sure to develop a heritage of assertiveness among the workers. When labor organizations took root, as they did at a fairly early period, they found men with well-defined feelings as to their relation to the industry and their economic status in society.

The labor-union movement in the shoe factories during recent years simply succeeded to the previous activities of the Knights of St. Crispin and the Knights of Labor, which grew up at a time when shoe workers were fearful of being crowded out of employment by the adoption of machine methods.

There have been times aplenty when the labor organizations and the proprietors in the boot and shoe industry could not agree, and deadlocks have adversely affected the industry in consequence. When sectional competition arose and transportation problems multiplied, any lack of harmony between the employers and employees naturally made itself felt disastrously.

Within the decade from 1920 to 1930, however, evidences of intelligent mutual cooperation in the common cause for the common good have repeatedly appeared. In proportion as this attitude has gained acceptance with both of the principals in the case, in like proportion has the shoe industry of Massachusetts shown itself capable of achieving its own salvation by greater efficiency, scientific marketing, and the lowering of production costs—which latter does not necessarily mean a low level of earnings by the individual workers. The relations between capital and labor, including the main fields of labor, are described in the chapter on labor in this volume.

At times there have been serious, although momentary, local contingencies. Labor disturbances have occurred at one time or another in nearly all the large centers. And twice the great commercial shoe district of Boston has been fire-swept —on November 9, 1872, and again on March 10, 1893. A great fire in Lynn, on November 26, 1889, destroyed more than half of the city's shoe factories. Haverhill suffered similarly on February 17, 1882.

Shoe Distribution and Conditions (1890–1930)

In the main the distribution of the industry has remained unchanged for all the last forty years. Brockton, Haverhill, and Worcester are the great centers for the making of men's shoes; Lynn is supreme in the manufacture of women's footwear; and Marblehead produces most of the children's shoes made in Massachusetts.

These are the great markets for leather, the raw material of shoe-making. And this contributary occupation in turn absorbs a great volume of domestic and foreign hides. In

1892 there entered the port of Boston well over a million foreign hides and seven hundred thousand domestic; but the market totals are apt to fluctuate from year to year.

One cannot conceive a time when Massachusetts shoes will not be in sustained demand throughout America. Geographical competition can hardly undermine the hold of the Bay State upon the market, assuming an adequate intelligence in management and *esprit de corps* in procedure. And yet the twentieth-century American has acquired one particular habit which is giving farsighted shoe manufacturers some concern. He is prone to ride in automobiles; and he rides so incessantly that he does not wear out his shoes as fast as he once did. This is declared actually to have a bearing on the demand and to be darkening the industrial outlook at the present time.

Whatever the saving to the consumer, it may also mean hard sledding for the shoe factories. And the Massachusetts shoe worker can scarcely feel consoled by the realization that the yearning for automobiles is keeping busy large numbers of his fellow citizens of the Commonwealth who work in the plants making automobile parts, however it may be acting as an imperceptible drag upon his own prosperity.

TOOLS (1867–1920)

The skilled craftsmen of Massachusetts have raised the manufacture of metal products, machine tools, and mechanics' tools to the level of a splendid New England accomplishment. Some of these lines of metal goods are specialties, famous everywhere that mechanics are to be found, and cannot be dispensed with whenever work of great precision is to be undertaken.

Shortly after the Civil War, a young Boston mechanic, Daniel Stillson, invented a new and peculiarly useful style of wrench. The manufacturing company in whose shops he was employed purchased his patents, and he received thousands of dollars in royalties before his death. For the Stillson wrench immediately came into great demand. It has been ever since a classic in its field; it is in use today the world around, and has been produced in Massachusetts, its birthplace, in greater volume with every decade.

Contemporary with the appearance of the Stillson wrench in Boston was that of the Morse twist drill at New Bedford. This basic product of a great metal-working plant was originally manufactured during the 'sixties. It prospered rationally, adding modern methods and materials as fast as they were developed. Marvelous precision was attained, until at present steel drills are accurately produced as small as a sewing needle. Numerous other types of tools come from this plant —twenty thousand different sizes and styles, all told.

MACHINE TOOLS (1890–1910)

Another remarkable tool factory was developed from a humble beginning at Athol by L. S. Starrett. Some twelve hundred types of mechanics' fine tools are made there, most of these being of Starrett's invention. They, too, are wonderful examples of accuracy in shop work, known far and wide and recognized as splendid specimens of what Massachusetts's skilled workmen can do.

In Boston the Sturtevant establishment produces an amazing variety of fans, blowers, economizers, ventilating machinery, and similar apparatus. In Cambridge and Holyoke are the teeming plants of a corporation devoted to the making of a famous steam-driven direct-acting pump, designed in 1897 by George P. Aborn, an engineer of the company, and growing out of the pioneer steam-pump inventions of Lucius J. Knowles and George F. Blake.

Within the last quarter-century other remarkable examples of Yankee invention, or improvements in the inventions of others, have grown up; such as the notable textile machinery plants of Worcester, Whitinsville, Lowell, Hopedale, and Hyde Park. Such names as Draper, Crompton, Knowles, and Whitin have stood out in this development. A notable success is the automatic loom, an achievement coming soon after 1890, especially in the weaving of fancy goods. This has been one of the conditions permitting manufacturers to reduce costs and yet pay good wages. So extraordinary is this device that it can detect the breakage of a single filament among the thousands of threads that enter into the warp of the loom.

WORCESTER MACHINERY PRODUCTS

No locality in all Massachusetts can compare with Worcester as a center of the metal manufactures. The diversity of wares produced there is fairly amazing, particularly for a city that is located inland and not on a water-power site. Metal goods seem to predominate.

Worcester is notable, among other industrial characteristics, for the multitude of relatively small concerns, or concerns which began on very modest lines. Numerous mechanics have lived there from generation to generation, and they have almost always been able to set up their own small shops in rented premises, without going to the expense of erecting a building.

Many of them began with simply one machine and grew little by little, adding to their plants only as their business prospects warranted expansion. No growth could be more sound or more permanent. Old Stephen Salisbury and his son after him, both of them large property owners, were always willing to lease space for factory uses. Again and again the leased property was eventually purchased by the occupants.

It was Salisbury who built the factory on Grove street in which Ichabod Washburn essayed to manufacture drawn wire in the first half of the nineteenth century. His partner after a while was Philip L. Moen, and the firm of Washburn & Moen prospered greatly.

In the late 'seventies the plant, in addition to drawn wire, began to make barbed wire fencing, and in 1888 this product was being marketed at the rate of 18,000 tons a year. From 1884 copper wire for use in electrical systems was manufactured, and in five years the yearly output had swelled to 50,000 tons.

In 1889 this plant and several others, notably that of the Worcester Wire Company, William E. Rice, proprietor, were consolidated as a modern corporation; and in 1901 it was absorbed bodily into a still larger national combination, Judge Elbert H. Gary's United States Steel Corporation. The three Worcester plants now produce great quantities of high-grade wire specialties: wire rope, galvanized steel wire cable, wire rope for hoisting, tiller rope, switch rope, picture cord, sashcord wire, wire nails, piano wire. The company still has in its industrial museum the old ledger in which appears, in neat legible writing, a record of the first modest shipment of piano wire to Jonas Chickering, founder of the great Chickering piano house in Boston.

In 1900, wire manufactured in Massachusetts had a market value of $1,120,000; in 1909 it had increased to $9,500,000, and in 1919 to $24,500,000—concrete evidence of the effect of modern usages. In Worcester are established also prosperous plants that produce rolling mills, employed to roll iron and copper rods into wire, steel wire springs, machine crank shafts, foundry castings, forgings, and gears.

The Paper Trade (1889–1930)

America has long obtained the great bulk of her finished paper, especially her fine writing paper, from Massachusetts. Currency paper, which the United States Bureau of Printing and Engraving makes into legal tender, is manufactured in Dalton. The Connecticut River Valley has been practically always the seat of papermaking in this State. The head of water power in the river at Springfield and Holyoke was favorable for operating the ponderous Fourdrinier paper machines. From 1860 to 1897, four fifths of the loft-dried paper manufactured in the United States was produced within fifteen miles of Springfield.

The paper mills of the State produced goods having a total value of $40,000,000 in 1909, and $87,000,000 in 1919. The manufacture of fine paper led all other classes—91,000 tons in 1919, valued at $34,000,000. Book and coated paper was second as to value, $21,300,000 in 1919, and first as to quantity, 130,000 tons.

Twenty-five years ago a modest concern for manufacturing paper novelties opened its doors in Framingham. Once every week a horde of small boys with toy express wagons assembled in front of the plant and received loads of paper tags and twine to be carted home for the family workers to string. That is all changed: three huge Dennison factories in Framingham, Worcester, and Marlboro are equipped with busy machines, any one of which can string more tags in one day than all the family workbenches could turn out in a week.

Early in the 'nineties there occurred a succession of consolidations among envelope manufacturers in Massachusetts. In these developments was reflected the absorption of many small plants and the gradual evolution of the present large factories in Springfield, Worcester, Holyoke, Fitchburg, Boston, and Cambridge—most of them under efficient corporation management. Twenty-five such plants now exist, with a total factory product running over twenty million dollars in yearly value.

ELECTRICAL MACHINERY (1883–1930)

It was in 1883, a few years before the strictly modern era opened, that Massachusetts acquired its first electrical manufacturing plant. The inventions of Professor Elihu Thomson, who had devised a practical direct-current dynamo machine of peculiar efficiency and a well-regulated arc lamp, interested a group of farsighted capitalists in Lynn.

Most of the men who joined the financial syndicate then formed were shoe or leather manufacturers: H. A. Pevear, B. F. Spinney, J. N. Smith, Patrick Lennox, Charles A. Coffin. One of the originators of the movement was Silas A. Barton, printer and stationer. These men purchased outright a struggling little enterprise, the American Electric Company, at New Britain, Connecticut, which was then seeking to market Professor Thomson's inventions. They moved it to Lynn, where they housed it in a new factory building, reorganized it under the name of Thomson-Houston Electric Company, and infused it with fresh, vigorous energy. The name of Houston was incorporated into the name of the company at the instance of Professor Thomson who desired thus to honor his early associate in Philadelphia, Professor Edwin J. Houston.

Within ten years this was a flourishing, expanding industry, producing hundreds of dynamos and thousands of arc lamps annually. It had become an integral part of the General Electric Company, one of the largest electrical manufacturing organizations in the world, comprising a great modern corporation.

That ten-year interval also brought into the State the activities of another electrical pioneer, William Stanley, who had established in 1891, at Pittsfield, a small electrical manufacturing plant, which quickly underwent a similar experience of rapid growth. In time this company, like that at Lynn, became part of the modern electrical corporation previously alluded to, which assumed a position of acknowledged leadership in this branch of industry. Within a few years both these plants were shipping their products nation-wide, and had made electrical manufacturing prominent among the half-dozen premier industries of the Commonwealth, reporting an annual product valued at $10,400,000 in 1900 and nearly $126,000,000 in 1920, a high year. At present the total yearly value of electrical manufactures of the State ranges from $110,000,000 to $120,000,000.

The Rubber Industry (1896–1930)

A development even more definitely modern is the wonderfully aggressive rubber industry of Massachusetts. It was no longer ago than 1896 that young Frederick C. Hood, acting for the six stockholders of vision who stood behind him, personally superintended the erection of that first modest plant at Watertown, from which came one of the tremendous industrial growths of the twentieth century. In November of that year this new unit began to produce. On the first day the little force of workers completed a dozen pair of rubber shoes. On the following day, gaining experience and confidence almost in a moment, they made 216 pairs; and within a month they were turning out three thousand pairs a day.

That was merely a beginning. Every year saw remarkable expansion, until at the present time the products of this immense establishment embrace rubber footwear, vulcanized canvas footwear, automobile tires, automobile tubes, rubber heels, hard-rubber products, and rubber mechanical goods.

Back of such merely material success is an economic and sociological triumph which is heartening to contemplate. It is a story of how the Hood ideals, splendidly sustained and adhered to, have developed intrinsic quality in the product and continuing contentment in the producer. The industrial relations practiced have been farsighted and altruistic; the commercial policies adopted have emphasized the value of the factory-trained sales executive, and have sought to prepare young men for such positions, utilizing the experience of the older men to stabilize the personnel. The result has been a producing unit holding high mark among the nation's industries.

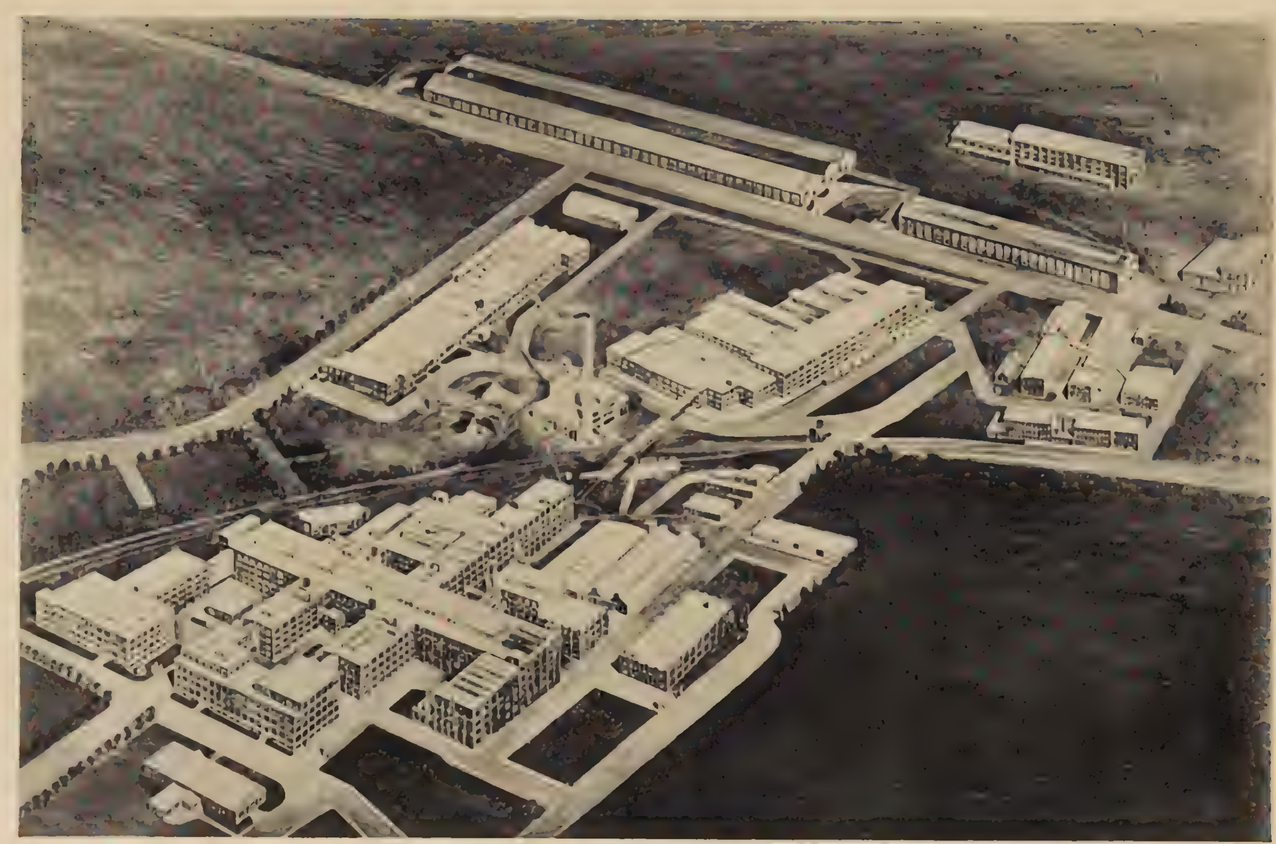
Almost parallel with this venture, arose in 1898 another rubber industrial center in Massachusetts at Chicopee Falls, under the leadership of Colonel Harry G. Fisk. This plant specialized in bicycle tires, for the bicycle was just then at its zenith of popularity in America; and the automobile, then in its beginning, soon offered an additional field. Eventually a second plant was established at New Bedford, and others elsewhere in New England. This concern alone produced $75,000,000 worth of goods in 1925.

In Cambridge, Malden, Melrose, Chelsea, and Millville are other major rubber-manufacturing centers and additional ones of smaller size in other places. In several instances these plants survived the crisis that occurred with the decline of the bicycle, and by courageous readjustment won a new prosperity. In one of these plants bicycle tires were superseded by rubber hose of every description; in another the automobile tire saved the day. Not many years ago, about ninety-five per cent of America's annual production of automobile tires was made in Ohio. At present fully thirty per cent of the output in this commodity is produced in Massachusetts.

Musical Instruments (1890–1930)

A multitude of human interests, numerous aspects of human life, are intimately touched and influenced by Massachusetts industries as a whole. Those mentioned thus far are the most notable for the sheer magnitude of their activities.

But what a contribution to American life and American standards has sprung from other Massachusetts manufacturing achievements! The bright fame of Jonas Chickering, the master piano maker, still endures in the great Boston plant where craftsmen skillfully produce the instruments bearing that illustrious name; and nearly a dozen other pianos of wide



Courtesy of Hood Rubber Company

HOOD RUBBER COMPANY PLANT, WATERTOWN

repute throughout the country have their production centers in different cities of the Commonwealth.

No less renowned is a Massachusetts builder of organs, Ernest M. Skinner, whose genius and industrial organization came to the front very early in the new century; organs of that and other makes are delighting audiences from coast to coast, insuring prosperity to the organ builders of Massachusetts, whose plants are scattered among a round half-dozen localities in the eastern and central areas.

Shipbuilding (1898–1930)

The greatest shipbuilding plant in northeastern United States is the Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation, founded in 1898, and owned since 1913 by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. The plant is located on the Fore River at Quincy, near deep water. There the skill of Bay State craftsmen has carried onward, and still carries onward through this modern era, the finest traditions of Massachusetts shipbuilding. The great steel shapes in which present-day maritime adventure constantly flowers are recruited as frequently from launchings in this great shipyard as were the clippers of old.

Naval vessels for the United States and subsequently for other nations were built here from the time of the Spanish War; previously such craft were built entirely at the Charlestown Navy Yard. In the fifteen years from 1913 to 1928, the Fore River yard launched the torpedo boat destroyers *Lawrence and Macdonough,* the cruiser *Des Moines,* the battleships *Rhode Island, New Jersey, Vermont* and *North Dakota,* the scout cruisers *Salem* and *Birmingham,* as well as five submarines for the imperial Japanese navy and the battleship *Rivadavia* for the Argentine Republic.

Within a year after the Bethlehem corporation took control, the European war began; and almost immediately the Fore River yard contracted for ten submarines for England, to be delivered within ten months. The corporation carried out the contract, notwithstanding that the vessels were built on Canadian soil at the request of the state department of the United States government. During the year before the United States entered the war, nineteen contracts were handled at

Fore River, and 15,000 men were employed there. Torpedo boat destroyers, submarines, and battleships were built at top speed, as well as freighters and tankers, which the Emergency Fleet Corporation immediately commandeered when they were completed.

In October, 1917, thirty-five additional destroyers were ordered, and at the same time authority was extended for building the great new shipyard at Squantum. Scarcely more than a year from the time that this swampy site was surveyed for shipyard construction, the first vessels built there were actually delivered. The Fore River plant was the only shipyard in the country to deliver destroyers to the Navy Department during the actual war period. Since the close of the war this shipyard, having already a record equaled by none other in America, has been busy with both naval vessels and merchantmen.

At the Fore River and Squantum plants only the heavier craft are built and launched. But at several other shipyards around Boston, employing as many as five hundred men apiece, pleasure boats, particularly yachts, are regularly under construction. Massachusetts has thousands of ardent yachtsmen, many of whom sail craft built in their own State and competing with distinction in the regattas annually held in Massachusetts waters.

Yacht building is carried on in greater or less degree by practically every seaport town in Massachusetts. Nearly a score possess plants of appreciable size. The largest in the state, and probably the largest in the United States, is that of George Lawley & Sons, Inc., at Neponset, a part of Boston, where the annual volume of business in normal years exceeds $5,000,000. Both wooden and steel construction is carried on.

Other yards regularly building yachts are located at Dorchester, Quincy, Kingston, Onset, Wareham, Fairhaven, Monument Beach, Osterville, Winthrop, West Lynn, Swampscott, Marblehead, Manchester, Essex and Medford. Many other yards are devoted to storage and repair work. The Bethlehem plant at Fore River (Quincy), has built yachts in the past, but has not handled this class of work for the last twenty years.

Confectionery (1893–1930)

One seventh of the confectionery purchased yearly by the American public comes from Massachusetts plants. This is an industry with three quarters of a century of growth within the Commonwealth. Yet its modern aspects have all become apparent since 1893, in which year a well-known Boston maker of chocolate bonbons displayed at the World's Fair in Chicago a collection of fancy and quality confections which represented a distinctly new appeal to the sophisticated American palate.

The production of high-grade sweets not only in Boston but in other Massachusetts localities—particularly in Cambridge, where the largest single confectionery plant in the world is to be found—progressed rapidly from that period. The invention of ingenious machines modernized this industry, as it has done with many another. The first of any importance to appear was brought out in 1891—the "enrober," which automatically applies a coating to molded fondant. Various other machines have been devised in more recent years, until at present all the nationally known brands of candy are thus produced, and the manufacture of the machines is itself a substantial industry, of which Massachusetts has its share.

In 1899 the sales value of confectionery made in this State was $5,700,000; in 1925 it was practically $50,000,000. That tells the tale in mere monetary prosperity. It does not indicate the remarkable progress in quality of product and especially in the skill lavished upon the appearance of the product, including the colorful and artistic design of the present-day candy box.

Various Manufactures (1860–1930)

Growing with the years, keeping well abreast of the times, —particularly these later times—are several industrial ventures in Massachusetts which have become unique in one way or another. One of America's greatest manufacturing drug and pharmacy houses flourishes in Boston, but it dates back only as far as 1903. In Southbridge is a marvelous plant for producing optical goods, manned by four thousand workers; yet it grew from a little spectacle shop started in 1890, in which everything was made by hand. In Cambridge there stands the largest plant in America for manufacturing ink, mucilage and paste.

Carpets of the finest texture and most luxurious feel come from immense establishments in Clinton and Worcester, to be shipped literally to the four quarters of the globe. The world's largest jute and hemp mill, keeping three thousand hands busy, thrives at Ludlow.

More than twenty-six million dollars is represented in the jewelry manufactured every year in Attleboro and North Attleboro, where a hundred factories and noted silversmiths are engaged in this industry. It is one of the two great jewelry-producing centers of the United States and as a well-defined industrial activity it goes back to the period of 1860. Attleboro has also developed the largest dyeing and bleaching plant in the world.

There are other silversmiths at Taunton, as well as a variety of general interests, especially stove-making plants. The town has seven such foundries, including the largest of this character in the country, in which a complete stove, having 150 parts, is said to be cast, set up, and shipped every two minutes.

No better known nor more wisely managed watch factory exists anywhere than the astonishing modern plant at Waltham; yet it is only one of fifteen establishments in Massachusetts that preserve the craft of the watchmaker.

Millions of safety razors and blades are manufactured annually in Boston. The world's largest establishments in some lines are located at Worcester, a city which excels in producing such commodities as leather belting, vacuum cleaners, corsets, wall paper, railway cars, skates, and valentines.

The most costly automobile on the market is produced in Springfield; and the Ford company, for its popular low-priced motor vehicles, has an assembling plant at Somerville where 2500 men are normally employed. Motor trucks are built at Fitchburg and Woburn; and taxicabs, at Framingham and Chicopee Falls.

TRANSFORMED INDUSTRIES (1895–1930)

That unceasing interplay of change, that inexorable onward march of progress, has transformed the industrial scene in every direction that one is minded to turn the eye. The native talent for adaptation has met the crisis of the new century in Massachusetts, and new products have replaced old ones as the new dispensation has crowded out the old.

Twenty years ago or more there were great plants in Amesbury and Merrimack that manufactured buggies and hacks, the familiar equipages of the heyday of the horse. Smart broughams for the stylish driveways and boulevards of city parks and avenues were shipped to all quarters. Today those plants are still busy, but their product now is automobile bodies, a specialty in the making of which they have become highly skilled.

Within a quarter-century, industrial fame has touched the town of Leominster through its success in supplying the market for celluloid and horn products. But the source of its raw material is not what it used to be. Time was when cows' horns, imparting an aromatic odor to the air, came into Leominster by the freight-car load, shipped as a byproduct from the great slaughterhouses of the West. These horns, after going through the Leominster mills, reappeared as neat and ornamental novelties of every sort. Nowadays, the comparatively new patented substance, viscoloid, dominates in this field; and a recent inflow of New York and Delaware capital has reorganized this whole enterprise upon the most orthodox basis of big business.

The hand of progress has been busy, too, at Westfield, where once horsewhips for all the nation were manufactured. They still make whips there, but in what diminished volume! For now the chief market lies in South America and the Orient, where beasts of burden are in use; while the new era has made Westfield a diversified industrial center, revealing food preparations, stoves, machinery, and bicycles as the most enduring items.

It is a great spectacle of spirited movement, of aggressive strategy, of quenchless, farsighted courage—this modern industrial era in Massachusetts. It is not a spectacle of decadence, of languishing effort, of ebbing vitality. It is a record of progress—at times of victorious struggle, for unquestionably there have been obstacles to dismay, dangers to menace, human reactions to perplex and dishearten.

EFFECTS OF EXTERNAL INVESTMENT (1890–1922)

Pessimists have been overquick to discover that the industrial prestige of Massachusetts was weakening under the exactions of modern conditions. At times the cause has been abandoned by the very individual from whom support was most ardently desired and most properly expected—the home capitalist. Much New England capital has gone into other territories which might have stayed at home to good advantage, particularly in Massachusetts. It is sometimes said, with a suggestion of pride which is pardonable, that Yankee industrial initiative has made itself felt in every quarter of the land; but this does not add to the vitality of the industries in the Yankee's home territory. In many of the industrial crises of the Commonwealth the burden-bearing manufacturer has been disappointed by the external interests of capitalists, and the best welfare of the State has been placed in jeopardy. On the other hand, the dividends on the external enterprises of Massachusetts capital have furnished a fountain of funds for investment at home.

EFFECTS OF ELECTRIC POWER (1890–1930)

What conditions have encouraged the Massachusetts industrialist to go on through these modern years of readjustment and opportunity? What tangible factors have stood by him to reinforce his own splendid faith and alert courage? One of the most pronounced has been the appearance of a power source transcending in some particulars anything he had ever encountered before. In 1890, or thereabouts, when electric motors were so rare that they aroused mingled skepticism and disdain, the steam engine, the gasoline engine and the water wheel were the most common types of machine drive in all the factories of Massachusetts. They were belted to line shafting, and from the shafting many other belts were carried to the power machines of the shop. One engine or one water wheel would be called upon to drive in this manner a considerable array of machinery—sometimes an entire shop.

Then a few bold pioneers listened to the sales engineers of the electrical-equipment companies and belted their water wheels and engines not to machine shafting but to electric generators, from which circuits were run to motors in the mills. First the motors drove the shafting; and at a later period they drove individual machines.

The more discerning among the factory proprietors were quick to discover in this arrangement an appreciable flexibility, since various combinations of power units were possible, and since the power could be easily distributed unhindered by the physical conditions of the plant. The power also could be carried around corners without loss, something which could not be done by shafting.

The larger the factory, the greater the economy obtained with the electric drive in the volume of power per pound of coal. Finally, when power companies went into the field of generating and selling electric power over wide territories, the power problem in industry seemed to be permanently solved. It was no longer necessary for factories to maintain their own steam plants on the premises; they needed only to equip their machinery with motors and buy the power for those motors, delivered as electrical energy at economical rates.

Fulfilling one of the prophecies of the late Charles P. Steinmetz, the production and supply of this electrical power was in itself an industry, and has been so since the last decade of the nineteenth century. It is at present a flourishing venture, extensive and indispensable, within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Effects of the Protective Tariff (1890–1909)

The manufacturer in this State has also been encouraged by the high protective tariff laid by Congress on imports. The modern industrial period was ushered in by tariff rates higher than had existed under the tariff previously in force, that of 1883. The new tariff, the McKinley Bill of 1890, at once laid slightly higher duties on wool, especially on middle values and on highest values.

Professor F. W. Taussig in his authoritative book, *The Tariff History of the United States,* remarks that the changes in the wool schedule were significant for their direction rather than their amount. "The effect of the new classification, in fact," he says, "was that all cloths imported must pay the highest rate."

In cotton goods, the protective principle was applied in 1890 with equal consistency. Duties on the lower grades, which are manufactured in the United States as cheaply as they are abroad, were lowered, but high-grade cotton prints, knit goods, stockings, and similar articles were subject to higher duties. These goods were in greater demand than the domestic mills could handle, and importations were still necessary, which meant foreign competition. Against such foreign competition the Massachusetts manufacturer was sheltered, and the lower prices to the consumer which might otherwise have been possible, or at least likely, could not be established in view of the tariff rates. Similar increases were laid on other dress goods which Massachusetts establishments produce, such as linens, silks, silk laces, and embroideries.

The trend toward high protection, which began with this bill of 1890, has been the dominant influence practically ever since. Notwithstanding the two Tariff Acts of 1903 and 1913, in which antiprotection came to the fore, the ruling thought has been to shield American industry from foreign competition and enable it to grow mighty and even opulent with the aid of a government-imposed handicap in its favor.

There were some recessions in duties of interest to Massachusetts manufacturers under the Tariff of 1894, particularly the entire removal of the duty on woolen goods. That duty was restored in the Tariff of 1897; and high protectionists have kept it in force almost continuously since. The tariffs from 1897 to 1913 on metal goods, on books, on hides, on shoes were, with some exceptions, high enough to favor the Massachusetts manufacturer to a considerable extent; for even if he sometimes, as consumer, had to pay more for his raw material—as, in certain periods, for hides for tanning—he usually was able to recover the margin in the high prices paid to him as producer under the existing duties.

Protection, both in principle and fact, continued under the Tariff Act of 1909, with substantial duties on many a product in which Massachusetts was interested, such as wood pulp and newsprint paper. But hides were admitted free under that tariff and duties on shoes and leather were lower by half.

Prosperity of Manufacturers (1909–1929)

As shoe manufacturing was growing in efficiency and consequently was establishing low costs, it needed no "protection" from a tariff, for it could hold its own in competition with the foreign article. Yet a duty on imported footwear was continued until the Tariff of 1913, since which time shoes have been "on the free list." In general there was a downward sweep in the Tariff of 1913, which was in effect through the war, and "war prices" prevailed in many Massachusetts industries. Then, in 1922, the protectionists swung things their way again, raw wool experiencing the highest duty ever laid by Congress and woolen manufactures receiving similar treatment. Silk goods, highly protected in 1909, and reduced in 1913, were again well protected in 1922, as were also cotton goods. Hides and shoes continued on the free list.

No one can suppose that the conditions created by a tariff generally protective in character did not react to bring larger profits to most of the industries of Massachusetts, just as they did to industries in other sections. To that extent, truly, they helped to keep those industries exceedingly well off.

Beyond these somewhat narrow and moderate influences making for the building of industry in Massachusetts, was the unquestionable spur of the great wave of sheer prosperity that set in soon after the opening of the twentieth century. Conditions of economic stability were ripe for money-making almost everywhere, abroad as well as at home; and the Massachusetts manufacturer shared in this good time along with many of his industrial kin.

Status of Labor (1890–1930)

Yet, amid such developments—with cheapening power, high protection, general prosperity—amid these various favorable influences, the factory hand could not always persuade himself that he was in favorable circumstances. He frequently felt that his wages were not as high as he had reason to expect them to be. He failed to see any tangible sharing in the "good times" which at the moment were feeding the industrial treasuries. To him it was not enough that all through these years the factory chimneys were smoking, the factory wheels were turning, that he was never without work, and hence never without an income. The income did not seem, somehow, to give him a comfortable margin over the cost of the necessities of life; and without such comfortable margin he could not make himself believe that the prosperity of industry was including his welfare within its bounties.

How else can the recurrent labor disturbances in some of the important basic industries of Massachusetts during the last thirty years be adequately explained? Not always was it the radical agitator, the "professional malcontent"; not always was it the impulsive younger element, without domestic responsibilities as heads of families. Without the support of the mass of the laboring people on the occasions of these unfortunate conflicts, at least some of the serious strikes of these years of undeniable "good times" could hardly have occurred.

Nevertheless it seems reasonable to assert that the worker and the manager, labor and capital, are closer together in Massachusetts at the beginning of this second quarter of the twentieth century than they have ever been before. Tangible signs appear of this approach to each other of the two great human factors in the industrial life of the State—factors which, while having a common interest in a great common venture, have been observed all too often arrayed against each other in bitter antagonism.

Only this problem remains to be permanently solved—this transcendent problem of human relations—to insure for Massachusetts manufacturers in these modern times the widely diffused and happily perpetual benefits of honest industry, equitably rewarded, rich in the promise of a population economically secure through long generations to come. Indications of such a trend are not lacking nowadays in the significant list of Massachusetts manufacturing plants which have not experienced conflicts with their workers. The Commonwealth evidently possesses liberal-minded men among all phases of its industrial groups who, having developed a marvelous age as material craftsmen and managers, are capable of still more golden achievements as broad-visioned, aspiring human beings.

In a large sense it is also evident that both executives and wage earners in Massachusetts, as elsewhere, are cooperating to achieve what many economists consider an unheralded industrial revolution. It is distinguished, first, by the application of scientific management; second, by the elimination of waste; and third, by a closer working bond between the two traditional human groups popularly designated as capital and labor.

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CHAPTER XIII

TRANSPORTATION IN MASSACHUSETTS (1890–1930)

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Economic Conditions of Transportation

New England as a whole, with Massachusetts as its central State, has been defined as "an economic unit on the outskirts of the central commercial territory of the United States." An ample supply of capital, water power and skilled labor led to the establishment of industries, elsewhere described in this volume. By 1890, the beginning of the period under review, New England in general and Massachusetts in particular was well served by an adequate complement of rail lines, but lacked the integration or unification which came later.

As "an economic unit on the outskirts of the central commercial territory" New England's interest in transportation is vital. New England's industries must meet the competition of those more advantageously located in closer proximity to the raw materials. Transportation, therefore, is a major problem with three broad aspects: (1) to provide the cheapest possible carriage of inbound raw materials; (2) to insure economical movement of food stuffs from remote centers of production; and (3) to distribute under favorable rates the finished products to the various markets throughout the United States in the face of local competition.

Alterations in Railroad Status (1890–1930)

During the last 40 years the railroads of Massachusetts have gone through four stages of transition:

(1) From 1890 to 1900 the processes of consolidation and integration under way since the 'fifties had active play, with the result that the numerous small railroad properties

were reduced in number to three important railroad systems. Since 1900 no important permanent changes have been made in corporate railroad organization and no substantial additions to railroad mileage within the State.

(2) From 1900 to 1917 came the development and failure of an ambitious attempt on the part of the New Haven Railroad to effectuate complete control over all steam railroads, street railways and coastwise steamship lines in New England. The project itself was not as indefensible as the manner in which it was engineered. The failure of the attempt nearly wrecked two of the three principal railroad systems and left them in a state bordering on bankruptcy when the transportation agencies of the country were called upon in 1917 to assume the burdens of the war overload.

(3) In the brief period of 1918 and 1919 the railroads, following a few months of voluntary unification in 1917 under private management, were taken over by the President of the United States and operated federally as an arm of the government during the war emergency. During that period the individual and competitive activities of railroads were suspended while all lines were administered as a single national system.

(4) During 1920 to 1930 came post-war reconstruction and general rehabilitation of New England railroads. The physical condition of Massachusetts railroads came to be of high standard, public service was excellent, financial stability was reasonably assured, and public opinion, seriously alienated by the misdeeds of 1910–1913, was fairly favorable toward railroad management.

Changes in Mileage and Corporate Control
(1890–1930)

The 2,025 miles of railroads in Massachusetts in 1930 were actually 69 less than in 1890. The few additions were offset by the abandonment of short branches made unprofitable by competition of the electric railway and motor vehicles. A striking change, however, was apparent in corporate control. In 1890 there were 19 independent railroads in Massachusetts. By 1930 over 94 per cent of the mileage within the State was operated by three companies: the New Haven (866 miles); Boston & Maine (729 miles); and Boston & Albany (339 miles). The other steam railroads were but two: the Central Vermont, owned by the Canadian National system, 55 miles in the central western part of the State; and the Hoosac Tunnel & Wilmington, formerly a narrow gauge line, from the east portal of the tunnel eight miles to the Vermont line. Besides there were two electrified lines, formerly steam operated: the Grafton & Upton, 15 miles from North Grafton to Milford; and the Boston, Revere Beach & Lynn, narrow gauge, 13 miles from East Boston to Lynn.

Boston & Albany (1890–1900)

The Boston & Albany was created by the merger in 1867 of the Boston & Worcester (incorporated in 1831) and the Western (incorporated in 1835) to form the main line from Boston to Albany. Prior to 1890 it had acquired by lease or stock ownership several small branches. It was very conservatively operated, maintained unusually high standards, and was exceedingly prosperous.

The close and friendly relations between the Boston & Albany and the New York Central led the latter to consider extending its sphere of influence into New England. At one time it initiated negotiations for the Fitchburg Railroad; but the Boston & Albany was the more attractive property, and was acquired by lease in 1900.

The transfer of control of the Boston & Albany to New York aroused strong opposition in the Massachusetts legislature. The necessary public sanction, however, was finally won. Loss of local control was balanced by expectation of a greater volume of export traffic through trunk line management. The New York Central was obligated under the lease to pay interest on the funded debt, a generous sum for the corporate expenses of the lessor company, and 8 per cent dividends on its capital stock.

Boston & Maine (1890–1900)

The Boston & Maine Railroad, while incorporated (1835) both in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, is regarded mainly as a Massachusetts corporation. Its original purpose was to form a 45-mile connecting link in a through line from Boston to Portland, Maine—between Wilmington (on the Boston & Lowell Railroad) and North Berwick, Maine (on the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth Railroad). The latter was leased jointly by the Boston & Maine and its principal rival, the Eastern Railroad, which had a direct line from Boston to Portsmouth. The Eastern Railroad was leased by the Boston & Maine in 1883, and was afterward absorbed. With that lease the Boston & Maine acquired also a working control of the Maine Central. The Boston & Maine next leased the Worcester, Nashua & Rochester Railway (1886) and was left without serious competition in its own territory except from the Boston & Lowell, and its northern connections. That competition was ended in 1887, when the Boston & Lowell with several controlled lines northward to Vermont and Quebec, as well as the Massachusetts Central, were leased to the Boston & Maine.

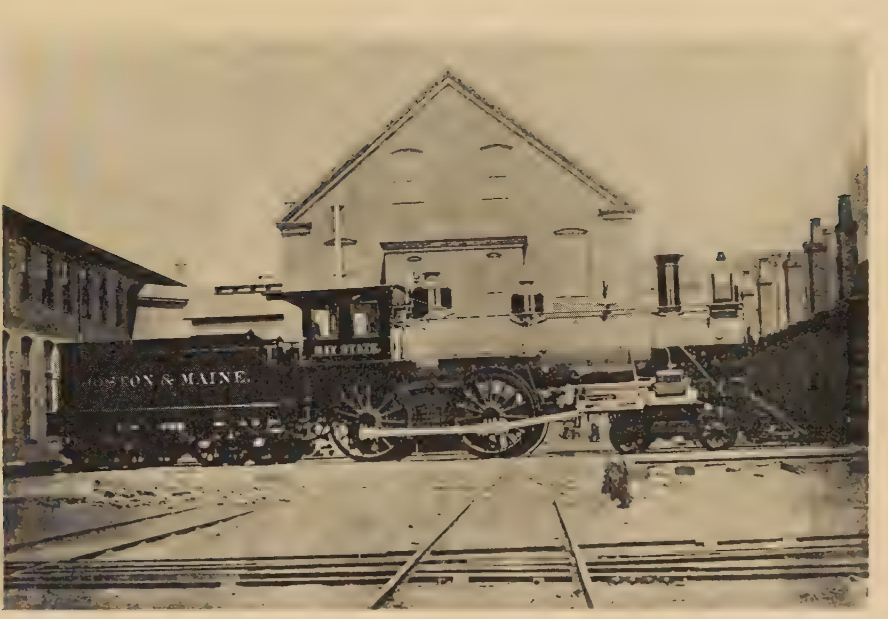
The next activity was in the eastern part of the State, when the Boston & Maine leased the Connecticut River R.R. and with it obtained control also of collateral lines in Vermont.

The last important act of the decade of 1890–1900 was the Boston & Maine's lease of the Fitchburg Railroad, a line roughly paralleling the Boston & Albany from Boston to the Hudson River. This acquisition gave the Boston & Maine a practical monopoly in the territory north of the Boston & Albany and east of the Connecticut River, including all of New Hampshire and parts of Vermont and Maine. The system was prosperous and had no difficulty in paying charges and substantial dividends to its stockholders. The weakness of the structure lay in its top-heavy burden of leases with heavy interest obligations.

NEW YORK, NEW HAVEN & HARTFORD (1890–1900)

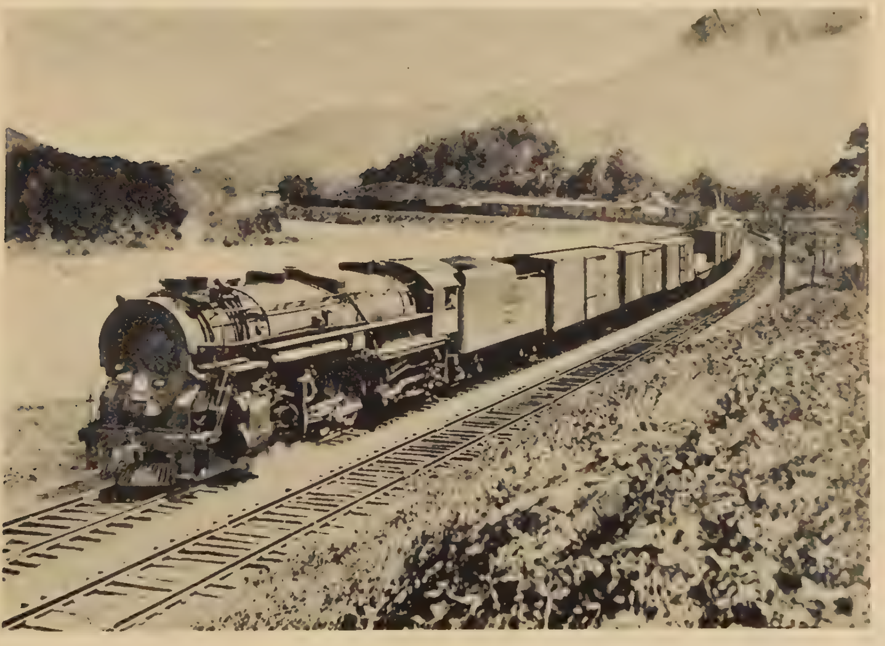
The New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad was incorporated both in Connecticut and Massachusetts, but its directly owned mileage in Massachusetts is but six miles, from Springfield southward to the Connecticut line. By lease, however, it controls all the lines in southeastern Massachusetts.

The nucleus of the New Haven system was formed in 1872 by a series of mergers beginning with the Hartford & New



Courtesy of the Boston and Maine Railroad

Locomotive of the 1890 Type



Courtesy of the Boston and Maine Railroad

Freight Train on the Hoosac Tunnel Line, 1930

Haven Railroad (incorporated in 1833) and the New York & New Haven Railroad (incorporated in 1844). The period of 1890–1900 was one of wholesale acquisition of other railroads. The system was rapidly expanded so that by 1900 all rail lines in New England south of the Boston & Albany, as well as the entire network in the southeastern section of Massachusetts, were unified under New Haven control. At the conclusion of an unsuccessful struggle with the Boston & Maine in 1893 to get control of the Connecticut River Railroad, an unwritten agreement was made between the two managements that New England would, for purposes of railroad system building, be divided into two territories. That south of the Boston & Albany was alloted to the New Haven road, and that north of the Boston & Albany was left to the Boston & Maine.

The main objective of the New Haven road, when it began unification proceedings on a large scale in the decade of 1890–1900, was to control the entire traffic between New York and Boston. Following its first step (1892) of taking in and unifying its lines from New London to Providence, the next move was to get control of the Old Colony, which had leased the Boston & Providence Railroad. By 1893 the New Haven had acquired that system by lease.

A further important acquisition dates from 1898, when the New Haven leased the New England Railroad with its through line from Boston to the Hudson River at Fishkill, N. Y. The New England Railroad was incorporated in 1895 to take over the defunct New York & New England, which in turn was formed in 1873 out of the wreck of the old Boston, Hartford & Erie Railroad.

The New Haven Railroad, with its principal line between New York and Boston parallel to the coast was peculiarly affected by water competition. A furtherance of the objective of transportation monopoly in southern New England required control of boats on the Sound. With the lease of the Old Colony came control of the boat lines from Fall River and Providence. By 1900 practically every boat line on the Sound was under New Haven domination. Effective corporate unification followed in 1904, when the New England Navigation

Company was formed as a subsidiary of the New Haven Railroad.

Railroad Management (1901 to 1917)

The second subdivision of the 40-year period began with 1900 and ended with 1917, the year in which the United States entered the World War. Early in that period began the ambitious attempt of the New Haven road to obtain control of all transportation agencies in New England. The attempt failed and the after effects were disastrous not only to the New Haven but to the Boston & Maine as well. Huge sums of money were profligately expended; notable reputations were besmirched; innocent investors sustained large losses. The quality of public service was inferior; public opinion against railroads was inflamed; the regulating authorities worked overtime in investigation after investigation, and issued blast after blast of denunciation. The major misdeeds of management, actual and alleged, reached their dramatic climax in the indictment, trial and acquittal of men of national prominence for alleged fraud and mismanagement. All this reacted on the physical condition of the railroad properties, the morale of officials and workers in the ranks, and the character of public service. After an official house-cleaning in 1913, an improvement was apparent at once; but the process of rehabilitation was so slow and the damage to be repaired was so great that the New England carriers were far from having gained their normal condition when the storm of the World War overtook them and temporarily stopped the work of rehabilitation.

The physical organization of railroads changed but little between 1900 and 1917. The rail lines in operation in 1900, with some additions in multiple running tracks and sidings and enlargements in yards and terminals, were sufficient to take care of the growing demands of freight traffic and the smaller increase in the number of passengers. Between 1895 and 1900 the effect of interurban trolley lines began to be felt, especially in southern New England, and led the New Haven Railroad to undertake a determined and comprehensive effort to control the electric railways in its territory.

During the latter part of the decade of 1900–1910 the effect of rising prices began to bear unfavorably upon railroad net income. In 1910 the first of a series of demands from employees for higher wages were made simultaneously upon all railroads in the East. The railroad brotherhoods adopted an aggressive policy of standardizing to the highest scale of wage rates and conditions of employment. The New England wage scales had been slightly lower than elsewhere in eastern territory, and the process of standardization therefore bore upon New England railroads with extra weight. They also felt the higher prices of fuel and materials for maintenance. In 1910 they joined with all other railroads in an appeal to the Interstate Commerce Commission for an advance in freight rates; but as the Commission was not impressed by their arguments, the petition was denied. The result of lower net earnings was, first, to curtail expenditures for enlargements and improvements in facilities and equipment and, later, to defer normal maintenance. It was necessary as well to reduce or suspend dividends on railroad stocks. In 1915 more than one-sixth of the railroad mileage of the country was operated by receivers.

Partly because of these conditions and partly because of mismanagement, the New Haven Railroad was hard hit and failed to earn dividends after 1913. The Boston & Maine fared even worse, as it not only had to pass its dividends but failed to meet its fixed charges. The result was receivership in 1916. The Boston & Albany stockholders were protected by their lease to the New York Central, but the lessee company failed to earn the guaranteed dividend and had to assume substantial deficits.

Boston & Albany in Trouble (1901–1917)

The lease of the Boston & Albany Railroad to the New York Central in 1900 gave the Central an outlet to Boston and a grasp upon a substantial part of the valuable westbound traffic which the Boston & Albany controlled. During the first year under the lease the property was operated by the former president, William Bliss, as agent for the New York Central, and then it was placed in charge of Edgar Van

Etten, a vice president of the New York Central, with office in Boston.

For a time the road was operated with reasonable satisfaction to the public; but by 1905 the service began to deteriorate, and mild criticism soon grew into bitter complaint. The management lost its grip, employee morale suffered, and trains were chronically irregular. The inferior service brought vehement protests to the State Railroad Commission. These protests had echoes on Beacon Hill, and were finally crystallized into a definite demand for legislation to bring about the cancellation of the lease, with recourse to state ownership and operation.

The New York Central was placed on the defensive. The report of the Railroad Commission was one of severe condemnation. The New York Central sent its senior vice president, W. C. Brown, to Boston in the summer of 1907 with promises of reform. Van Etten was removed, and the Boston & Albany was placed in charge of James H. Hustis, who had made a good record as a general superintendent of the New York Central. Hustis was able quickly to knit together the operating organization, to restore discipline in the ranks, to make up deferred maintenance of locomotives, to revise and enlarge the terminals and engine houses, construct additional running tracks, extend sidings, and otherwise increase capacity. With these improvements came also the reconstruction of the water terminal facilities and a new grain elevator at East Boston. The regularity of service steadily increased, and on May 2, 1908, the simple statement that every passenger train on the Boston & Albany on the previous day had reached its destination on time had sufficient news value to justify headlines on the first page of the daily press.

Changes in Boston & Maine (1901–1917)

The Boston & Maine Railroad from 1900 to 1917 underwent profound changes. The weakness of the system was in the large part of its mileage operated under leases. Each acquired line had its value to the Boston & Maine, but as the system expanded the value of some properties in their strategic and traffic importance was seriously diminished. Nearly all of the leases were made on a basis of guaranteed dividends on the stock, plus interest charges on funded debt, and varying sums to cover the expense of maintaining the corporate organization of the lessor companies. In most cases the rate of dividend was from 6 per cent to 8½ per cent, sometimes 10 per cent. The aggregate rentals for leased lines was an exceedingly heavy and constant charge on net income, and left the Boston & Maine stockholders with dangerously low equity in their operated properties. Of the aggregate capitalization of the Boston & Maine system, including leased lines, about 80 per cent was in funded debt and fixed rentals, upon which fixed charges had to be met before dividends could be paid on the 20 per cent stock held by the owners of the operating company. After the general financial depression of 1907–1908 it was evident that the dividends were not earned. All dividends were passed in 1913; and in August, 1916, the property was placed in a receivership which lasted until the latter part of 1919.

This bare recital of Boston & Maine events from 1900 to 1917 should be supplemented by greater detail, but space permits no more than a meager outline. The first event of outstanding importance was the purchase by the New Haven road from the American Express Company in 1907 of a large block of Boston & Maine stock. The rumors that the express company was anxious to dispose of the stock were accompanied by other rumors concerning possible purchasers. Alarmed at the possibility of an outside railroad company invading New England, the New Haven Railroad acted quickly and purchased the stock through a subsidiary, thus gaining practical control.

This action aroused intense public opposition and, when proceedings were instituted, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts decided that under the existing laws the New Haven could not legally hold the stock. Thereupon the New Haven sold the stock to John L. Billard, a Connecticut coal merchant, who retained it as an unofficial agent of the New Haven until June, 1909, when he sold it back to the New Haven Railroad to be transferred by it to the Boston Holding Company, a corporation then created under authority of the Massachusetts legislature to acquire and hold a majority of Boston &

Maine stock with the proviso that it could not be sold without legislative approval. The Boston Holding Company was not a railroad corporation and could legally do what the New Haven Railroad could not legally do.

The New Haven soon proceeded to exercise control. Lucius Tuttle, who had been president of the Boston & Maine since 1893, was continued in that position until September, 1910, when he was displaced by C. S. Mellen, president of the New Haven. The Boston & Maine, always conservatively managed, was probably somewhat old-fashioned in its methods and equipment, and there were many opportunities for improvements. Instead of proceeding diplomatically in instituting changes, the New Haven officials were tactless in their dealings with the public and with minor officials of the Boston & Maine, and arbitrary in reducing the number of employees. As a result the employee morale was lowered and the quality of public service suffered. The general attitude of the public was distinctly antagonistic to New Haven management.

In the meantime the federal Department of Justice had begun criminal proceedings against the New Haven board of directors. While the suit was pending Mellen was forced by the directors to resign from the presidencies of both the New Haven and Boston & Maine; and later the new management of the New Haven Railroad, under Howard Elliott as chairman, came to an agreement with the Attorney General of the United States. In that agreement of November, 1914, the New Haven Railroad acquiesced in the plan under which its Boston & Maine stock, controlled through the Boston Holding Company, should be placed in the hands of trustees independent of New Haven control.

In August, 1914, James H. Hustis became president of the Boston & Maine and undertook the huge task of restoring employee morale, cultivating favorable public opinion, and rehabilitating the property and its public service. The job was much harder than that of putting the Boston & Albany on its feet in 1907-1908. It was plain at that time that the Boston & Maine could not continue as a solvent company under a financial organization so top-heavy with rentals and fixed charges, when there was such urgent necessity for large expenditures for deferred maintenance and betterments. There was, however, a marked improvement in morale and physical condition by 1915, but further progress was blocked by the effects of the World War. In August, 1916, the road was petitioned into receivership. Relieved temporarily by receivership and federal operation (1918–1920) from pressing problems of finance, the Boston & Maine operating organization did a fairly good job in meeting war-time transportation needs.

Reorganization of the New Haven (1901–1917)

The New Haven Railroad has several peculiar characteristics. These characteristics are shared in some degree by the Boston & Maine and Boston & Albany but they are more striking on the New Haven: (1) an unusually large proportion of passenger traffic; (2) an exceptional degree of interlacing of main lines and multiplicity of branch lines, junction points, and crisscrossing of alternate routes; (3) an unusual diffusion of traffic as a result of the many manufacturing cities and towns; (4) a very short average haul for freight and passengers. There is truth as well as poetic license in the statement that industrial New England, and especially the territory served by the New Haven Railroad, is "one big terminal." These peculiarities in traffic and operation demand a special type of ability in management.

From the time of its organization as a system in 1872 until about 1907 the operating skill was of high order, the public was well served, and the stockholders received substantial dividends. Yet within six years there was an almost tragic fall from that high estate. The mind of President Mellen, from 1905 or thereabouts, was more concerned with policies of expansion than with the current problems of operation. Departmental heads were left without adequate leadership and the official organization began to disintegrate. The disintegration at the top was followed by disorganization in the ranks, loss of discipline, and a series of disastrous train wrecks. Prior to 1910 New Haven stock was considered the safest of investments and commanded high premiums. By 1913 it had ceased to earn any dividend at all and the stock was rated far below par.

While the policy of expansion aimed at complete monopoly was the main cause of the New Haven's troubles, that policy was in itself not necessarily objectionable nor against public interest. As a matter of fact the Transportation Act of 1920 committed the nation to a policy of wholesale railroad consolidation. Acting under that law the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1921 proposed for New England a regional consolidation of railroads substantially the same as that for which Mellen worked so hard. The sin was not in the thing that was striven for; it was in the methods which were used and in the prices that were paid to stifle competition.

INVESTIGATION BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT (1914)

The whole of the transactions which brought disaster directly to the New Haven Railroad and indirectly to the Boston and Maine were twice investigated by the Interstate Commerce Commission, were twice reported upon by special committees created by the Massachusetts Legislature, had been reviewed in several suits before the courts, and after careful inquiry were made the basis of two suits by the Department of Justice. The record is voluminous. The Interstate Commerce Commission, in its report of July 11, 1914, found that the financial deeds of the former management of the New Haven system were "one of the most glaring instances of maladministration in all the history of American railroading." It found further that in ten years from June 30, 1903, the capitalization, both stocks and bonds, had grown from $93,000,000 to $417,000,000, an increase of $324,000,000. Of that increase approximately $120,000,000 was expended for betterments and additions to its railroad property, leaving $204,000,000 as the sum expended for operations outside of its railroad sphere.

Specifically, what the New Haven management did was to acquire control of practically every important electric railway in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and in parts of Massachusetts; to buy up or "kill off" competing boat lines, including the "outside" line between New York and Boston; to pay excessively high prices for the New York, Westchester and Boston electric railway; to obtain control of the Boston and Maine and Maine Central Railroads in defiance of Massachusetts laws; to purchase the New York, Ontario & Western in order to gain an entrance into the anthracite region; to obtain a half interest with the New York Central in control of the Rutland Railroad; to enter into a contract with the New York Central under which the New Haven would assume one-half the deficit under the rental of the Boston and Albany, in return for a voice in Boston and Albany management; and to come to an understanding with the Grand Trunk Railway which modified the former active competition and brought about suspension of construction work on the Southern New England Railway from the Central Vermont Railway connection at Palmer, Massachusetts, to Providence, Rhode Island.

Before the Commission had made its investigation and before the whole affair was aired in the courts it appeared in 1913 as if the New Haven System as a practical transportation monopoly in New England, was a *fait accompli.* The investigations, however, revealed so large an amount of questionable practice that the continuation of the Mellen structure was uncertain from the moment the Attorney General of the United States began his efforts to break up the combination. The investigation and trial extended over the greater part of 1914 and 1915. The result was an agreement upon the part of the New Haven Railroad, as the price for dismissal of the suit, to divest itself of control of the Boston & Maine, the Connecticut and Rhode Island trolleys, certain boat lines outside of those controlled by the New Haven at the beginning of the last period of expansion, and cancellation of the operating agreement that gave the New Haven a half-interest in the Boston & Albany. On the charge of criminal conspiracy the New Haven directors were acquitted.

The new management, under President Howard Elliott (1913–1916) and Edward J. Pearson (from 1916–1928), made substantial progress in rehabilitating the property. An extensive program of enlargement and betterment of physical facilities was interrupted by war, but the New Haven made a creditable record in handling the exceptionally heavy transportation demands of war traffic.

New England Railroads During the World War (1917–1919)

When it was evident that the United States would be drawn into the world conflict, the railroad executives in this country were anxious to prove that the railroads under private ownership and operation could meet the emergency without governmental intervention. Four days after our declaration of war in April, 1917, a plan previously prepared by the railroad executives was made effective. The presidents of practically every railroad in the United States signed a solemn agreement to vest in the Railroads' War Board of the American Railway Association complete and plenary powers to operate all railroads as a single continental system during the emergency. This committee accomplished a great deal in unifying operation, in securing complete use of equipment and facilities, and in curtailing nonessential and competitive service; but by September, 1917, it was confronted in Massachusetts, as elsewhere, with problems it could not meet. Under the law the government traffic received preference; but the many branches of the government competed with each other in priority orders. Because the congestion interfered with military operations, the government concluded that temporary nationalization of railroads was advisable.

Hence (effective January 1, 1918) the railroads were taken over by President Wilson, under war emergency powers. From that date until March 1, 1920, they were operated as a national system by a Director General of Railroads. The lines were organized into seven regional groups, each administered by a regional director. The Eastern Region was divided into three districts: New England, Central, and Ohio-Indiana, each in charge of a district director. The New England railroads, accordingly, were operated as a single unit under J. H. Hustis as district director, with each road in charge of a federal manager. The activities of the regional and district directors were coordinated by the central administration under policies determined by the director general.

During the period of federal control, the railroads were operated without respect to the corporate identity, and with unified use of equipment and facilities. Competition was entirely eliminated. Civilian passenger travel and the shipment of nonessential freight were discouraged. The government retained all revenues and paid to each corporation, as rental for the use of the property, a net income equivalent to the average earned per year by each company during the three years ended June 30, 1917. So far as the New England railroads were concerned, the returns to the stockholders were no more and no less than in the pre-war period. Inasmuch as the two principal roads, the Boston & Maine and the New Haven, had not paid dividends in 1915–1917, the rental was not sufficient to pay dividends in 1918–1919, but all charges were met and the general financial situation remained *in statu quo.*

THE POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD (1920–1928)

In the final sub-period, 1920–1930, the processes of rehabilitation of the New England railroads, interrupted by war, were resumed and successfully prosecuted until on December 31, 1929, the properties had "come back." They were in a healthy state physically, financially, and in employee morale, and were furnishing adequate and dependable service.

The pressing financial problems of the New Haven and the Boston & Maine roads, temporarily laid aside during the first part of the war period, had to be faced anew in 1919 as plans were in preparation for the resumption of private management. The Boston and Maine was in receivership when the roads were taken over by the government on January 1, 1918. A plan for its reorganization was made effective and the receivership terminated in December, 1919. The New Haven Railroad had escaped receivership, but was in weak financial condition.

In June, 1922, the governors of the New England States, acting together, appointed committees to make a study of New England railroads and to recommend a policy with respect to railroad consolidation. In the Transportation Act of 1920, Congress had decreed that the many railroads in the United States should be consolidated into a small number of large systems of fairly equal size and strength, so that a uniform rate scale in each region used in common by the few large systems in that region would yield approximately the same return to each system.

The Interstate Commerce Commission was directed by the law to make a study and publish a tentative plan for the allocation of every railroad to one of the few systems to be created. Then, after hearings had been held on the tentative plan, the Commission was directed to prepare a final plan to which all consolidations should conform.

In 1921 the Commission published its tentative plan calling for 19 systems. Hearings were held throughout 1922 and 1923, but the final plan was not announced until December, 1929.

In its 1921 tentative plan the Commission suggested three alternatives for New England. The first, known as the Trunk Line Plan, was to leave the Boston & Albany and Rutland as parts of a larger New York Central system and to that system to allot also the Boston & Maine, Maine Central and Bangor & Aroostook, assigning the New Haven road to the Baltimore & Ohio system, and leaving the Central Vermont and Grand Trunk in Maine as parts of the Canadian National system. The second alternative, known as New England Regional Plan, was to form a single system of all New England railroads except the Boston & Albany and the Canadian National subsidiaries. The third alternative, known as New England-Great Lakes Plan, was to attach the New England lines, with the exceptions noted in the first and second alternatives, to a new system to be based upon the Delaware & Hudson, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western and others in Trunk Line territory. Each of the two plans first named had support but the third received scant attention.

THE DISTRICT PLAN (1923)

To aid the governors of the six New England States to decide between these plans, committees were organized. For Massachusetts the members were: James J. Storrow (chairman), Philip Dexter, Carl Dreyfus, Adolph W. Gilbert, and Frank H. Willard. Storrow was also chosen chairman of the joint committee of thirty. The chief technical advisor was Howard G. Kelley, formerly president of the Grand Trunk Railway.

The report of the joint committee, usually referred to as the Storrow Report, was made public in June, 1923, and recommended a New England regional consolidation. That finding, however, was not unanimous. While the joint committee was created to consider what should be the attitude of

New England in relation to consolidation, the scope of its investigation and report went much further. The committee decided that a sound conclusion as to what form of consolidation would be best for the future welfare of New England could be reached only as the result of an intensive study of the whole transportation problem. The results of that study were made a part of the report, and certain recommendations were made on methods of rehabilitation.

The "final" plan of the commission, published in December, 1929, differed fundamentally from the alternatives suggested in the 1921 tentative plan. In the 1929 line-up New England was to have two regional systems, each with "bridge" lines into trunk-line territory. The first was the Boston & Maine system, including the Maine Central, Bangor & Aroostook, Rutland, Delaware & Hudson, and a number of small roads in their territories. The second was the New Haven system, including the New York, Ontario & Western, Lehigh & Hudson River, Lehigh & New England, and all of the small lines in southern New England. The Boston & Albany was to remain as a part of the New York Central system, and the Central Vermont and Grand Trunk line in Maine were to remain as parts of the Canadian National system.

The plan, however, was final in name only. The Commission, without power to require consolidations, intimated that for good reasons modifications would be approved. Inasmuch as the consensus of opinion in New England favored one rather than two regional systems, if consolidations were to be made the likelihood was that such a modification might be sanctioned if the two systems could agree upon terms agreeable to the Commission.

REHABILITATION OF THE ROADS (1924–1930)

Since the Storrow Report was written the hoped for rehabilitation of the two roads has taken place, although not in the manner suggested in the committee's report.

The Boston & Albany had no financial difficulty during the lean years of 1920 to 1923 as the deficit was paid by its lessee, the strong New York Central system. Since 1924 the net income of the Boston & Albany has exceeded the rental and the lessee company has made a profit from operation.

The Boston & Maine found itself unable after the war to earn its charges, even though they had been reduced substantially by the reorganization of 1919, when the principal leased lines agreed to give up the guaranteed dividends on their own stock and accept preferred stock of the Boston & Maine. Under that reorganization most of the leased lines became parts of the Boston & Maine by corporate merger. The fixed rentals were cut from $5,562,924 in 1918 to $928,550 in 1919, but in spite of that reduction the total fixed charges were not earned in 1920, 1921, and 1923. The necessity for further reorganization was apparent. In 1925, under the leadership of Homer Loring, a voluntary reorganization was accomplished which, among other things, called upon the common stockholders to subscribe for a new issue of preferred stock to furnish funds for physical improvements on a large scale. These expenditures brought about substantial economies in operation, with highly improved public service. Among the important improvements during the administration of George Hannaeur (1927-29) were enlarged and improved classification yards at Mechanicsville and East Deerfield and an entire revision of all terminals in Boston, including the construction of a new passenger station and a new office building.

On the New Haven Railroad a similarly striking improvement was made. It had failed to earn fixed charges in 1920 to 1923 but since then it has not only met charges but in 1928 resumed the payment of dividends on its common stock. The improvement in operating results under guidance of President Pearson (1913-28) and President Pelley (since May, 1929) was due mainly to operating economies made possible by large capital expenditures for betterments to physical facilities and equipment. The New Haven Railroad by 1930 had written off the greater part of the losses through unwise investments in 1900–1913 and was in a fairly easy financial position. The earlier public ill-will had disappeared, and cordial relations existed between the road and the public of the section which it served.

The company still held in 1930 nearly all of the stock of the Boston Holding Company, which in turn owned the Boston & Maine stock purchased in 1908 by the New Haven Railroad. Until 1919 that stock was a controlling majority of the Boston & Maine. When the Boston & Maine was reorganized in 1919, the holding company's block of Boston & Maine stock ceased to be controlling.

Technical Development (1890–1930)

New England railroads kept pace with the technical development of railroads in general from 1890 to 1930. In both plant and equipment, and in technique of operation, the progress has been remarkable.

In way and structures the demands of heavier locomotives and cars have been met by heavier rails, deeper ballast of better quality, and bridges of greater capacity. The typical weight of rail in 1890 was 75 to 80 pounds per yard. In 1930 the new installations on main lines was of 130 pound section. Crushed stone was being used on main lines instead of gravel or cinders as ballast. Automatic signals and power interlocking plants have added to safety and traffic-carrying capacity. Bridges have been rebuilt to carry locomotives which have increased from a typical weight in 1890 of 35 to 40 tons on drivers to well over 100 tons in 1930. Cars have doubled in capacity and typically are of steel or steel underframe construction. The average freight train load in paying freight has grown from 150 tons to nearly 600 tons, and trains of 100 loaded freight cars are not uncommon.

Stations and Terminals (1890–1930)

A striking development is seen in terminals and intermediate classification yards, where cars are switched by gravity and controlled by mechanical car retarders instead of the old "push and pull" method which required a switchman on each cut of cars. At Somerville the Boston & Maine, in 1928, constructed a large classification yard, which takes the place of several inefficient small yards scattered throughout the whole terminal area. The same treatment has brought about an efficient freight terminal on the New Haven road at South Boston, and on the Boston & Albany at Allston and West Springfield.

In 1894 the Boston & Maine opened the North Station in Boston, displacing the old separate stations of the Boston &

Lowell, Eastern, and Boston & Maine. In 1900 the Fitchburg trains began to use that station, and in 1928 a new structure was opened with its colosseum. In 1899 and 1900 the old stations of the Boston & Albany, Old Colony, Boston & Providence, and New England were displaced by the South Station, which until recently accommodated more passengers than any other railroad station in the United States. Coincident with the opening of the South Station in 1899–1900 the Boston & Albany and the New Haven provided new stations in the Back Bay district. The Back Bay station of the New Haven was destroyed by fire in 1928 and was replaced by a new station in 1929.

When the South Station was built in 1899 the intention was to use its lower level for electric operation and the electrification of suburban lines was contemplated. Progress in that direction has been disappointing. The heavy cost of equipping the lines for electric operation has caused the railroads to hesitate to meet the public demand, and the legislature has hesitated to enact compulsory measures. The only electrified sections of lines built for steam operation in Massachusetts are the Nantasket Beach Branch of the New Haven (1900), the Grafton & Upton (1902), the Hoosac Tunnel of the Boston & Maine (1911), and the narrow gauge line of the Boston, Revere Beach & Lynn (1928). The fact that the New Haven is electrified from New York to New Haven has given the New England public a liking for that type of rail operation; but the additional carrying charges incident to electrification, shown to be in excess of economies under the current volume of traffic, have held back further installations.

WATER TRANSPORTATION (1890–1930)

The movement of persons and commodities by water is the oldest form of transportation on an extensive scale. All of the early settlements in this country were adjacent to the natural harbors along the Atlantic Coast. The early settlements on the coast were followed by similar settlements on the banks of navigable rivers, and in a few cases transportation by water was extended inland by canals. Railroads as first conceived were to be merely complementary to waterways, but very early in their existence their economic superiority over inland waterways was convincingly demonstrated. The building of additional canals soon ceased; by the middle of the nineteenth century those that had been built earlier were abandoned, and the use of navigable stretches of New England rivers became negligible.

The advent of railroads, however, did not seriously affect coastwise shipping. The coastline of New England with its numerous natural harbors, and the long established organization of coastwise and ocean transportation, are among New England's greatest natural advantages from the viewpoint of industry and commerce. More than 70 per cent of the New England population lives and the major part of its industrial activity is carried on within 50 miles of the seaboard. Within that zone lives 97 per cent of the population of Connecticut, all of Rhode Island, 61 per cent of the people of Massachusetts, 57 per cent of New Hampshire, and 77 per cent of Maine.

In 1930 daily water service connected all important New England ports with New York and regular lines of steamboats were running to the principal seaports south of New York and the Maritime Provinces of Canada. While adverse freight rates from inland points in favor of Philadelphia and Baltimore have tended to take away the earlier supremacy of Boston as a port of transatlantic shipping and have transferred a substantial part of its formerly larger volume of imports and exports to New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, Boston still has good transatlantic and South American service; and after the opening of the Panama Canal, in 1912, (especially since 1920) has established adequate and regular service to the Gulf ports and to the Pacific Coast. The port of Boston has made extensive and long continued efforts to have the unfavorable freight rate differentials removed. The Interstate Commerce Commission has thus far been unwilling to give Boston the same rates on export traffic as Philadelphia and Baltimore.

While the railroads of New England were going through the processes of integration in the period under review, similar processes had been at work upon the coastwise shipping companies with the result that the water service, especially on Long Island Sound and in the southern Massachusetts waters, had been extending and improving. The opening of the Cape Cod Canal in 1914 cut the running time and increased the safety of the "outside" line of boats between Boston and New York. The canal, built by private capital and operated as a private undertaking, did not pay. During the World War, it was taken over and afterward purchased by the government. Since then no tolls have been charged. The use of the canal by boats other than the Boston-New York passenger steamers has been disappointingly small.

The competitive bearing of coastwise transportation on rail transportation in New England did not change materially from 1900, except in the further coordination of activities between the New Haven Railroad and the Sound lines.

The Port of Boston

The port of Boston has suffered during the period under review from a dearth of outbound bulk cargo because of the adverse differential rail rates from the interior. This condition has left Boston with a fine natural harbor and facilities for handling traffic utilized only in part. There are four distinct dock districts in the harbor—East Boston, Charlestown, Atlantic Avenue in Boston proper, and South Boston flats. The East Boston docks are reached by the Grand Junction branch of the Boston & Albany. They contain ample storage facilities. A large grain elevator, built in 1907, replaced a smaller elevator. The Mystic and the Hoosac Tunnel docks, in Charlestown, are reached by the Boston & Maine Railroad. The latter acquired the Mystic docks with the Boston & Lowell Railroad in 1887, and the Hoosac Tunnel docks with the Fitchburg in 1900. Both docks have grain elevators.

The frontage along Atlantic Avenue in Boston is littered with small piers which are used extensively by the ships in New England coastal trade. Across the entrance to Fort Point channel lie the South Boston flats, where the old New York and New England held property. Most of the area is now used as a freight yard, the piers being small. Just to the east, and also reached by the New Haven tracks, is the State-built Commonwealth pier, large and commodious, while beyond is the large fish pier. Further down the harbor is the gigantic Army Base, now used extensively as a commercial pier.

Besides the main docks, enumerated above, there are several piers on the Fort Point channel and on the many reaches of the upper harbor. On the Mystic River are situated a modern lumber receiving and storage yard, and the coal receiving dock of the Boston & Maine. The harbor boasts of the largest dry-dock in the Western Hemisphere, at the Army Base, and of a large and efficient ship-repairing plant at East Boston.

The most notable physical changes during the 40-year period have been the new grain elevator at East Boston, the Commonwealth Pier, the new fish pier, and the Army Base and dry-dock. The coordination of control of the Mystic and the Hoosac Tunnel docks, which were separately managed until 1900, and the control of the New York and New England docks by the New Haven in 1895 were events of importance to the port.

The shipping which uses the port varies from ocean liners and ocean tramps to the many small coasting vessels which do not go beyond the New England harbors. Most of the large transatlantic lines make Boston a port of call from or to New York, although in the summer months the Cunard and other lines run ships direct from Boston. In this respect the period from 1890 to 1930 has shown a tendency on the part of the major ocean lines to give up Boston as a base port, principally because of the freight differentials mentioned above. The number of sailings to Pacific coast ports has, however, gained steadily and a thriving service is now carried on, especially by the Luckenback and American-Hawaiian lines through the Panama Canal. The Gulf ports are usually reached via New York and the Mallory or Southern Pacific lines, while the southeastern United States ports are reached by regular services of the Savannah and the Merchants and Miners lines from Boston. The Brocklebank-Cunard, as well as a number of smaller companies, carry on trade to all parts of the world, while the small coastwise ships serve all the New England ports. Barges and colliers bring in great quantities of coal, the large coal companies running a heavy service between the Newport News region and Boston. Tramp ships, although preferring the southeastern and Gulf ports, fill out the shipping lists. As a port of import and export, Boston no longer holds its position in the 'nineties as second port of the United States in the value of export and import cargoes; but its importance as the port of distribution for New England has been maintained.

Transportation by Air

Transportation by air, on a commercial scale and on regular schedules is in its infancy in 1930. Its possibilities cannot now be foretold with confidence or its ultimate competitive effect upon the older forms of transportation predicted with certainty. New England, a region of relatively short distances, is not an ideal section of the country for aerial transportation development. The time savings, when allowance is made for surface transportation to and from the flying fields, are not sufficiently substantial in comparison with rail or automobile unless the trip is long. Yet Boston has not been backward in providing a modern airport at East Boston and has had a regular daily air service for mail, express and passengers to New York City since 1928.

Throughout New England there are many landing fields but no regular air line service is provided except to New York. The regular air line depends primarily for earnings upon its mail contract. The general public has not yet become sufficiently "air minded" to support a service for passengers only.

Competition for Highways Traffic (1890–1930)

The competitive situation with respect to highway competition by 1930 was very serious from the railroad viewpoint, especially in passenger service. A large part of railroad local passenger traffic was lost to the private automobile and the motor coach. The number of automobiles registered in Massachusetts in 1920 was 223,112; in 1929 there were 973,648. The State, with federal aid, has carried out extensive programs of hard surfacing of highways. From 1893 to 1930 the cost of new road construction in Massachusetts was approximately $100,000,000. For the country as a whole the railroad passenger miles of 1929 were one-third less than they were in 1920, and in New England, especially in Massachusetts, the railroad loss was even more severe. The influence of the private automobile as a substitute for rail movement became apparent in the decade of 1910–1920; but since the war period and the more common ownership of private motor vehicles, the highways have been used to an increasing extent for pleasure trips and commercial traveling formerly made by rail. The use of motor coaches on regular routes with regular service began about 1922, with further encroachment upon the railroad short-haul passenger traffic.

The railroad loss has been mainly in passenger business between adjacent cities or inland towns, and in former passengers who now use the automobile for transportation to seashore and mountain resorts. There has been little if any loss since 1920 in commutation passengers between Boston and the suburbs, partly because of parking difficulties and street congestion in Boston. Long-distance rail passenger traffic has been increasing.

Railroad losses to the private automobile and the motor coach have been far more serious than railroad losses of freight to motor trucks. The use of the motor truck as a substitute for short hauls by rail began during the war, when railroad facilities were overtaxed. War-time experience demonstrated the advantages of truck transportation for short distances. The early success of motor trucking led to its widespread use from 1920, and the swing from rail to motor truck went beyond the economic zone of highway transportation. By 1930 there was general recognition of the fact that the truck's advantages are confined to a relatively small zone—something like 50 miles. Within that zone, especially for distances of 25 to 30 miles, the motor has the undoubted advantage. Except in the case of special commodities such as freight of high value, household goods, and commodities which require extra protection in packing, the motor truck ordinarily cannot compete economically with rail movement outside of the 50 mile zone.

The freight which the railroads have lost to the truck is principally in less-than-carload lots. In New England the l.c.l. percentage in 1929 was about 12 per cent of the total. That class of freight, while moving under the higher class rates, is relatively unremunerative because of the high operating costs. It is burdensome in its demands upon equipment and terminal facilities and in times of heavy traffic interferes with the handling of long-distance carload traffic, which from the viewpoint of net revenue is much more attractive. The railroads, therefore, may view without alarm the diminution in the volume of short-haul l.c.l. freight. The loss to motor trucks, all things considered, is not serious; and for every ton of l.c.l. taken by the truck the automotive industry as a whole contributes much more than one ton of carload freight by rail.

Between 1923 and 1930 the New England railroads took steps to meet the competition of highway transportation by better service. They shortened the running time of through passenger trains, provided more luxurious equipment, and advertised more extensively, and in general had adopted modern merchandizing methods in the sale of passenger transportation. They had also gone into motor-coach operation themselves by organizing their own motor-coach service and coordinating it with trains. This development has reached extensive proportions in New England. In 1930 the New England Transportation Company, a subsidiary of the New Haven Railroad, operated 270 motor coaches over regular routes which had an aggregate route mileage of 1,600. The Boston & Maine Transportation Company operated 95 motor coaches on 1,303 route miles.

In freight service railroad activity on the highway has not been as great as in passenger service, but the Boston & Maine in 1930 owned 175 motor trucks used to supplement rail service. In several cases motor trucks and motor coaches had been substituted for rail service on unprofitable light-traffic branch lines, and the Boston & Maine had inaugurated an extensive system of handling l.c.l. shipments by trucks from Boston to nearby cities.

Urban, Suburban, and Interurban Transportation

In 1889 the well-established horse-car street railways of Massachusetts were just starting to change over some of their trackage to electric operation. All of the larger cities in the State had well organized horse-car systems serving the central districts of each city, while other lines ran out into the suburbs. There were also a small number of interurban horse-car lines. Out of a total of some 600 miles of street-car track, only 50 miles were electrified.

In Boston a number of separate companies did business, the West End street-railway horse and electric cars running a daily mileage of more than twice the distance around the globe. All suburban traffic, except the small amount carried on the suburban street cars, was carried on the local branches of the steam roads. On the Boston & Maine system, the Saugus, Marblehead, and Gloucester branches did a heavy commuting business, while the short branches from Woburn, Stoneham, Melrose and Lexington added to the throngs which poured into the Causeway Street station. Across the harbor the Boston, Revere Beach & Lynn discharged onto its ferries a heavy traffic from Lynn and Winthrop. To the west the Boston & Albany, both from its main line and from its Brookline circuit, did a heavy business, while the Fitchburg and the Central Massachusetts branch of the Boston & Maine carried commuters to a less extent. On the south, the Old Colony trains carried suburban passengers into the Kneeland Street station from the Quincy region, and the Dorchester and Milton branch to Mattapan. The Boston & Providence handled a heavy suburban traffic from its main line, and its branches from Dedham and Stoughton. All these steam lines were still operating suburban trains in 1930, although the volume of business was far under that of the 'nineties.

With the electrification of the suburban street-car lines and the wholesale building of the interurban electric railways in the 'nineties, the steam railroads lost traffic in appalling fashion. The electric lines were cheaper to build and cheaper to sustain, and the fares charged were less. There was much useless mileage built and some loose financing, but with building going on steadily and rapidly through the 'nineties and early part of the following decade, there were by 1904 over 2,000 miles of line owned by Massachusetts corporations. The entire industrial regions of northeastern and southeastern Massachusetts were covered with a web of lines even more closely knit than were the steam railroads in the same region, while lines stretched west through Worcester to Springfield, and via Fitchburg and Athol to Orange. In the western part of the State the main interurbans ran north and south in the Connecticut Valley and in the Berkshire region.

Total mileage continued to grow, although slowly, until the war period; but since that time the overwhelming advance of the private automobile and the motor coach has brought on a steady and widespread disintegration of the interlacing system of trolley lines. There were by January 1, 1929, only 1,266 miles of lines of street-car companies in operation in the State. This was nearly 1,000 miles less than in 1917.

While the motor coach has tended to displace the interurban trolley and the suburban trolley where the traffic is not extremely heavy, and to take the place of street cars in congested parts of the cities, the street-car companies have through the medium of rapid traction lines held on to the mass of nearby suburban traffic which they took from the steam roads in the early 'nineties. In Boston the elevated-subway-elevated line, which was opened from Dudley Street through Park Street and out to Sullivan Square in 1901, was followed by the Atlantic Avenue elevated loop in the same year; while the East Boston Tunnel under the harbor, the Washington Street subway and, in 1912, the Cambridge subway were some of the largest undertakings in a widespread program of rapid traction service.

The 40-year period has seen the rise, the heyday, and the fall of the interburban electric line, the continued but steadily less lucrative operation of the steam suburban lines, the steady growth both in size and efficiency of the urban street railways in the metropolitan district, and the surrender of the small urban street railways to the motor coach.

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CHAPTER XIV

LABOR AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT (1860–1930)

By George W. Coleman
President of Babson Institute

Transformation of Massachusetts (1830–1880)

The story of labor in Massachusetts is the story of industry. To understand the position which labor has achieved it is necessary first to understand the background of economic development through which the Commonwealth passed during the first three quarters of the last century. The transformation of Massachusetts from an agrarian and trading commonwealth to a state in which manufacturing industry predominates began well before the Civil War and is described in a previous volume of this work. The abandoned farms which today one finds scattered through the rural sections of the state are mute witnesses of that desertion of the plow in favor of the spindle, the magnet-like attraction for the youth of the state toward the growing, sprawling mill cities.

At first, when water power was the source of energy for the mills, these industrial cities clustered on the banks of our rivers. Trace the course of the Connecticut and the Merrimac Rivers and their many tributaries as they pass through Massachusetts and you will find the answer to the abandoned farms in such cities as Lawrence, Lowell, Haverhill, Holyoke, Springfield and others. Later, when steam power came to rival the harnessed strength of our rivers, the coastal cities such as New Bedford and Fall River began to absorb still other thousands of native workers, together with the stream of immigrant labor which soon after the Civil War period began to assume significant proportions.

The period covered by this chapter begins in the middle part of the '80s when it may be said that Massachusetts was holding an unchallenged supremacy in industrial leadership. In order that the reader may have a proper perspective on the status of labor at that time it is necessary to trace back briefly into the decades which preceded the '80s and '90s and observe the steady flow of labor from varying sources into the main stream of industrial activity which absorbed it with the advent of the factory system.

Four Basal Industries

During the first thirty years of the last century commerce and agriculture were the chief concerns of our citizens. Salem was the next city to Boston, and the clipper ship was the symbol of one of our principal claims to economic leadership in those days. Then began America's age of the machine and with it the scene changed. Textile mills began to rear their walls along the Merrimac and from the South began to pour in that increasing flow of raw cotton, which was soon moving swiftly away from Massachusetts to all corners of the globe in the form of the finished product.

Meanwhile, another industry which had begun in the most humble of ways in little shops throughout Essex County commenced to assume increased proportions. This was the boot and shoe industry, which, drawing its workers at first from the country districts, soon began to employ thousands in the cities, until Massachusetts not only claimed leadership in textiles but also became the largest manufacturer of boots and shoes. Tillage had yielded definitely to the factory.

The history of our paper industry ranks third in importance; and for sixty years, from 1830 to 1890, Massachusetts was in the van of the states in paper manufacturing. Here was an industry, created by cheap water power and making use of the by-products of the textile mills, which seemed to have a peculiarly strong and permanent position. And yet the introduction of wood pulp overturned this industry, so that today, while still a leading product, paper has drawn to itself a diminishing proportion of workers.

When to these three industries are added rubber, the four principal lines of activity characterizing the industrial growth of the years before 1890 have been included. Of course Massachusetts, true to its Yankee heritage of ingenuity and versatility, has always been a highly diversified workshop. And

Courtesy of the Author

Original Keith Plant, Walkover Cradle (1843)

Courtesy of the Author

Composite Picture of the Walk-over Shoe Factories, Brocton

this diversity soon found expression during the growth of the factory system.

As the mill cities of Massachusetts began to drain the agricultural districts for labor, farming became more and more a precarious occupation and there was soon very little native-born agricultural labor available. The older generations stayed on the farm and worked it; but as time passed and the older people died, it fell more and more into disuse, until today in many parts of rural Massachusetts one finds cellar holes where once were thriving farm buildings. The only exception to this is where elements of the foreign-born population have taken over some of these rural sections and made a reasonable success of them. One example of this is on Cape Cod where the Brava Portuguese group has succeeded in making that section profitable from an agrarian viewpoint. But the real reason for the decrease in farming is the stony and rocky soil of Massachusetts, which has to be so carefully nurtured for the small amount of return secured from it. Furthermore, unlike the West, it is impossible to farm on a large scale in Massachusetts, and consequently, as modern agricultural machinery developed, it was comparatively of little use in the cramped areas available for it.

Demand for Labor (1830–1930)

Still the great current of labor flowed mainly into these four industrial channels—channels which widened and deepened until at the turn of the century a total of nearly 400,000 workers found employment in industrial activities alone, receiving wages that totaled nearly $175,000,000 a year. In 1913, the year before the World War diverted and pyramided the normal development of industrial affairs, Massachusetts had within her borders 8,045 manufacturing establishments; and this total had passed the ten-thousand mark by 1924.

What an industrial army this represents—mobilized and in action every day, turning raw materials into finished products, creating a flow of new wealth so great that Massachusetts has for years been considered a "billion dollar state." An army of workers of such magnitude—the present total is close to a million—must of necessity include "many men of many kinds." First, and up until 1840, there was the native American, schooled to feel a pride in certain New England qualities —qualities of superior workmanship, of efficiency and of skill. For more than a decade before the Civil War the Irish immigrants were coming in increasing numbers into Massachusetts. Then in the great industrial upsurge that marked the years from 1870 until in 1914 the war shut off immigration, there came workers from every corner of Europe. For a while the more skilled of those who entered this country turned naturally toward Massachusetts. The less skilled were absorbed in the newer industries, and in the newer sections of the country where muscle and brawn counted more than craftsmanship and skill.

The demands from the textile and the shoe industries were for skilled workers. The quality of our products became a trade term of commendation in the markets of the world. With the further perfecting of machinery and the steady diversification of industry, however, the demand for semiskilled labor increased. Mass production brought in its train the type of workman who, lacking the creative artisanship and skill of the older school of workers, brought to his task the steady, more passive qualities generated by the machine. This condition today is presenting, not only to Massachusetts but to every industrial community in the entire country a new kind of labor problem.

Race Elements

Massachusetts has played the melting pot to Europe. The leaven of native American labor with which the industrial growth of the state began has stood us in good stead during these long years of influx of labor from other countries. We have not had so much of the severe maladjustments between capital and labor as other sections of the country have passed through. That does not mean that we have not found the problem of labor a difficult and highly sensitive one. Wherever two or more people work together in the physical creation of some needed commodity there will be a labor problem. Massachusetts has confronted many labor problems of various sorts. They have been, on the whole, the expression of the normal development of labor as an integral factor in the industrial life of the country, the "growing pains" of a group which has properly become a more important part of the community—and one which has made, and will continue to make, increasing demands for a greater and ever greater share in the profits from the industries which it helps to maintain.

Era of the Knights of Labor (1880–1885)

As we look back on the industrial period which was gathering impetus throughout the United States in the '80s we find that Massachusetts was the very focus of these events. Never before had organized labor reached out so widely and so deeply. New areas of competition, new races and nationalities, new masses of the unskilled, new recruits from the skilled and semi-skilled, were lifted up temporarily into what appeared to be an organization, but was in fact more like a procession, so rapidly did its membership change. An interesting phenomenon of American labor activities, which had an important influence on organized labor in Massachusetts, was the Knights of Labor.

American labor movements have never experienced such a rush of organization as in the latter part of 1885 and during 1886. In a remarkably short time, in a few months in fact, more than 600,000 people, living in practically every state in the Union, united in one organization. The Knights grew from 989 local assemblies with 104,000 members in the middle of 1885 to 5,892 assemblies, with slightly over 500,000 members, a year later.

Decline of the Knights of Labor (1885–1900)

This movement had all the hot enthusiasm and zeal that sometimes marks an evangelistic revival. It resembled a revival in the quick jet of inspired flame flashing for its brief moment and then subsiding. The reasons for the deflation and disappearance of the Knights of Labor are not hard to find; and since the consequence affected the development of labor unions in Massachusetts they are relevant and should be here considered.

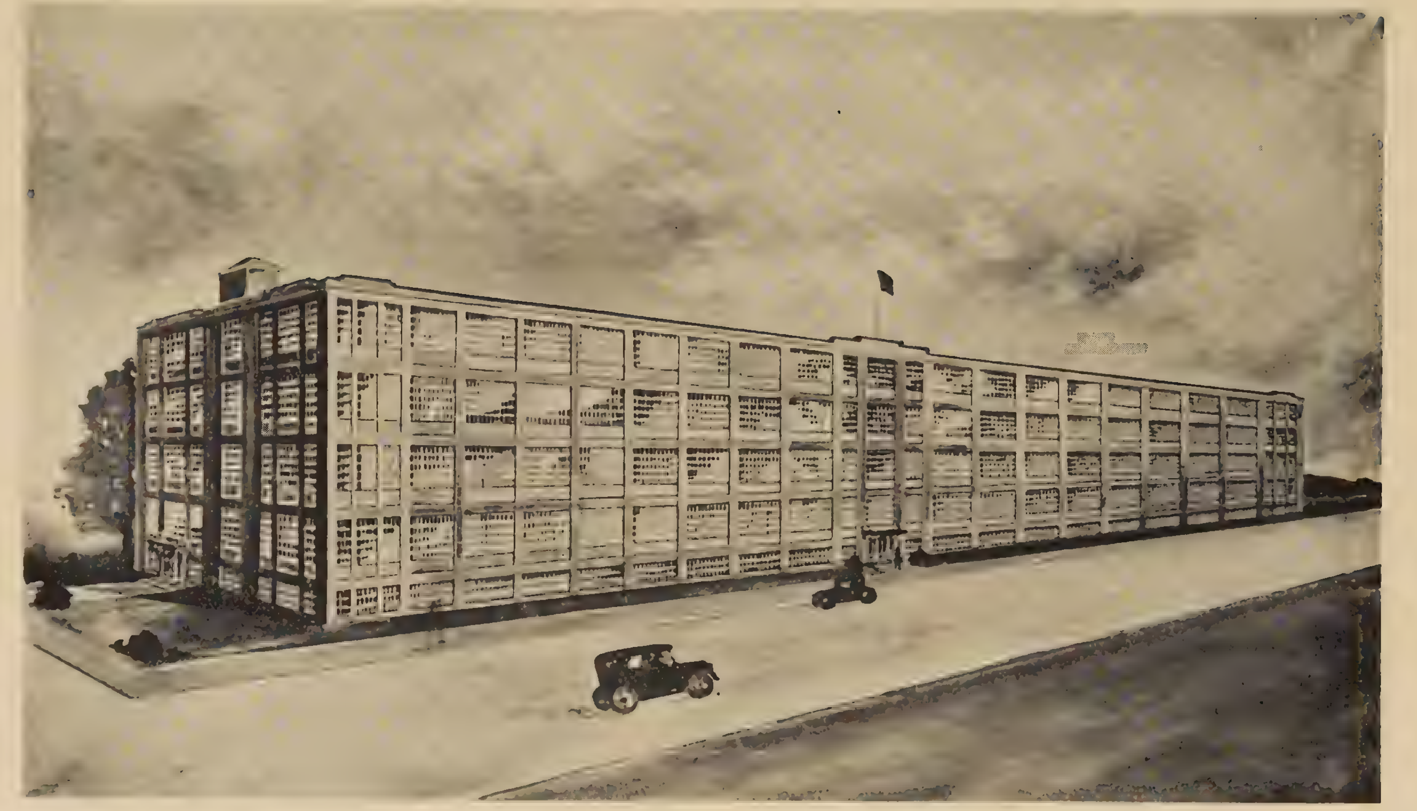
In the first place the Knights of Labor had one similarity to the later I. W. W. The organization stood for "one big union." Into it were poured the strength of skilled and semi-skilled workers, and along with them unskilled laborers of every description. For a brief time the zeal of a united holy cause kept the ranks together. The period into which the Knights stepped was a time when a flaming indignation against capital had seized great masses of the workers. But the time was not ripe then, any more than it is today, for the sort of highly organized activity in behalf of labor for which the Knights stood.

What the times needed and what swiftly began to form out of the crude mass of weakly organized labor thus hurled together during the middle '80s was the development of trade unions among the skilled workers, each an independent and self-integrated factor. Then these organizations were linked together in a general federation: and thus came about the American Federation of Labor. In this development Massachusetts labor was particularly active. The skilled trades were quickly organized and the unions soon secured a firm foothold in the boot and shoe industry.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union (1900–1930)

One reason for labor's success in organizing this particular industry may be found in the fact that here labor and not machinery was a dominant factor. Even after improved labor-saving machinery began to be introduced, the individual plant unit was still kept rather small; and it is even today an industry in which mass production has made little headway. Where textile plants employ thousands, shoe factories in Massachusetts employ scores, or at the most hundreds. Wherever, therefore, the capital investment was not on too large a scale, shoe labor was in a more favorable position. Consequently, the growth of the union in the shoe industry was steady and certain.

Incidentally, the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, which now practically stands alone in the field of shoe labor unions in Massachusetts, is an example of organized labor functioning at its best. Only a few years ago this union established itself firmly in the shoe industry of Massachusetts, following a losing battle which the Amalgamated Shoe Workers Union had



Courtesy of the Author

No. 11 Factory, George F. Keith Company, Boston

fought in the cities of Haverhill and Lynn. At the same time, south of Boston, in the city of Brockton and in the shoe districts surrounding that city, the Boot and Shoe Workers Union had been carrying on a most commendable working arrangement between the shoe workers and the employers. Wages were fair, working agreements amicably arranged and disputes peacefully adjusted by arbitration.

In one noteworthy instance the union even fought, in behalf of the employers, an outlaw strike against certain workers who had violated their agreement and gone on strike. This was in 1924 at Brockton where the Boot and Shoe Union long remained dominant. The union emerged victorious in this encounter and demonstrated to the employers that when the union made an agreement it was able to enforce its terms upon its own members. Following the disintegration of the Amalgamated in the shoe cities north of Boston, the Boot and Shoe Workers stepped in; and at present they are rapidly aiding in restoring the prestige of such cities as Lynn and Haverhill, that for a few years after the World War suffered severely from internal labor troubles.

Unions in Textile Industries (1889–1910)

By the same influence which made organized labor strong in the boot and shoe industry, the textile industry was not easily organized by the unions. Capital investment in a textile mill called for a huge outlay; and machinery, rather than the worker, was the first necessity. With the machinery at hand, the type of worker needed was not even of the grade of the semi-skilled. As the machinery in the textile industry became more and more perfected, it made possible the employment of less and less skilled labor. Of course, unskilled labor is difficult to weld successfully into an organized unit, because there is constantly a larger available supply outside the ranks of the unions available to employers whenever needed. Here the fundamental law of supply and demand has a precise expression.

Under these circumstances, the struggle of organized labor to unionize the Massachusetts textile industry was from the very beginning a difficult one. In 1889 the National Cotton Mule Spinners union was formed and for a short time it loomed as a potential power in the textile labor world. Practically all the mule spinners in Massachusetts joined this organization, but within a short time the introduction of ring spinning simply swept the ground from under the mule spinners; and unskilled labor was substituted in their places.

The United Textile Workers (1901–1920)

Spasmodic attempts during the 'nineties in Fall River and other textile cities to form unions resulted in no permanent concessions from the employers. In 1901, however, the United Textile Workers came into existence, covering in its membership all textile workers. This organization has been able to make some headway but it has never flourished. One of the elements of weakness, so far as union organization is concerned, is the fact that the textile industry has always employed more women and children than men. Women have never been the best material for unionization.

Another element which militated against unionization of the textile industry was the influx through immigration of various nationalities into the ranks of the textile workers. Alien to each other as well as to America in tongue and customs, it was a well-nigh impossible task to organize such dissimilar groups. Meanwhile, the textile industry became larger and thrived more and more. Conditions were satisfactory for the employers, and for the stockholders of these many textile plants throughout Massachusetts. But it must be admitted, in any accurate record of the history of labor in Massachusetts, that working conditions in some of the mills were bad. Wages were low and no attempt was made by the employers to do more, in too many instances, than get all they could from the workers and give in return as little as possible.

Lawrence Textile Strike (1912)

The logical outcome of this policy of grinding labor under the heel of an arbitrary control may be found in the Lawrence strike of 1912. In the history of Massachusetts, no labor trouble stands out as distressing or as far-reaching in its implications as does this long and bitter struggle. It was a struggle in which thousands of underpaid foreign-born workers rebelled against a smug and complacent management, which had for years disregarded the fundamental rights of labor. It was a strike which could not today take place in Massachusetts, because in a great measure the injustices which provoked it have been discontinued.

In 1912 these evils existed in many forms and finally the inevitable human explosion against them took place. An interesting phase of the strike, although one which was to have no permanent significance, was the fact that it was fought to a successful victory under the banner of the I. W. W. It was a curious anomaly that brought the Industrial Workers of the World across the entire continent to a Massachusetts mill city. Its normal habitat is in the upper Middle West and in the Far West from British Columbia down to Mexico. Yet our staid New England streets in the city of Lawrence echoed to the tramping hundreds behind Big Bill Haywood and Ettor and Giovannitti. For months the fight was waged. Bloodshed and destruction of property marked its course until finally the strikers won a decisive victory.

Effect of the Lawrence Strike on the I. W. W. (1912–1913)

At the time the strike was over, the I. W. W. had 14,000 active members in the city of Lawrence alone. But, while the I. W. W. had achieved the principal purpose of the strike and had bettered the conditions of those who had gone out, yet as an organization its influence was temporary in Massachusetts and soon passed away.

This is not difficult to understand, inasmuch as in New England a labor union of this particular radical and doctrinaire type was planted on a soil ill-suited for its permanent development. The I. W. W. in America is syndicalistic; it proposes the abolition of the political state and the reconstruction of society by direct industrial action. In the doctrine of the "class struggle," "direct action" is interpreted as including the general strike, boycott, and sabotage.

At the time the I. W. W. was carrying the red flag through the streets of Lawrence, considerable apprehension was felt that it marked the ingress of a new and dangerous element into the labor situation of Massachusetts. As a matter of fact the Lawrence strike proved that the I. W. W., even in winning a specific strike, was in reality less powerful than is generally supposed. It was not the I. W. W. which won in Lawrence; it was the fact that men were grossly underpaid and that working conditions were unbearable.

Difficulties of the I. W. W. (1910–1927)

The total membership of the I. W. W. at the present time is under 100,000. This membership comprises a restless, unstabilized body of workers who have rebelled against the present economic and political order and who in their anti-social attitude and practices have discarded all suggestions for opportunistic reforms.

Many of them are "floaters," drifting in migratory movements through the harvest fields of the West. An excessive idealism is contained in their creed, but it is tied in no practical way to a program that will appeal to the average American worker, such as one finds dominant in the Massachusetts industrial scene. Then too, American labor—and this is markedly true of Massachusetts labor—is still predominately craft-conscious and not class-conscious; and it is more sympathetic toward practical and immediate gains than towards proposals for an industrial Utopia.

The I. W. W. did accomplish one thing: it righted a situation which today even the most violent partisans of the textile manufacturers would concede to be unjust. In fairness to the American Woolen Company, whose huge mills were the focus of the strike, it should be said that on the foundations of that strike a generous and forward-looking labor program was established by the management, which at least in great measure wiped out the record of 1913. In fact, at the time of his death in 1927, William M. Wood, head of the American Woolen Company, was considered to have established in his mills a labor policy which made every possible concession to the worker consistent with the duties of the management to the stockholders.

The Paper Industry

Before the secret of converting wood pulp into paper was discovered, the paper industry ranked very high in Massachusetts. It seemed to be entrenched in a particularly firm position because it drew from the by-products of the textile industry what it needed for raw material. Even following the day when wood pulp began to be used, Massachusetts continued her supremacy in the production of fine writing paper with an output of nearly $100,000,000 in this single industry each year.

Here, as in textiles, heavy capital investment in machinery is necessary. Primarily because of this condition, no marked success has been made in the way of unionizing the workers. The demand is less and less for skilled workers, as the process of manufacture becomes increasingly controlled by machines in place of the skill of human brains and hands.

Spirit of Labor in Massachusetts

Industrial disturbances have naturally dotted the record of the years in Massachusetts labor history. This has been inevitable, and particularly in our state, because the great body of our workers are men and women who have rightly demanded an increasing standard of living, who have proved themselves skilled workers beyond the average, and who have had the spirit and determination to fight if necessary for what they believed were their rights in the economic field of action.

One of the leading manufacturers of Massachusetts made a profound observation once when he said that he would consider it an ill day for the future of our industrial life when labor ceased to ask and fight for more than it was getting at any given time, as its share of the profits of industry. What he had in mind was not acrimonious trouble, but that "divine discontent" which has always marked the American worker and which has been particularly a Yankee trait.

The working men and women of Massachusetts have as a body faithfully endeavored to render a fair day's work for a fair day's pay and to take a creative interest in their work. Witness the efforts which have been made for years, and are still being made, by industrialists in other states to entice Massachusetts labor away. It is well known that Massachusetts workers have been at such a premium in other sections of the country that agents representing competitive concerns have come to Massachusetts and in an organized way tried to induce many of our skilled workers to go elsewhere. It is interesting to note that such efforts have generally been unsuccessful due to the fact that our skilled workers are too firmly rooted in their affection for Massachusetts as a place to live in.

Outcome of Labor Controversies

This reputation which the Massachusetts worker has is well earned and as a corollary to it there has been on his part a candid recognition of his own worth and a constant demand that it be recognized. For the most part this recognition has come voluntarily from the employers of the Bay State. Our wage levels here reflect the fairness and forward-looking willingness of the employer to pay commensurately for the services rendered. Of course, in any live and pulsating industrial situation controversies are bound to occur. Such controversies are, as some employers point out, the signs of a healthy, vigorous economic situation. It is equally interesting to observe that while Massachusetts has had many industrial disputes, with the single exception of the Lawrence strike of 1912 and perhaps one or two other textile strikes, none of these dislocations have been a source of real and serious trouble.

Statistics of Strikes and Lockouts (1887–1912)

In the table below appears the record of strikes and lockouts in Massachusetts during the past thirty years. A glance at this table will show that strikes in Massachusetts, despite the steady increase in the number of industrial concerns, have been proportionately decreasing during the past few years. The high point in the number of strikes came in 1919, when 396 industrial disturbances were recorded. An explanation of this peak number does not lie in any conditions peculiar to the industrial situation in Massachusetts. It was the year of postwar industrial troubles which swept over the entire country, and which were a part of the process of readjustment following the termination of the abnormal economic activity produced by the demands of the war upon manufacturing resources.

Table of Massachusetts Strikes and Lockouts
(1887–1929)

Year	Number of Strikes	Year	Number of Strikes	Year	Number of Strikes
1887	142	1901	258	1916	not available
1888	100	1902	245	1917	353
1889	130	1903	255	1918	347
1890	158	1904	202	1919	396
1891	145	1905	201	1920	377
1892	162	1906	213	1921	201
1893	175	1907	236	1922	139
1894	131	1908	98	1923	271
1895	74	1909	183	1924	97
1896	46	1910	242	1925	162
1897	65	1911	222	1926	113
1898	43	1912	294	1927	70
1899	77	1913-14	not available	1928	95
1900	79	1915	383	1929	77

Massachusetts Board of Conciliation and Arbitration
(1886–1930)

It will be seen that the years which have followed this post-war readjustment have witnessed a steady decrease in the number of strikes until the totals for the past three years have reached the lowest marks recorded in nearly half a century. One reason for the fact that the record in Massachusetts as to industrial disputes is so low will be found in the machinery which the state has set up to handle labor troubles. One of the first states in the Union to establish a state board of conciliation and arbitration, Massachusetts has long set an example of the effective co-operation which the State can give to both capital and labor in adjusting the inevitable disagreements that arise over wages and working conditions.

While Massachusetts has in a few isolated instances perhaps failed to achieve its own high standards in meeting labor problems yet over a period of more than forty years it has set an example to other states in connection with arbitration machinery. Other states have patterned their own policies upon the progressive and essentially democratic methods which Massachusetts has consistently used, as a Commonwealth, in judicating whatever relations have existed between capital and labor within her border.

The State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, organized in 1886, consists of three members, one representing the employers, one representing labor and a third member chosen by the other two. Whenever a strike or lockout is seriously threatened or has actually occurred, the law provides that the board must offer its mediatory services. The task of mediator which the board performs requires tact and skill in bringing the parties together. In the final analysis every industrial dispute can be really settled only by the parties directly concerned.

A flood of legislation has inundated the country, such as the Kansas Industrial Court Act and other similar measures, which aimed at making the State an arbitrary and fully empowered judge. A few years ago it was attracting nationwide attention, but it has now begun to ebb. We realize today —and the fact is clearly shown by the success of the Massachusetts system in this respect—that industry itself must meet its own responsibilities. The employers and the workers jointly must determine their mutual policies and programs of relationships. This realization has been the basis of the Massachusetts law, which with other Bay State measures has been in the forefront of wise labor legislation, and has served as models for other States and other countries to copy.

Methods of the Massachusetts Arbitration Board

The State board will frequently bring two discordant parties together by securing beforehand from each side a conditional compromise agreement. For example, a textile strike in two Massachusetts mills was thus successfully terminated in 1912. The hours of women workers had been reduced from 56 to 54 a week in conformity to the new state law. The hours of all other employees were similarly reduced. This brought up sharply the question of wages, the workers demanding a 15% increase and the employers being willing to give 5%. A long drawn out and bitter controversy seemed inevitable; but the State board, through separate negotiations first with one side and then with the other, was able to find a compromise figure on which both sides agreed. The very next day the permanent agreement was ratified before the board by both management and strikers.

It should be said that the State board, on the occasion of the Lawrence strike of 1912, did all in its power to prevent the disaster which occurred. The representatives of the employers who were on the scene were not accustomed to the principles of collective bargaining. They were not used to acting together without specific orders from those who had financial control of the mills involved. Moreover, the strike leaders were officials of what was to the employers an outlaw labor union—the Industrial Workers of the World—who were regarded as revolutionists and dangerous agitators. The management of the mills refused to deal with them in any way. Consequently the strike had to go on until finally the employers decided that they were willing to deal with the strikers as a body and through their selected representatives.

Ex Parte Investigations by the Board (1912)

Another extremely valuable function of the board is an investigation in every case where mediation by the board is not followed by a settlement, for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of the walk-out or strike and of placing the responsibility and blame, if any, for its existence or continuance.

The value of a public investigation and the publication of its findings by the board in an important strike was illustrated in the Boston Street Car Strike of 1912. This strike followed the discharge of a number of men, apparently for joining the newly formed union or for aiding in its organization. The company replaced a large proportion of the men by strike breakers and attempted to maintain its service. It took the ground that it had filled the places of the men who had left and was operating its cars satisfactorily and that there was no strike on its lines. It refused, therefore, to confer with the strikers. The workers were willing to arbitrate but the company was not. About three weeks after the strike was inaugurated, the strikers requested the board to hold an investigation.

The board held a series of hearings and made a report. In its report the board stated that the men were justified in believing that "many of the employes had been discharged for joining the union, or for activity in its formation and that many of the company's cars are being operated by men whose conduct does not meet the approval of the travelling public." It added a recommendation that the parties attempt by conference to arrive at an amicable settlement. About a week later an agreement was reached by the company and the representatives of the union, in which it was provided that certain matters with reference to which the parties were unable to agree would be left to the State board for final decision.

Advantages of the Massachusetts Arbitration System

Another advantage of the Massachusetts system is that, once the state's mediation activities are accepted by the parties to the dispute, the workers must return to work and remain working until the arbitration proceedings have been completed. This further helps to cut down the tremendous waste in earnings and in production which rolls up so terrific a bill against industry throughout the United States every year.

A very significant aspect of the conditions affecting labor in Massachusetts has been the development of protective legislation. While there is today a basic similarity among the various state laws regulating hours and wages, and providing compensation for injuries resulting from industrial accidents, and guarding against unsanitary and dangerous working conditions, it should not be forgotten that in the initiation of such state protection, Massachusetts has always been a pioneer.

Extra-official Agencies

Most of the efforts to better the condition of the workers by legislative enactment, have arisen within their own ranks. Nevertheless, considerable support and in some instances the initial impulse to action has come from social groups whose immediate material interests did not necessarily suggest their participation, but whose humanitarian ideals spurred them to improve the conditions of labor. This found early expression particularly in regard to the safeguarding of women and minors.

Among organizations which have been identified with such movements in Massachusetts are the Consumers League and the Women's Trade Union League. The very extensive employment of women and minors in the industries of the Commonwealth has undoubtedly made a strong appeal wherever ameliorative labor laws were under discussion; and it can hardly be denied that this characteristic of the Massachusetts labor situation has strongly influenced both the direction and the nature of the legislation elsewhere.

A glance at the statistics of employment in Massachusetts factories is interesting in this connection. The number and percentage of men, women, and minors working in Massachusetts industrial establishments from 1890 to 1920 were as follows:

MEN, WOMEN AND MINOR WORKERS IN MASSACHUSETTS

	Men		Women		Minors	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1890	305,151		133,452		8,667	
1900	341,783	68.7	143,109	28.7	12,556	2.6
1910	390,544	66.9	173,280	29.6	20,735	3.5
1920	478,270	67.0	212,009	29.7	23,557	3.3

Public Labor Bureaus (1869–1930)

In general, measures of this nature have been advocated by the workers themselves, usually through their regular organizations. For example, it was primarily in response to petitions by the labor unions that Massachusetts established in 1869 a bureau for the investigation of labor conditions, the first permanent state bureau of its kind in the world. As an initial step toward the sane and systematic consideration of the elements to be dealt with under an industrial civilization, this was epoch making. The example was followed by the Federal Government, which in 1884 created the Department of Labor; and similar departments are functioning today in forty states as well as in practically all nations where the rise of modern industrial technique has created differences of interest between capital and labor.

These fact-finding labor bureaus are barometers of what is taking place in the various important phases of labor activity throughout the industrial world today. Their importance cannot be overestimated because they represent a step toward placing business and industry on a scientific basis and permit the better comprehension of labor problems by this clearing-house method of assembling, digesting, and making public the essential and ever-changing facts concerning labor. It was Massachusetts that blazed the way in setting up this labor machinery years before the other states saw its wisdom. The figures and percentages covering the two latest periods in the ten leading manufacturing industries of the Commonwealth are as follows:

TEN LEADING INDUSTRIES IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1909

	Men		Women		Minors	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Boots and Shoes	53,243	64.1	26,746	32.2	3,073	3.7
Cotton Goods	55,765	51.2	46,942	43.1	6,208	5.7
Woolen, Worsted & Felt Goods	30,277	56.2	20,472	38.0	3,124	5.8
Foundry and Machine Shop Products	42,942	97.2	663	1.5	574	1.3
Printing and Publishing	12,290	70.1	4,751	27.1	491	2.8
Slaughtering and Meat Packing	3,265	98.2	36	1.1	24	0.7
Paper and Wood Pulp	8,364	65.1	4,355	33.9	129	1.0
Leather	10,067	98.2	133	1.3	52	0.5
Electrical Machinery (1)	11,432	78.8	2,945	20.3	130	0.9
Bread and other Bakery Products	5,244	78.3	1,272	19.0	181	2.7

TEN LEADING INDUSTRIES IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1919

	Men		Women		Minors	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Cotton Goods	64,475	51.0	50,919	43.2	7,105	5.8
Boots and Shoes	48,340	60.3	28,619	35.7	3,207	4.0
Worsted Goods	18,801	51.8	15,208	41.9	2,287	6.3
Leather	13,783	90.8	1,245	8.2	152	1.0
Foundry and Machine Shop Products	48,936	94.7	2,323	4.5	411	0.8
Slaughtering and Meat Packing	4,207	97.7	91	2.1	9	0.2
Woolen Goods	12,016	68.4	5,147	29.3	405	2.3
Rubber Tires, tubes and other goods	7,995	85.0	1,317	14.0	94	1.0
Electrical Machinery (1)	17,773	74.4	5,924	24.8	192	0.8
Paper and Wood Pulp	9,551	73.7	3,357	25.9	52	0.4

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(1) Includes electrical apparatus and supplies

While some changes are noted in the relative importance of the industries in the thirty-year period covered by these tables, it is true that women have always been numerous in the textile, boot and shoe, rubber shoe and confectionary industries. The expansion of electrical products has also brought to the fore a great industry where women workers are highly valued.

Other Legal Regulations of Labor

One of the labor laws initiated in this State which attracted widespread interest and controversy was the minimum-wage law. This was far from being the first intrusion of the state between employer and employees in the matter of wages. During a long period of years Massachusetts has adopted laws to forbid the assignment of wages to secure loans; to require the payment of wages in working hours in factories employing 100 or more workers; to forbid mulcting of workers through the "company store"; and to make wages a preferred claim against the employer. A requirement especially in the interests of women and minors provided that no deductions shall be made from their wages where breakdown of machinery involves stoppage of work, if the employees are required to remain upon the premises.

Principles of Minimum-Wage Laws

The minimum-wage law involves a new principle—the setting of a wage, based not on the cost of production or the pressure of competition but upon the living requirements of the employee. This principle obtained wide application during the war period, when wage agreements and wage scales affecting large groups were based upon cost of living investigations. It still plays a very considerable part in wage negotiations of the present.

In 1912, however, when the Massachusetts minimum-wage law was enacted, this principle had received little practical recognition in the setting of wage scales. That legislation was destined to put in motion a series of similar laws in other states, designed to ensure to women workers a fair living wage; and they were followed by a series of suits attacking their constitutionality. Among the most important were the cases in the Supreme Court on the Oregon act in 1914 and 1917; and in 1923 the United States Supreme Court decision to the effect that the District of Columbia act, in so far as it applied to women workers, is unconstitutional. It will be seen, therefore, that the Massachusetts act has an importance in the general trend of the labor movement which transcends its effects within the borders of the state.

Massachusetts Minimum-Wage Law

What were the provisions of this minimum-wage law and what its more immediate effects? Provision is made for investigation, in any particular occupation, of the wages paid to female employees; and for determination whether such wages will "supply the necessary cost of living and maintain the worker in health." An adequate wage based upon such an investigation is fixed by a joint wage board of employers, employees and representatives of the public. If the wage rate thus determined is accepted, it is put into effect and the names of employers failing to adopt it are advertised in the newspapers. The law, therefore, is not mandatory and its only teeth are the threat of publicity to those failing to comply. A recent refusal by the *Boston Transcript* to publish the name of a delinquent shows the weakness of this recommendatory type of law.

The working of the law has been only partially satisfactory, because of the difficulty of enforcement, the slowness of its working, and the clumsiness of the wage-board machinery. As most of the wage rates were set during a period of rising wages, the competitive minimum rate frequently was higher or soon became higher than the minimum rate. Where the wage market was little affected by competition, however, the majority of the employees were paid the minimum rate or less.

The significance of the Massachusetts minimum wage law is rather in the educational effect which it had on public opinion both within the Commonwealth and over the whole country. Through the attention which it turned upon conditions of employment it made a large contribution to the establishment of that enlightened attitude which holds that the ultimate success of any industry must be based on the human welfare of its employees as well as on the profits of its stockholders.

Hours of Labor (1842–1930)

Not only in relation to wages, but also as to hours—the other great fundamental of working conditions—Massachusetts has shown her leadership in regulation of hours of work by its ten-hour law for children (1842). In our day this would hardly be pointed to as a progressive piece of legislation. Considered in relation to the time—a time when the textile supremacy of England was being built upon the toil of little children—it marked an advanced social consciousness.

This statute marked the initiation of a long struggle on the part of labor unions and reformers to shorten working hours. It was, of course, the purpose to reduce hours for both men and women.

A child leaving school now must first show evidence that he is at least fourteen years of age. After reaching sixteen, study may be given up entirely, provided the requirements of the sixth grade of grammar school have been met. Otherwise, the child must attend evening school. To leave at fourteen, continuation school courses must be taken four hours a week, which time is included in the forty-eight hours of work allowed. The continuation school work is supervised by the state, but handled directly by the individual cities and towns, certain fundamental subjects being prescribed, such as arithmetic, manual training and domestic science. But to the public at large the plight of women and minor workers laboring long hours made a particularly keen appeal. It often happened that favorable legislation secured through this sympathy for the weaker employees affected all employees. Thus the benefits of the 48-hour law passed in 1918 are also enjoyed in actual practice by the male workers in those industries where large numbers of women and minors are employed. Massachusetts, among the earliest to pass such a law for women and children, is one of the first States to add legislation favoring the men also.

Protection of Life and Health (1890–1930)

Legislation directed toward the health and safety of workers was also in many instances concerned with the safeguarding of women employees. By a law passed in 1890, applicable to manufacturing and mercantile establishments, Massachusetts was the first to forbid night work for women. Other progressive laws protecting health with which this state came to the fore regulated conditions for workers in compressed air, and required twenty-four hours' rest twice a month for railroad workers directing movements of trains. The law for one day's rest in seven was passed in 1913, and many other acts safeguard health.

In the field of industrial safety, which has received constantly increasing attention in recent years, Massachusetts was the first to require the reporting of industrial accidents and is still the only state requiring guards in textile establishments to safeguard employees against injury from flying shuttles. As early as 1877 Massachusetts, in the first American law requiring factory safeguards, touched on nearly every point included in the most advanced accident-prevention statutes of today. The Massachusetts Board of Boiler Rules, established in 1907, by adopting standards and providing for inspection of stationary boilers, was (according to Commons and Andrews) "one of the earliest forerunners of the industrial commission plan of drafting and enforcing safety measures."

Prospects for Massachusetts Labor

Recently developed industrial conditions have helped to widen the industrial horizon for New England. The growth and enrichment of the newer sections of the country have immensely augmented the demand for Massachusetts staples, and has tremendously stimulated our facility in conceiving and inaugurating new industries. Massachusetts has begun to understand that the great manufacturing asset of New England is brains—in part the brains of the men who have the money and the courage to install new industries, and particularly the brains of the skilled artisans who have been bred to expertness through several generations. This asset of brains will operate to maintain our manufacturing prestige so long as the asset of trained and productive labor is itself maintained.

This suggests one of the more important and interesting questions connected with industrial development everywhere—the training of specialized workmen through successive generations. This development is not in harmony with the strict republicanism of America, and yet it is becoming one of our industrial assets. The specializing of industrial knowledge and skill, by handing craftsmanship down from one generation to another, is one of the chief elements of strength in German and English industrial life, although in another sense one of the elements of social inertness in those countries. In America the influence of trade craftsmanship is at present amalgamated with social and socialistic interests in such fashion as to obscure judgment of it as an industrial asset.

Permanent Advantages of Massachusetts

The tremendous progress which machinery has made during the past few years has a tendency to sweep into oblivion the skilled craftsman. A sturdy group of artisans of the old school, however, still remain in New England and continue to give to the industrial products of Massachusetts and the other New England states the superior quality and finish which no machine has yet been able to imitate. In other words, while mass production has shifted certain sections of industry, a supremacy of production remains secure within various sections of the country. As time goes on there will doubtless come a fusion in New England of the machine and the skilled craftsman so that the best qualities of each may be put into the manufactured product.

Any appraisal of Massachusetts assets in terms of industrial possibilities must include an appreciation of the character of the workers in our Commonwealth—a character which has been developed out of the stern requirements of a region singularly lacking in natural resources to aid man's efforts. Massachusetts and all New England have been called the workshop of the nation. In fact, before the development of the country assumed coast-to-coast proportions, New England was engaged in the production of all kinds of manufactures that the rest of the country used.

Since then times and conditions have altered the advantages which were alone ours at first. We know that there is and must be a certain fitness of locality for the manufacture of certain goods. We realize today that machinery in which iron is a more important constituent than workmanship should be made nearer the supply of iron and coal than we are located; and that machinery and utensils used wholly outside New England must be made nearer to their place of sale and use.

These truths have caused certain inevitable readjustments in the industrial life of the state and certain dislocations of labor occurred until the adjustments were made. For the future there are tremendous possibilities of growth of Massachusetts industries.

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CHAPTER XV

RELIGIOUS FORCES
(1889–1929)

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Magnitude of the Subject

The last forty years have been in Massachusetts years of the advancing penetration of religion. The home of schools and colleges, the old Commonwealth has led in the printing of religious articles in papers and magazines. The young, though perhaps not as interested as their fathers in the organized Church, are eager to discuss among themselves and with religious teachers the deeper issues of life, and are as restless in their search as the ancient Athenians who worshipped an unknown God. Institutions abound, such as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations; the Federation of Churches, organized for the whole Commonwealth and for certain cities; the hospitals and the merciful homes for the care of the unfortunate. All are witnesses to the power of religion. As one goes in and out among the cities, towns, and villages the beauty of the new churches bears testimony to the value which the citizens of Massachusetts put upon the worship of God and the desire to honour Him. It is evident, even to the casual observer who thinks at all, that religion is steadily growing in influence and power in the lives of the people.

The fruit of true religion is character. There have been gains and losses; but for the most part, we may believe, there is a higher standard in business, stricter honour in the keeping of the law, a more alert willingness to make sacrifices for great causes (as was shown in the World War), and a larger spirit of brotherhood and loving-kindness, of practical everyday religion.

To assess the religious forces in the Commonwealth is difficult because the units are varied. Therefore, in this brief summary of the religious forces from 1889 to 1929, it will be necessary to glance at some of the salient facts in each of the various religious organizations which stand for the cultivation of character in the service of God.

The Congregationalists

Massachusetts is the hearthstone of Congregationalism in this country. Though each local church is a separate self-governing entity, it has for half a century been found necessary to establish a central council for all Congregational Churches. The function of this council was considered purely advisory till 1913, when it assumed, with common approval, wide practical power. The only permanent officer is the general secretary, the moderator being chosen for a term of only two years. The office of this council was fixed in Boston, until it was removed to New York in 1919. The dignified Congregational House, with its large hall and its bookshop, at 14 Beacon Street, Boston, bears eloquent witness to the strength of Congregationalism in Massachusetts.

The famous American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, established in 1812, continues to be supported largely by Massachusetts, though not exclusively, and its offices are in Boston. The Board maintains a distinguished policy in education and medicine as well as in evangelism. It strives more than ever to build up national churches in the countries it serves. China, Turkey, and India have especial reason for gratitude to its missions. The president of this beneficent organization since 1914 has been Dr. Edward C. Moore, who, in addition to this service, has been for twenty-three years the chairman of the Board of Preachers of Harvard University, building up the religious services of Appleton Chapel.

Congregational Seminaries

Many eminent Congregational preachers and pastors have come forward in the strong churches of Massachusetts, among whom may be mentioned Dr. A. Z. Conrad, the conservative pastor of the old Park Street Church in Boston, familiarly known as "Brimstone Corner"; Dr. Wickes, of Holyoke; Dr.

Gilkey, of Springfield; and Dr. George A. Gordon, of the New Old South Church in Boston. Dr. Gordon resisted all invitations to turn aside to lesser things, and devoted himself to the end of his life to the work of a Christian preacher, giving forth such books as *The Christ of Today, Aspects of the Infinite Mystery,* and *Revelation and the Ideal.* He gave leadership to the Congregational pulpit throughout the land.

The education of the ministry of the denomination in Massachusetts was for many decades centered in Andover Theological Seminary, which since 1889 has passed through several crises. In 1892 the appeal of Dr. Egbert Smyth against the authority of the Visitors to determine the theological conditions of the faculty was sustained by the courts; and after 1889 the Visitors themselves became more liberal. Nevertheless the school dwindled. To save its life a special meeting of the Board of Trustees voted in 1908 to remove it from Andover to Cambridge, where it became affiliated with Harvard Divinity School, the faculties of the two schools remaining distinct. In 1922, however, the faculties were united, under the name of the Theological School in Harvard University. In the same year the restless Visitors of Andover brought action in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts to set aside this affiliation; and in 1925, the court decided that the teaching was not in accordance with the creed, and sustained the contention of the Visitors. All the Andover professors resigned, but Dean Sperry and Professor Arnold were taken over by Harvard University. Andover now offers no teaching, and rents its building to the University. The dean now adds to his duties in Harvard Divinity School the leadership of the religious work in the whole university, as chairman of the Board of Preachers.

During the last forty years the most distinguished members of the faculty have been Professor Lyon, authority in the Semitic culture; Professor Toy, a great Hebraist; and Professor George Foote Moore, Arabist, generally called the most learned theologian in the country, whose books are the tools of Biblical scholars everywhere.

The Methodists

The years from 1889 to 1928 have been fruitful for the

Methodist Church in Massachusetts. Under the leadership of Bishop Mallilieu, Bishop Hughes, and Bishop Anderson the church has manifested originality and steady advance.

A very beneficent work under the auspices of the Methodist Church in Massachusetts is the New England Deaconess Hospital, which was opened to patients in 1896. In 1927 the Palmer Memorial Hospital for cancer and other chronic cases was removed to a site in the same neighborhood; and the Deaconess Association has also a Health Home for Children in Natick, a Home for Aged Women in Concord, and a Nurses' Training School in Boston.

In 1912 the Methodist Church acquired a valuable site in Copley Square and there erected the Wesleyan Building, using several floors for the Methodist organizations. Here the Methodist Book Concern, the Ministers' Relief Insurance and Trust Association, the Methodist Historical Society, the Women's Missionary Societies, and *Zion's Herald* have their offices. In the basement is a convenient hall for ministers' meetings. This building is the business centre of the Methodist Church in Massachusetts, resembling the Congregational House.

The institution of which the Methodist Church in Massachusetts is justly most proud is Boston University. During the last forty years it has had the leadership of four wise and skilful presidents, William F. Warren, William E. Huntington, Lemuel H. Murlin, and Daniel L. Marsh. The University now cares each year for 14,000 students who come from many countries and go away with sound learning. Of the various departments of the university, the School of Religious Education and Social Service is in many ways unique. Under the guidance of Walter S. Athearn, the school has been a pioneer. The Methodist Theological Seminary on Mt. Vernon Street in Boston continues to be the chief source of an effective ministry in Massachusetts. There are now 398 students enrolled in the seminary.

Morgan Memorial

One of the most picturesque and valuable works of the Methodist Church in this period was the establishment of the

Courtesy of the Halliday Photograph Co.

Temple Israel, Boston

Courtesy of the Halliday Photograph Co.

Morgan Memorial, Boston

Good Will Industries, commonly called the Morgan Memorial, in the South End of Boston. A church edifice was about to be abandoned, because, though a gracious work had been accomplished in it by Mr. Morgan, the surrounding population had become foreign and alien to the ways of the Methodist Church. It was a time of unemployment. The neighbourhood never had needed Christianity so much, but the old methods could not lift it out of its misery and degradation.

Then the plan of the Good Will Industries was born. The old buildings were used at the initiation of the project, and other buildings have been added as people who could help were inspired to give aid. In general this is the plan. Bags are distributed among households in Boston and elsewhere into which may be put anything that can be made useful, till trucks are sent to collect them. The collector often finds broken furniture, stoves, and other large objects awaiting him. These trucks return to the Morgan Memorial in due time; and their loads are put in the great storeroom, where the articles are sorted. The shoes are sent to the cobblers' room; the clothes, to the tailors'; the furniture, to the carpenters', and so forth. In each room is an expert to teach men and women to work. Then two or three pairs of shoes are made into one sound and durable pair. Old clothes are cleaned and mended, and made presentable. Furniture is made whole and attractive. At last all these things find their way to the shop, where the needy can buy them for a small sum, for they get better values here than if they purchased new articles in regular shops.

Most of these workers are called "unemployable" because they are often too weak to do more than a few hours work a day, or because they are untrained. They can work here for as short a time as they like and receive pay for exactly what they do. The weekly payroll is about $5,200. At the same time they are taught how to work, so that at length they know how to do something well, and are able to do a full day's work elsewhere.

Every year over five thousand needy men and women are helped through the Good Will Industries; and the help is not merely material. Informal Christian services are held in the early morning and at noon for those who will come; and there are wise friends always at hand to give sympathy and counsel. Religion is the motive of this benevolence, and the people who bless God for it must know that it is His inspiration which has brought it about. Central in this movement as its inspiration is an organization called the Church of All Nations, which offers Christian faith and worship to peoples of many races in their own languages.

The Baptists

The largest single congregation of any fellowship in Massachusetts is the gathering of Baptists and others which crowds Tremont Temple in Boston Sunday after Sunday. Here Dr. J. C. Massee has preached inspiring sermons. An ardent fundamentalist, he has called upon both the fundamentalists and the modernists in his communion to sink their differences; and, putting the supreme emphasis on the reality of the spiritual life, to devote themselves wholly to evangelism. This appeal has had a wide and beneficent influence. Dr. Massee has been a genuine prophet.

This spirit of cooperation has been shown also in the growing importance of the Massachusetts Baptist Convention, which has merged the diverse interests of the church for the common good, and gives especial attention to work in rural communities and among the foreign-born. Great parishes, besides Tremont Temple, are: the Dudley Street Church and the Clarendon Street Church in Boston; the First Churches in Springfield and Fall River; and the Churches in Malden and West Somerville. Dr. A. J. Gordon's books have had a gracious message for thousands of readers.

The centre of the work of the Baptists in Massachusetts is Ford Hall on Beacon Hill, hard by the State House. It serves all sorts of purposes, chief among them being the Ford Hall Forum, begun in 1908, led by George W. Coleman, and supported by the Boston Baptist Social Union through the Daniel Sharp Ford fund. In 1928 the support of this useful adventure was thrown upon the larger community. Here men of conviction and varied points of view have for years presented their views, challenging and answering questions from the eager audience. The Ford Hall Forum has been the pioneer of such forums throughout the country, and President Coolidge called the institution "a vital influence in Boston and a good example for other communities."

Perhaps the highest fruit of Baptist devotion is the great School of Theology in Newton Centre. Here George Edwin Horr was a teacher from 1903; in 1908 he became president, and has brought the School fully up to university standard, so winning an alliance with Harvard. When he resigned his distinguished office in 1925, it was given into the capable hands of Dr. Everett C. Herrick, under whom the school pursues its upward course. Altogether the Baptists have made an impressive contribution to the religious life of Massachusetts in the last forty years.

The Episcopal Church

In 1889 the Rt. Rev. Benjamin H. Paddock was bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts, which then included the whole Commonwealth. He was a faithful and skilful administrator and the Episcopal Church had grown under his leadership. For two decades the inspiration of the diocese, as indeed of the whole Church, was the rector of Trinity Church in Boston, Phillips Brooks. The whole community, especially the youth of Harvard College, looked up to him as a great spiritual genius and leader. Every church he visited, as well as Trinity Church, was thronged when he preached, and his influence for good was beyond estimate.

In 1891, after the death of Bishop Paddock, Phillips Brooks was elected to succeed him. What he had done for a parish, he now did for the whole Commonwealth. His tall and massive form, his beautiful face, and his swift and eloquent utterance became the possession of the community. The Diocesan House was opened on Joy Street, and the diocese, which had steadily grown under Bishop Paddock, became, under Bishop Brooks, an institution conscious of its large possibilities. Phillips Brooks gave himself untiringly to the work, till sudden death came to him in 1893.

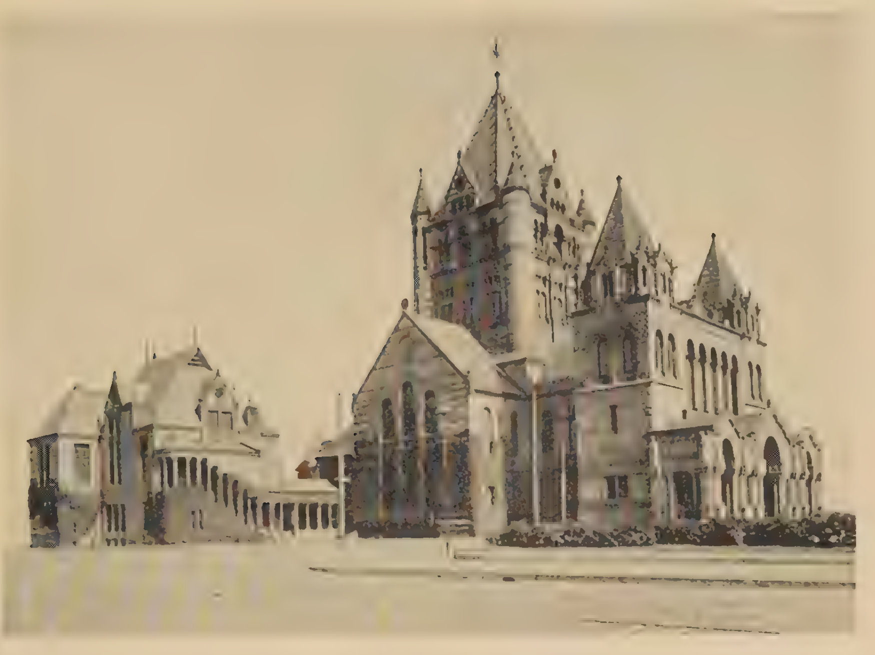
The Rev. William Lawrence, dean of the Episcopal Theological School, succeeded Brooks as Bishop. This school was then at one of the peaks in its history. Dr. A. V. G. Allen, the professor of church history, brought out during this period his *Life of Jonathan Edwards, Christian Institutions,* and *The Life of Phillips Brooks.* He stood as a teacher and lecturer on the same high level that Brooks occupied as a preacher. Dr. Henry S. Nash was also a spiritual genius and an inspiring teacher. His *Genesis of the Social Conscience* is his best book and was written at this time. Dr. George Hodges came from Calvary Church, Pittsburgh, to succeed Dr. Lawrence as dean, and to write many volumes which had wide reading and influence. Dr. Edward S. Drown, Dean Henry B. Washburn, and Rev. Angus Dun, are among the teachers who have made this school deservedly famous throughout the Church and have made it a school for the aspirants to leadership in the whole country and not merely for Massachusetts.

In 1901 the Diocese of Massachusetts was divided, all lying west of the eastern boundary of Worcester County (except Southborough) being formed into a new diocese, called Western Massachusetts, the eastern section retaining the old title, the Diocese of Massachusetts. The first bishop of this new diocese was the rector of All Saints' Church, Worcester, Dr. A. H. Vinton, who was succeeded in 1911 by Rev. T. F. Davies.

The Episcopal Clergy

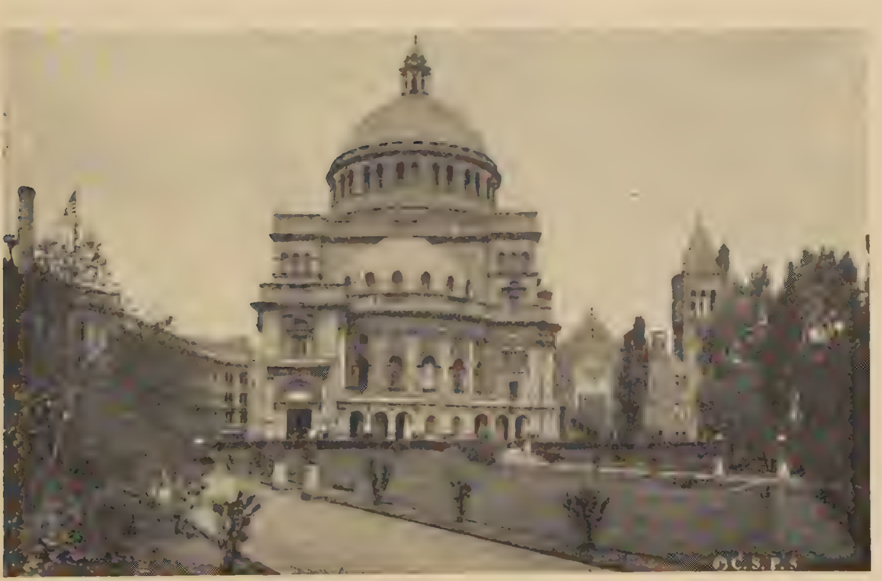
In 1904 the General Convention of the Episcopal Church met in Boston, bringing not only bishops and deputies from all parts of the nation and the mission field, but also Dr. Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Percival, Bishop of Hereford, and Dr. Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon. This was the first visit of an archbishop of Canterbury to America.

In 1912, by taking advantage of a large bequest of the Misses Walker, a cathedral became possible in Boston, and St. Paul's Church gave up its parochial status and became the cathedral of the diocese. The first dean was Dr. E. S. Rousmaniere, whose genius as an administrator and as a spiritual leader carried the influence of the cathedral far beyond the bounds of New England. He was succeeded in 1926 by Dr. P. F. Sturges. Situated in the heart of the rapid



Courtesy of the Halliday Historic Photograph Co.

Trinity Church, Boston



Courtesy of the Christian Science Publishing Co.

The First Church of Christ Scientist, in Boston

transit system of metropolitan Boston, its many services on both Sundays and weekdays are thronged by people of all classes and kinds.

In 1913, Bishop Lawrence wished to give himself to interests of the general church, and a suffragan bishop was elected for Massachusetts, Rev. S. G. Babcock, with special charge of the missionary work of the diocese. Bishop Lawrence then achieved for the Church a pension fund for the support of retired clergy, the fund now amounting to $18,000,000; each parish pays a premium upon its rector's life, so that the fund will be adequate indefinitely. Bishop Lawrence also led, in 1923, in raising an additional endowment of a million dollars for the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. Meantime, under his devoted leadership, the diocese has grown in every way, both materially and spiritually. In 1922 the Rev. Charles L. Slattery, Rector of Grace Church, in New York, was elected bishop coadjutor; and on the resignation of Dr. Lawrence in 1927, Dr. Slattery became bishop of Massachusetts.

During this period the great parishes of Massachusetts have been guided by such men as Dr. Leighton Parks and Dr. Elwood Worcester at Emmanuel Church, Boston; Dr. E. W. Donald, Dr. Alexander Mann, and Rev. H. K. Sherrill at Trinity Church, Boston; Dr. W. B. Frisbee and Dr. W. H. van Allen at the Church of the Advent, Boston; Rev. J. C. Brooks (a brother of Phillips Brooks) and Dr. W. Austin Smith at Christ Church, Springfield; and Rev. H. W. Hobson at All Saints' Church, Worcester.

Four church schools for boys have been established within Massachusetts: Groton, under Dr. Endicott Peabody during this whole period; St. Mark's in Southborough, under W. E. Peck and Dr. W. G. Thayer; Brooks School in North Andover, under F. A. Ashburn; and Lenox School at Lenox, under Rev. Gardner Monks. All these schools are open to boys out of the whole nation and in return serve the nation through able and faithful alumni.

The Unitarians

The leading Unitarian in 1889 was, without doubt, Edward Everett Hale. Picturesque, tall, stooping, with long hair, with wide-brimmed hat, he was a familiar figure on the Boston streets. His power as a preacher was somewhat diminished by his versatility. He would often enter the pulpit with seven or eight volumes, from which he would quote. He wrote amusing and instructive stories; he founded beneficent movements; and, in general, his energies were far flung. He knew that he lost much by his scattering fire; but an increasing number of friendly readers followed his counsels, and there is no measuring of the good he did and the inspiration which came from him.

King's Chapel, an ancient and beautiful building, formerly a parish of the Church of England, has continued through these forty years to use a prayer book, very much revised, and yet to remain a Unitarian Church. It has had in this period distinguished and able ministers, Dr. Foote, Dr. Brown, and Dr. Speight. Lately it has been maintaining week-day services at noon, at which sermons are preached by clergy from many communions, including the Church of England. An English clergyman, picking up a prayer book, said, "Our Prayer Book has been watered; hasn't it?" "Oh, no," the minister of King's Chapel answered, "only washed."

Brooke Herford, an Englishman, was, in the early part of this period, the loved pastor of the Arlington Street Church in Boston, and a preacher at Harvard. Devout and earnest, his sermons made a wide appeal. A Harvard student, now Bishop Roots of Hankow in China, moved again and again by his preaching at Appleton Chapel, went to call on him at Wadsworth House, and said: "Dr. Herford, you are not really a Unitarian, are you? You seem to be thoroughly orthodox." Whereupon the preacher stood up before the youth and said emphatically, "Young man, I am a Unitarian from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet." The youth laughed and was not convinced: he still believed that his hero had the same loyalties as himself. Another pastor of the Arlington Street Church and preacher at Harvard was Paul Revere Frothingham. Full of kindness, happy, he drew to him many friends. He was an enthusiastic believer in the League of Nations.

The Educators

The old First Church in Cambridge has been distinguished by the pastorates of Francis Greenwood Peabody and Samuel McChord Crothers. Dr. Peabody later devoted himself wholly to Harvard as Plummer Professor and as chairman of the Board of Preachers. His books—especially, *Jesus Christ and Christian Character, Jesus Christ and the Social Question,* and *Mornings in the College Chapel*—have had a wide influence; and his last book, *Reminiscences of Present-Day Saints,* by which he commemorates those who have influenced him, tells modestly the achievements of his own career.

Among other notable Massachusetts Unitarians whose lives extended into this period, are Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, Plummer Professor Emeritus, long the "Grand Old Man" of Harvard College and a familiar figure in the Harvard Yard; his white hair and benign face were symbols of the reverent and noble character within the man, and the students gave him admiration and love. Professor Charles C. Everett was a profound philosopher, long a teacher in the Harvard Divinity School. For many years, till his death in 1928, Dr. Crothers was the pastor of the old First Church, preaching inspiring sermons, and writing books of whimsical humour and of genial wisdom, which carried his message of sanity and good cheer out to the edges of the world.

The most conspicuous Unitarian not only of Massachusetts but of the country was President Charles William Eliot of Harvard. Long after he resigned his office as president of the university, he continued to write on all kinds of subjects, including religious themes. His son, Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, was for most of this period president of the Unitarian Association, a national organization whose seat is in the Unitarian House, Boston. In 1927 the dignified old brownstone building at Beacon and Bowdoin Streets was sold, and the association removed to still more stately quarters in a house on the State House grounds, built especially for their needs. Dr. Eliot in 1927 succeeded Dr. Frothingham as pastor of the Arlington Street Church, and the Rev. Louis C. Cornish succeeded Dr. Eliot as president of the Unitarian Association.

During the last forty years, the religious education of Unitarian children has advanced along modern lines of general education. In public worship there has been marked enrichment both in the music and in the architecture of the buildings. While some Unitarian Churches have shown a tendency towards extreme liberalism, the tendency of the Massachusetts Churches has been in general towards a more positive and spiritual interpretation of life, with deeper effort to follow the example of Jesus Christ.

One of the most effective influences for the whole Church is the sending out week by week of what is known as "The Wayside Pulpit"—striking sentences, boldly printed, posted on bulletin boards of many churches throughout the country. These are compiled by a Unitarian minister of Boston, the Rev. Henry Hallam Saunderson. The Unitarian churches have been effective power houses for good citizenship, sound education, and practical benevolence. Many of the leaders of the Commonwealth in all that is most honourable and most loving have been and are devout members of the Unitarian Church.

The Universalists

In the period covered by this volume the Universalists have largely changed the emphasis in their teaching and preaching. Massachusetts has been the stronghold of the denomination. What is known as the "larger hope," by which men said, "God is love and eventually will save all men," is now the cherished hope of most Christians, whatever logic may compel them to think. So the distinctive mission of Universalists seems to have been accomplished; and these people are giving themselves to practical work, such as the Franklin Square House, founded by Dr. G. L. Perin, where one thousand working girls live.

Feeling the need of a "platform," the Boston Ministers' Meeting substituted for the famous Winchester Profession of Belief, the following five principles: "The Universal Fatherhood of God; The Spiritual Authority and Leadership of His Son, Jesus Christ; The Trustworthiness of the Bible as Containing a Revelation from God; The Certainty of Just Retribution for Sin; The Final Harmony of all Souls with God." These principles were adopted by the Universalist General Convention, in Boston, in 1899.

The recognized leader of the Universalists was Dr. Alonzo Ames Miner, who died in 1895. To his large parish in Boston he added for a time the responsibility for the administration of Tufts College. Other notable leaders and preachers have been Dr. James Pullman, of Lynn; Dr. G. W. Bicknell, of Cambridge; Dr. Gunnison, of Worcester; Dr. Conklin, of Canton; Dr. Stephen H. Roblin, of Boston; Dr. Clarence E. Rice, of Springfield; and Dr. John Smith Lowe, general superintendent of the Universalist General Convention.

The most important general educational institution of the denomination is Tufts College, founded by Universalists, though frequented by students of all denominations. The presidents of Tufts College in this time have been Dr. E. H. Capen, Dr. Herman L. Bumpus and Dr. J. A. Cousens. The last-named guides the college today and is a strong administrator and a trusted friend of youth. Other leaders of the college have been Dean McCollester of the Crane Divinity School, Dr. F. O. Hall, and Dr. C. R. Skinner.

The Christian Leader is the official paper of Universalists, and has won a high place in church journalism under the editorship of Dr. G. H. Emerson, Dr. F. A. Bisbee, and Dr. van Schaick. Dr. Marshall, manager of the Universalist Publishing House, is one of the founders of the forum movement, and is known throughout the country for his good works.

The Christian Scientists

The most important event in the advancing history of Christian Science from 1889 to 1928 occurred in 1892, when Mrs. Eddy reorganized the Boston congregation and founded the Mother Church, called the First Church of Christ Scientist. This Boston church is the central body of all Christian Science, its administrative government being supreme throughout the denomination. All other Christian Science Churches are therefore organized as its branches.

Since the death in 1910 of Mary Baker G. Eddy, the founder of this remarkable movement, Mrs. Eddy has practically been canonized by her large following of disciples, and her famous book, *Science and Health,* is held by them in devout regard as second only to the Bible itself as a rule of faith and doctrine.

The central body is responsible for publishing the authorized literature of the movement, bringing out, since 1889, the first editions and final revisions of Mrs. Eddy's books: including *Retrospection and Introspection; Christ and Christmas; Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures; Unity of Good,* and *Poems.* It has also established and published in many languages *The Christian Science Quarterly*, which contains the citations from the Bible, and the Christian Science text books which are read in all the churches each Sunday; and *The Christian Science Sentinel* is published weekly. *The Christian Science Monitor* is published by a board representing the church, but does not assume to be the organ of the denomination. It is a truly international daily newspaper, a model of admirably arranged news of the world, clean and interesting, without propaganda.

In 1906 the Mother Church was enlarged by an addition seating five thousand people. Its dome is a landmark in Boston. The impressive group of buildings devoted to Christian Science occupies a triangle bounded by three streets. Forty-eight branch churches have been established in Massachusetts.

The present officers of the Mother Church are Dr. F. C. Colby, president, and Mrs. A. M. Knott, and Messrs. J. A. Neal, E. A. Merritt, W. R. Rathvon, and G. W. Adams, as directors. The "Readers" are Judge S. W. Greene and Miss M. E. Whitcomb. Mr. Ezra Palmer is clerk and Mr. E. L. Ripley is the treasurer. Mr. W. J. Abbot is the editor of *The Christian Science Monitor.* The whole government of the Christian Science Church is devoted and efficient, and many people bear witness to the awakening of new hope and the discovery of a life of prayer.

The Swedenborgians

The chief item of interest in the history of the Church of the New Jerusalem in these forty years is the removal of the Theological School from Boston to Cambridge in 1889. In its conspicuous location, opposite Harvard University on Quincy Street, with its beautiful Gothic chapel and with its other buildings, it has been increasingly useful. Its courses of study are supplemented by special courses in the university. Its students come from all parts of the world, from Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, England, Scotland, France, and recently from Japan.

Upon its removal to Cambridge, Dr. J. F. Wright became dean. He organized a religious society of Cambridge people and became their minister, leading their worship in the chapel of the school. The Rev. William L. Worcester, grandson of the first president, who became president in 1908, and minister of the Cambridge Society in 1911, has continued to maintain pleasant and useful relations with the community. Associated with him as principal of the school is the Rev. William F. Wunsch.

In 1894 the *New Jerusalem Magazine,* which had been established in 1827 by the Massachusetts Association, was changed from a monthly to a quarterly under the title of the *New Church Review,* in order to have more space for extended and weighty articles. The Rev. Theodore F. Wright the Rev. William H. Mayhew, the Rev. Henry Clinton Hay, and the Rev. Lewis F. Hite have successively been its editors. A New Church book shop, reading room, and publishing house is maintained in Boston, next door to the Boston church. This organization carries on the publicity work of the Rotch Trustees, and arranged for a complete edition of Swedenborg's theological works in 1907.

In 1906 the Neighbourhood House Association was formed, the purpose of which is "to maintain centers of Christian influence by means of Settlement Houses, Kindergartens, Day Nurseries, District Nursing, and Dispensaries." A location for the first center was sought where such activities did not already exist, and was found among the homes of the poor in Lynn. An old house was purchased, to which was afterwards added a large hall, and Mrs. Grace W. Gregg became the settlement worker. Now 1200 children come every week to the classes in dressmaking, millinery, basketry, and other industrial training, including a good kindergarten.

The largest church of this communion in the Commonwealth is on Bowdoin Street in Boston. It is 110 years old, and has had but three pastors. Since 1889, Rev. James Reed and Rev. Henry Clinton Hay have been the pastors. Mr.

Reed was a classmate and friend of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Phillips Brooks in the Boston Latin School and in Harvard College: after graduation from college, they began teaching together in the Boston Latin School.

The Presbyterians

The Presbyterian Church has never gained the strength in Massachusetts which it exhibits in many other parts of the country. Presbyterians moving into Massachusetts from Scotland and from New York and States farther to the westward have ordinarily become affiliated with some strong Congregational parish of their neighbourhood. In like manner Congregationalists from New England frequently, on moving into Pennsylvania and the West, have attached themselves to the strong Presbyterian Churches there. The difference of ecclesiastical polity does not worry the layman; and he likes to be identified with a hearty and reverent service which seems very much like the worship to which he has been accustomed.

The leaders of Presbyterianism say that this tendency of their members on coming to Massachusetts to become Congregationalists still persists; and it is reckoned that from eight to ten thousand original Presbyterians in Boston never enter a Presbyterian church. The outstanding event in the period since 1889 was the organization of the Synod of New England in 1913. This divided New England into four presbyteries: Boston, Newburyport, Providence, and Connecticut Valley. The parts of these presbyteries in Massachusetts have been guided by able and earnest men such as Dr. Robert Watson and Rev. J. A. McClelland of Boston; Rev. C. A. Fisher of Worcester; Dr. A. M. Paterson of Newburyport; Rev. T. R. Turner of Quincy; Rev. R. W. Anderson of New Bedford; and Dr. John Alison of Holyoke. Thus the sturdy integrity of Scotch character is maintained in the Presbyterians of Massachusetts.

The Salvation Army

The past forty years have witnessed the development of the Salvation Army as a world-wide organization for the salvation of neglected elements of human life. Its progress in Boston and other Massachusetts cities is typical of its work in every civilized land. In the first years its main activity was an intense evangelism, largely on street corners. Astonishing conversions were wrought among people who had been the despair of the Churches. Gradually the Army developed its educational and disciplinary work. Men who had been converted needed the means of physical cleanliness and other decencies of living, including proper housing, employment, and medical service.

In Massachusetts, the work centered for many years around one strong personality, Colonel William A. MacIntyre. Members of Colonel MacIntyre's family became rich; with similar gifts he devoted himself to building up the Salvation Army, and so gained for tens of thousands a better and happier life. The Army has acquired valuable property, both in the cities and in the country, providing workshops, schools, places of worship, hospitals, and fresh-air homes.

Meantime, while gaining in property, the Army has maintained its evangelistic fire. Though less conspicuous on the streets, holding fewer parades and fewer meetings in public squares with drums and tambourines, it seeks as intensely as in former years the fallen and the lost. The shrewd, practical methods of recent years are still guided by intense evangelism; and the constructive work of the Salvation Army is done by the powerful incentive of religious consecration.

The Roman Catholics

The Roman Catholic Church has made a notable advance in the last generation. Immigrants from Ireland, French Canada, and Latin Europe and their descendants account for most of the growth. Many of our industrial cities show the influence of this immigration, and even the smaller places, once strongholds of Puritanism, are now the homes of strong Roman Catholic congregations. Some of these congregations are composed of people who know little or no English, and are guided by priests of their own race and language. Gradually these people learn to speak the language of their adopted country, and so become more closely adjusted to American life.

Parochial schools provide instruction for the children of both American and foreign parents; and naturally the children learn to speak English much sooner than their parents. Hence with the younger generation the dissolving of the barriers of race and language is much more rapid than with those of mature years who are fixed in their habits.

Massachusetts is divided into three dioceses: the Archdiocese of Boston, of which Archbishop Williams and Cardinal O'Connell have been the prelates; the Diocese of Springfield, of which the bishops in this period have been Dr. P. T. O'Reilly, Dr. T. D. Beavan, and Dr. T. M. O'Leary; and the more recently founded Diocese of Fall River (1904), over which Bishop Stang and Bishop Feehan have presided. Monsignor Cassidy has been a great power for good in Fall River. Archbishop Williams is gratefully and lovingly remembered by a multitude within and without his communion in Boston. His death in 1907 was sincerely mourned by all the people. Archbishop O'Connell, who succeeded him, became a cardinal in 1911, and his Protestant friends, rejoicing with him in his honour, helped him largely in the restoration of his titular church in Rome, San Clemente, perhaps the most interesting of all the Roman churches.

Cardinal O'Connell is an able administrator, and about one hundred new churches, schools, convents, monasteries, hospitals, asylums, colleges, and academies are the visible evidence of the progress which his Church has made under his administration.

The style of architecture of Catholic churches has markedly improved. Such churches as St. Paul's in Cambridge and St. Catherine's in Somerville are noble examples of the Byzantine architecture, with their bell towers and their mosaics. Most conspicuous of all this material growth is Boston College. Formerly in cramped quarters on Harrison Avenue in Boston, it now has a very beautiful group of Gothic buildings on the high ground overlooking the Chestnut Hill Reservoir. The last building to be completed is the library, a stately hall open to all people who care to use it. The lofty reading-room has windows telling the story of arts and letters, with figures of philosophers, scientists, and poets.

The large theological school, now at Weston, is ultimately to be moved to Boston College and will be joined to the other institutions which are gradually surrounding this noble group: the Convent of the Sisters of St. Joseph, the Passionist Monastery, St. Elizabeth's Hospital, and the Cardinal's own palatial home.

Boston College, a Catholic institution not to be confused with Boston University carried on by Methodists, is an institution of general culture, and not exclusively for the preparation of men looking forward to the priesthood. It numbers about twelve hundred students, with forty instructors, about half of them Jesuit priests, and the others laymen. The college is the monument of the loyalty and devotion of an earnest people. A separate account of the Roman Catholic Church will appear in a later chapter.

The Jews

In 1899 about 20,000 Jews lived in the Commonwealth. In 1929 there are 225,000, 80,000 of whom are in Boston. Synagogues of beauty and dignity are rising here and there for the worship of Jehovah, and able rabbis minister to the people. The chief rabbi of Massachusetts is Dr. Harry Levi, of Temple Israel in Boston. Under his guidance a truly magnificent temple is rising on the Fenway, which will be one of the outstanding religious institutions of the city. He stands forth as one of the leaders of righteousness in Boston. His predecessors, Dr. Charles Fleischer and Dr. Solomon Schindler, were also figures in civic life as well as able rabbis.

There are thirty Jewish congregations in the State, and among the eminent leaders are Rabbis Rubenovitz, Abrams, Birnbaum, Epstein, and Wolk. The Federated Jewish Charities, organized fifteen years ago, includes twenty organizations. Efficient work is done by Jewish women in over thirty philanthropic associations. The Hebrew Teachers' College is authorized to give university degrees.

A large number of Jewish laymen have won the gratitude of Massachusetts, only a few of whom may be mentioned in this brief account: Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Hecht; Justice Brandeis, of the Supreme Court; A. C. Ratshesky, president of the United States Trust Company; Dr. Rosenau, of the Harvard Medical School; Professor Felix Frankfurter, of the Harvard Law School; Professor Paul Sachs, of the Department of Fine Arts at Harvard; Mary Antin, author of *The Promised Land;* Felix Vorenberg, Adolph Ehrlich, and the brothers Lincoln Filene and Edward Filene, distinguished business men. This ancient race has demonstrated in Massachusetts its deep interest in the things of the spirit.

The Religious Trend

In this survey of religious forces since 1889, a few generalizations suggest themselves. A growing tendency is observable towards a centralized government in the various communions of the Church. Even those groups which hitherto have been purely congregational in their polity have now their general conventions and their permanent presiding officers, with direction over wide areas. A rapid increase of executive secretaries furnishes the machinery for organizing and directing the numerous agencies within their communions on behalf of religious education, social service, and finance. Nearly every organization within the Church now has its careful annual budget; and each, spurred on by the example of the enormous sums raised during the World War, undertakes ambitious programmes for the future.

During the World War the religious forces of the Commonwealth aided the government in fortifying the courage and sacrifice of the soldiers and their families, and in doing the utmost possible to cleanse the minds of the people from hate and revenge. The government of the nation turned to the pastors of New England, as to the religious leaders throughout the country, inviting their aid in the raising of the huge Liberty Loans for the support of the Allied cause. This recognition of the influence of the Church was eloquent testimony that in a crisis the power of the Church is as great as at any time in the past.

Since the war the forces of religion have been more and more determined that there shall not be another war, if the teaching of reason and love can prevail. While others have spoken of the crime of destroying humanity and property, the leaders of the Church have spoken of the sin of impatience, of refusing to take counsel, and of allowing bitterness, unforgiveness, and hate to spring up in the human heart.

Though not altogether agreed, the forces of religion are evidently strongly on the side of the enforcement of the Prohibition Amendment. Having had experience with the tragedy coming to individuals and families through intemperance, the Church knows that any national plan which would minimize the danger of drunkenness, and wasted and ruined lives, ought to have not only respect but active support. The leaders of industrial efficiency know that prohibition has helped the prosperity and happiness of the country, so that the problem of the Eighteenth Amendment is largely passing from a religious phase into an economic phase. Meantime, the Church is reinforcing the consciences of loyal citizens in the conviction that it is a moral duty to obey the laws of the land whether they seem to the individual convenient or not. It is hard to see why the law-breaker should be punished in one case, and excused in another; with practical consistency the organized forces of religion have stood fast by law and order.

Church Unity

Church unity has been discussed earnestly in the last forty years in Massachusetts. In a number of small communities union churches have been established, which take into their membership various groups of Protestant Christians, though not all. Generally the head of these union churches is a Congregational minister—and this quite naturally, since Congregationalism was first in the field, with the coming of the Pilgrims and Puritans. The State Federation of Churches, and the federations in Boston and other large cities, have united Christian forces for charitable and civic service, to the great advantage of their neighbourhoods. In Boston, under the leadership of the Rev. G. L. Paine, daily services have been held during Lent in Keith's Theatre with addresses by preachers of all denominations. The radio has been used to spread wholesome and loving teaching; and earnest people have discovered how much truth there is in organizations quite different from their own.

All these efforts at unity are seen, sooner or later, to be only partial, subject to fluctuations, and bringing a desire for a more thorough unity. Many leaders of the Church in Massachusetts were present at the Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne, Switzerland, in the summer of 1927; and these leaders are pressing upon the responsible bodies in their respective communions the duty of finding a way to a genuine unity. The timid are fearful lest their especial traditions be ignored: the more daring are willing to yield to the guidance of God's Spirit and to find in Him a way to be one in Him with one another.

Mysticism

Finally, the last generation in Massachusetts has witnessed a growth in mysticism. The mystic cults of Eastern nations have found in the Commonwealth, especially in Boston, rapt disciples. Quakerism, fading as a separate organization, has permeated, with its serenity and its consciousness of the Divine Presence, the lives of many people in all religious bodies. Books like those of Miss Evelyn Underhill, of Dr. Rufus Jones, and of the Rev. E. Stanley Jones have eager readers in Massachusetts. The deeper currents of religious life are always hard to define, but it is safe to say that, through devious turns and windings, through a vast variety of worship and of ceremonial, from elaboration to bare simplicity, the people of Massachusetts in the last forty years have been seeking a closer fellowship with God; and a multitude have found in Him the way to joy and peace.

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CHAPTER XVI

PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS (1889-1929)

By Willis J. Abbot
Members of the Christian Science Monitor Editorial Board

Turn of the Tide

The last decade of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of the decadence of Boston as the literary "hub of the universe." The genial poet who had first applied that phrase to the Massachusetts town was himself at the end of his creative years. In his poem, "The Iron Gate," Oliver Wendell Holmes had written in 1889:

> "Time claims his tribute; silence now is golden,
> Let me not vex the too long-suffering lyre;
> Though to your love untiring still beholden,
> The curfew tells me—cover up the fire."

Shadows were falling over the poets, essayists and philosophers of the New England school. Emerson was gone; Longfellow and Whittier as well, while Lowell, Norton, Aldrich and others were nearing the end of their creative years. And with the waning of the forces that had kept Massachusetts in the very front of the intellectual life of the nation there began the gradual loss of that primacy. It was not perhaps that magazines perished or moved away; that publishing houses grew fewer in number, or newspapers abandoned their dignity and sank to the level of the gutter snipes. Indeed the twentieth century saw the old publishing houses still operating, and new ones of standing established. If some magazines had disappeared, others had taken on higher qualities of literary excellence and an enhanced prosperity. The newspapers of the State, it is true, had lost something of their earlier quality, but, after all, had only followed the tone of the press of the nation. The *Springfield Republican* perhaps no longer maintained the primacy among provincial journals of opinion, but at least no other paper of like character had arisen elsewhere to challenge from a country town the dominating influence of the metropolitan press. Perhaps a certain light is thrown on the course of American intellectual development in the fact that while the third quarter of the nineteenth century saw Samuel Bowles, of the *Springfield Republican,* the most powerful journalistic influence outside of New York, the fourth quarter saw the rise to that eminence of a newspaper editor in Emporia, Kansas—one William Allen White.

When the *North American Review* was boxed up and taken to New York to busy a succession of editors, none of whom remotely resembled the Boston Brahmin type, the eclipse of the literary luminaries of Massachusetts seemed to be complete. And yet, if we examine carefully the field that remained, and evaluate justly the literary crops it has since raised, we shall conclude that lack of conservation cannot be charged against the state. Its one failure has been to progress as rapidly as the great literary and journalistic field of the metropolis itself. It has not failed to hold its own, although possibly, like the man in the Scriptures who buried his one talent, it has failed to add adequately to its possessions.

The Springfield Republican

A survey of the press and publications of Massachusetts during the last forty years may well begin with some consideration of the principal newspapers. Consideration of the newspaper press of Massachusetts turns largely upon the daily newspapers of Boston. Outside that metropolis of the state only one newspaper has challenged attention in any national degree. The *Springfield Republican* in 1889 was perhaps at its zenith as a great and influential organ of public opinion. Published in what was still a small city, this newspaper by the sheer intellectual force of its successive owners, Samuel Bowles I, II, and III, challenged the attention of the nation. It was the first daily paper established in the State outside of Boston; and in the last quarter of the nineteenth century it enjoyed a reputation and an influence excelled by no paper in New England. Its office was a training school for journalists who went thence to the successful practice of their profession in wider fields.

THE BOSTON TRANSCRIPT

Perhaps of all the Boston papers, that which has most successfully resisted the modern tendency to slovenliness in English and sensationalism in method is the *Boston Transcript.* Perhaps, too, the journalist who finds in material profit, and above all in huge circulations, the evidence of professional success will think this record of dignity more than offset by the fact that the *Transcript* has the smallest circulation of any paper in Boston; 35,391 daily, and 55,885 Saturday. Notwithstanding this fact, it enjoys great financial prosperity and an influence far in excess of what its circulation would seem to justify. Like the *Springfield Republican,* which it resembles in other particulars, the *Transcript* has always been owned by one family—its control at present being vested in the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of those who founded it in 1830. Such a record tends to conservatism in editorial tone and in business methods; and we find the *Transcript,* in an era when newspapers are erecting palatial buildings, still housed in the building opposite the Old South Church, which it put up immediately after the great fire in 1872. Since 1881 it has had but five editors—Edward H. Clement, who retired in 1906; Robert Lincoln O'Brien, who served briefly, going to the achievement of notable success as editor of the *Boston Herald;* Frank B. Tracy; James T. Williams, succeeded by Henry T. Claus, the present incumbent.

It would be difficult to ascribe to the *Transcript* any very notable achievement in journalism other than the most admirable one under existing conditions of maintaining a high standard of journalistic decency and literary excellence. It has not felt the need of leading forlorn hopes, but has followed with docility the political and social opinions of that comfortable, if limited, class of Boston Brahmins to which it makes especial appeal. In its treatment of books, art, education, music and society it leaves nothing to be desired. No space seems too great to devote to these topics, which in the ordinary daily newspapers are dismissed with grudging attention. If on the political and social problems of the day its policy seems conservative to the point of reaction, it is probably just the policy which suits its limited but prosperous clientele.

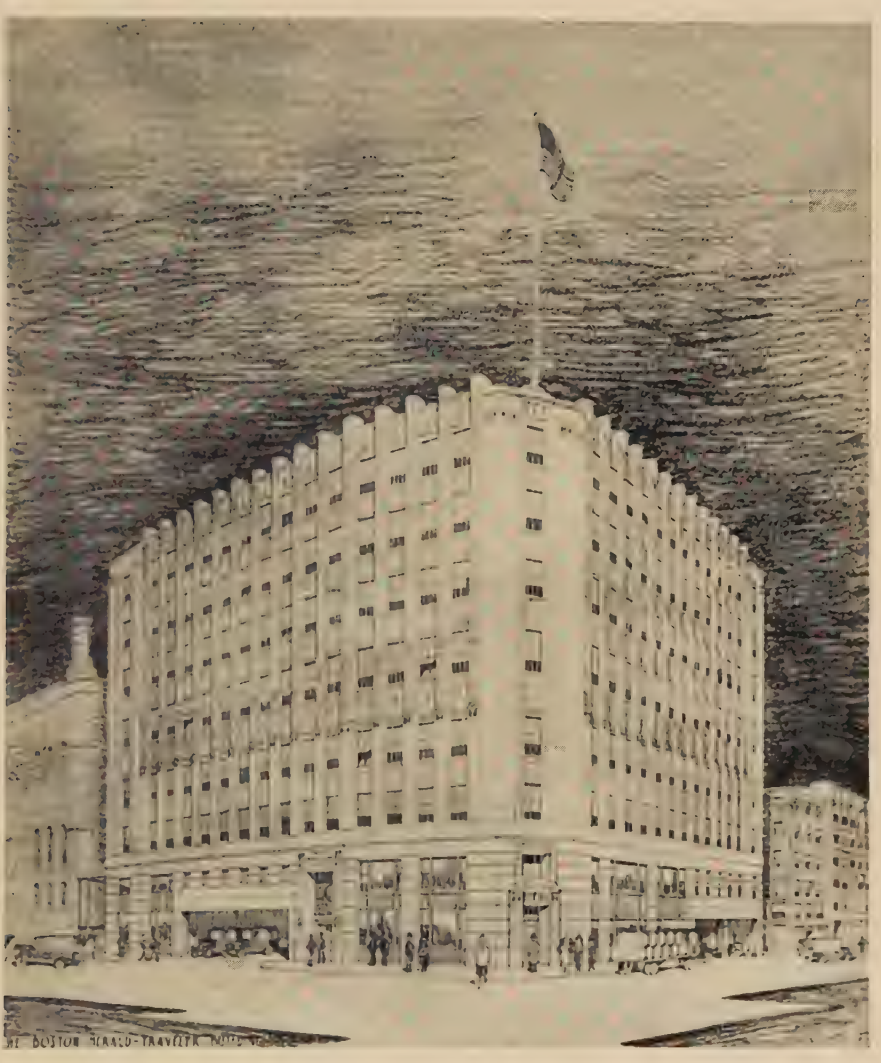
The Advertiser, American, and Post

With the exception of the *Christian Science Monitor,* all the Boston newspapers have a long historic background. Some of them in these later days resemble their earlier qualities so little that it might seem fairer to class them as wholly new. The *Advertiser,* for example, in its palmy days the most scholarly of Boston newspapers, enlisting the editorial labors of Edward Everett Hale and his colleagues, has become, under the ownership of William Randolph Hearst, a tabloid picture paper with all that the term implies during the week, and a typical "yellow" on Sunday. The *American,* an evening daily, is also a Hearst paper, presenting at times that curious contrast between a progressive and even enlightened editorial policy on social and political questions, and a sensational and debased manner of dealing with the news, which seems to characterize papers under that ownership. Achieving a large circulation, it stands today the exact antithesis of its early character.

In the forty years with which we have to deal, three Boston papers have changed materially, winning great financial success but, in the eyes of idealists at least, sacrificing many ancient qualities of excellence. The *Post,* once a liberal and independent morning paper of somewhat elevated editorial tone and a tendency to contemplate public affairs from a pinnacle of virtue, passed into the hands of Edward A. Grozier, who proceeded to make it a paper of the type perfected by the late Joseph Pulitzer. Enormously successful financially, it has sacrificed, in common with many of its fellows, the qualities which once made Boston newspapers at once respectable and unprosperous.

The Globe and Herald

The *Globe,* too, raised to prosperity and eminence by General Charles H. Taylor, based its ascent upon similar policies. It was the first considerable Massachusetts paper to exploit crime and to utilize glaring headlines. From the first it was "racy of the soil," local before anything else. General Taylor frankly declared it his ideal in the early days that every reader of the *Globe* should find his name in the paper at least


BOSTON HERALD-TRAVELER

Drawing by Henry Bailey Alden, Architect

Courtesy of the Herald-Traveler

THE BOSTON HERALD-TRAVELER BUILDING.

once a year. That ideal is obviously impossible of attainment today with the *Globe's* circulation of 284,601 daily. But the policy is manifested in the printing of interminable lists of social affairs and news from suburban towns. "Main Street" is stamped all over the paper, and the denizens of that hypothetical highway read and applaud the *Globe* in droves. Perhaps the serious feature of the paper most worthy of note is the leading editorial which appears always in the form of a letter signed "Uncle Dudley." Many individuals have from time to time contributed this feature, which seems to have been devised to relieve the editor of some portion of the responsibility attaching to the authorship of a leading editorial. The plan is not without value in giving a certain freedom of style to the writers.

The *Boston Herald,* after weathering a long series of vicissitudes despite capable editorship, seems now fairly anchored in the haven of financial prosperity and editorial stability. It has back of it a history of more than eighty years of influence and good repute. Its editor during the latter years of the nineteenth century, John Holmes, was a man of intellectual attainments, courage and political integrity—qualities which at times were obscured by the devices employed by a commercial ownership to meet financial exigencies. Under the later editorship of Robert Lincoln O'Brien, the *Herald* had attained first place in intellectual quality among Boston's morning newspapers, although not first in point of circulation. Its editorial page challenges comparison with that of any newspaper in the United States in point of sanity, variety and interest of topics, and felicity of expression. In 1912 the *Herald* purchased the *Traveller,* an evening paper of historic standing in Boston. Conducted under the same management, the two papers offer an attractive proposition to advertisers and have been built into one of the strongest newspaper properties in Massachusetts.

The Newspaper Revolution (1880–1930)

If most of the newspapers of Massachusetts seem to have shown a certain deterioration in intellectual character and ethical standards since 1885, it is fair to say that they have but followed the deplorable course of journalism in general.

The decade from 1880 to 1890 witnessed a general revolution in newspaper editing and publishing. From a profession it became a business. The manufacturing side began to eclipse in importance the intellectual side. Discovery of the enormous financial rewards to be reaped from the assiduous cultivation of the advertising field resulted in a race for mass circulation. The great increase of the number of pages in newspapers brought about no corresponding increase in the value or quality of the news or other reading material with which such portions as were not given over to advertising were filled. Colored supplements, "comics," rotogravure picture sections, were all added to the normal newspaper, even in the smaller cities. Rapidity of transport so flooded the rural districts with the papers of New York and Boston that the proper development of local journals of dignity and power was checked. Outside of Boston only New Bedford, Springfield and Worcester supported dailies of more than 25,000 circulation.

As in other states, the number of periodical publications in Massachusetts is steadily falling off. An authentic newspaper manual gives the number of all classes in 1905 as 690; in 1927 it had dropped to 519. The reduction in the number of dailies was but three. During the same period, however, the population of the State had more than doubled.

The Christian Science Monitor (1908–1930)

While the general tendency of the Boston newspapers is to accept the somewhat stereotyped style of the metropolitan papers of the day, one stands out in sharp contrast to the established type. The *Christian Science Monitor,* established in 1908 by Mary Baker G. Eddy, is distinctive in character, even though that character may seem to many the negation of journalistic excellence. It is in no sense a religious or proselyting paper, despite its name, printing much less distinctly religious matter weekly than the *Transcript.* But it refuses to publish stories of crimes, disasters or deaths unless the event has some special effect upon the history of the time. It publishes no society news, personal gossip, or trivialities. Its editorial policy is based upon the succinct statement of its founder: "The object of the *Monitor* is to injure no man, but to bless all mankind." It does not profess to be a Boston paper, the greater part of its circulation being outside of New England, and it does proclaim itself "An International Daily Newspaper." By way of justifying this claim it maintains a far-flung system of correspondents in Europe, Asia, and Africa, publishes advertising from every quarter of the globe, and boasts truthfully that it circulates wherever English is read and in many countries in which it is not. The *Monitor* is the one paper in New England to maintain its own foreign service. Because of the wide distribution of its circulation (146,000 daily) the *Monitor* is so edited as to be readable many days after the date of publication—being thereby in sharp contrast to the average daily paper which is made for the day, and almost for the hour. This necessitates the development of entirely unique and characteristic material, and the *Monitor* is persistently urging an entirely new definition of news, by which the purely trivial and evanescent would be excluded.

Notable Papers

It is perhaps not overstating the case to say that the *Springfield Republican,* in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the *Boston Transcript,* and the *Christian Science Monitor* today stand as the most notable contributions of Massachusetts to American daily journalism. Each is, or was, unique in its own field. Each possesses special characteristics which have not infrequently aroused the satire of contemporaries. Possibly at the present moment each is an anachronism, wholly out of keeping with the existing ethics of the newspaper press. But perhaps out of their quiet influence some improvement in newspaper ethics may yet come.

Periodicals

In the field of magazines and weekly publications Massachusetts was long a leader and has not yet wholly surrendered primacy. But just as the golden age of magazines vanished in New York, with the gradual deterioration of the publication which inspired the later days of the last century, so too in Massachusetts material and not wholly happy changes have come.

Except for the *Atlantic* and the *North American Review,* Massachusetts has shared little in that golden age of magazine making which began about the last decade of the nineteenth century. We look back upon the magazines of that period published in New York as vastly superior in literary and artistic content to those of today. The era of process-engraving had not dawned; and wood-engraving was an art which enlisted the talents of men destined ultimately to win high places as painters. The twentieth-century notion that any one can write well enough for magazine publication, provided he has only a story of personal experience to tell, had not then gained currency. It was not a time of highly paid editors or contributors—in that respect the phrase "golden age" was singularly inapplicable. But it was a time of high thinking, of graceful writing, and of artistic illustration, even though none of the Massachusetts magazines shared in the latter quality.

The Atlantic Monthly (1857–1930)

An anecdote concerning Christopher Morley always delights the younger type of literary men who are chiefly concerned with "getting next to" publishers. It runs that Morley, fresh from his experience as Rhodes scholar at Oxford, came into the office of Doubleday, Page & Company, seeking a job. He encountered the redoubtable Frank N. Doubleday, and stated his need. "Whose job do you want?" inquired "Effendi" ironically. "Yours" responded Morley, emphatically, and though he did not get that he got another one.

The story is pleasingly parallelled in Boston with the *Atlantic Monthly,* its editor James T. Fields, and the poet Thomas Bailey Aldrich as the *dramatis personae.* Aldrich sought to sell a poem. Dropping into Field's office, he found that personage out, but a memorandum lay on his desk setting forth things to be done at once. "Don't forget to mail E— his contract," it read, and "Don't forget H—'s proof." It is said that the initials referred to Emerson and Holmes, but in no wise abashed, the budding poet added "Don't forget to accept Aldrich's poem." The poem was accepted, paid for and—never published.

The *Atlantic* today differs from the magazine of the Fields era precisely as the social habits and intellectual life of Massachusetts differ from those of the era of Emerson, Holmes, Whittier, and Longfellow. Since its foundation in 1857 the *Atlantic* has been a reflection of the best thought of its environment—changing with the environment. Significance attaches to the fact that the present brilliant editor, Mr. Ellery Sedgwick, permits the appearance in the official history of the magazine of the statement that he fitted himself for his post by "a rigorous training in New York." The first editor, James Russell Lowell, would have been pleasantly scandalized by the suggestion that editorial training could be obtained in any cisatlantic city other than Boston. And as we scan the list of editors up to the present day we find it racy of Massachusetts soil. Note the roster:

James Russell Lowell	1857–1861
James Thomas Fields	1861–1871
William Dean Howells	1871–1881
Thomas Bailey Aldrich	1881–1890
Horace Elisha Scudder	1890–1898
Walter Hines Page	1898–1899
Bliss Perry	1899–1909
Ellery Sedgwick	1909–

Howells, it is true, came originally from Ohio, but his talent was an atavistic recurrence of New England ideals. Walter Page alone stands in the list as a spirit alien to New England by birth and education and yet under his guidance nothing of the ancient spirit of the magazine was changed—perhaps rather a certain broadening of the horizon of the Carolinian was apparent and contributed somewhat to his notable triumph as ambassador of the United States to London in the dark days of the World War.

A second publication, affiliated with the *Atlantic Monthly,* is the *House Beautiful,* which was acquired in 1896. Its name sufficiently indicates its character, and its influence is reflected by beautiful homes, and attractive domestic interiors throughout the country. Established originally by Chicagoans shortly after the World's Fair had opened American eyes to something better in domestic art than tidies, lambrequins, and Rogers groups, it found its greatest development after its removal to Boston.

The Living Age (1844–1930)

To this brief account of the most notable magazine that has ever flourished in the rarified intellectual atmosphere of Massachusetts, should be added some reference to its recent adjunct, the *Living Age.* This publication was issued fortnightly under the editorship of Dr. Victor H. Clark, and had its beginnings in 1844 when it was founded by E. Littell of Brookline. It was, for many long years, the classic example of American literary piracy at its worst. It flourished at a time when there was no cable communication with Europe, and even the mails were irregular and dilatory. No international copyright protected the foreign author in his literary property. Accordingly, provided with a keen eye for the interesting and popular, and a serviceable pair of shears, Littell was able to produce a compendium of the very best material appearing in the British magazines and reviews. The weekly was highly educational in its tone, and enjoyed a wide circulation in the more cultivated households of that primitive day.

To denounce the morals of the procedure would be futile. The world had not been educated up to the idea that an author could be protected in his rights beyond the borders of his own country, and Littell did no more than the most eminent American publishers of his time. But the enactment of the international copyright law narrowed the field of selection for the editor, reduced in fact his "honest graft," and the publication fell upon evil days. Shortly after the close of the World War the publication passed into the hands of the owners of the *Atlantic Monthly,* who at once impressed on it a definite character as the foremost American repository of European journalistic material. It was unique in that it give complete articles, not merely reprinted from English magazines, but translated from Continental and even, on occasion, Asiatic publications. But despite its distinctive position, it failed of commercial success and in 1928 was sold to New York owners, abandoning thenceforth the Massachusetts field.

JUVENILES (1827–1927)

It is a pity that notable journals which have rendered long years of service cannot organize their readers, as do colleges their students, into alumni associations for the glorification and support of the journalistic alma mater. This is peculiarly the case with those publications termed "juvenile" whose readers after eight or ten years of association pass on to the publications which appeal to the more mature mentalities. Of these none has stood more emphatically for New England thought than the *Youth's Companion*, which in 1925 became the fourth of the group of periodicals headed by the *Atlantic Monthly*. In its earlier history, edited by Nathaniel P. Willis, and brought to high prosperity by a publisher of extraordinary ability, Daniel S. Ford, the *Youth's Companion* rounded out a century of service in 1927. In the 'nineties, it had attained a circulation of above half a million, a phenomenal body of readers for that period. As an alumnus of the *Youth's Companion* the present writer feels impelled to confess that what remains most vividly in his memory in relation to the publication was the enticing premium list, by which it excited its youthful readers to herculean efforts for the increase of its circulation. Never before or since have such rich rewards been dangled before the eager eyes of youth. How many boys became amateur printers, or expert turners on the lathe, or skilled in fret-saw work because of the way in which the attractiveness of those vocations was set forth in the premium list, with the promise of a press, a lathe, or a jig saw for a beggarly handful of subscriptions can never be estimated. Doubtless it was reflected in some degree in the half-million subscribers to the magazine.

Fashions change, and literary tastes as well. The practice of offering premiums fell into disfavor among American publishers a quarter of a century ago. About the same time the business custom of relying on advertising revenue for support became firmly established. Both these innovations seriously affected all juvenile publications, the *Youth's Com-*

panion with the rest. For a time it sought to be a companion to the more mature, but with little profit to itself in a field so well occupied. Its transfer to the publishers of the Atlantic seemed to be accompanied by a return to its earlier field. Then in 1929 it was absorbed by the other leading publication in this field, *The American Boy.*

New England Magazine and Arena (1890–1909)

Notable among the magazines of Massachusetts was the *New England Magazine*—long since gone to the limbo in which repose the souls of periodicals which possessed souls. Three periodicals of this name appear in the records of Massachusetts, but the one with which we are concerned announced as its purpose the endeavor "to become a repository for material of interest concerning the New England states worthy of preservation." To this end it cordially invited "contributions of matter relating to town and local history, and the manners and customs of early times, and of biographical and other sketches relating to the notable men and women, the social and religious life, the occupations and industries of colonial and other days . . . brief records of the genealogy of families resident in New England during and prior to the War of the Revolution."

The life of the *New England Magazine* was a record of intellectual achievements and financial vicissitudes. Appealing necessarily to a limited, though cultured class, it never attained the circulation needed for material success. Yet among its contributors, at various times, were James T. Fields, Edward Everett Hale, Richard H. Dana, Jr., Charles Eliot Norton, Samuel Longfellow, Harriet Prescott Spofford, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. During the decade 1890–1901 the *New England,* under the brilliant editorship of Edwin D. Mead, was worthy of its name. It was in the truest sense a repository of historic facts concerning New England, but was furthermore a forum in which the most brilliant champions of the New England point of view loved to appear. Mr. Mead, who was at the same time director of the *Old South Historical Series,* and edited for that organization 200 "leaflets," brought to his task a zest for the New England scene,

From a photograph by Garo, Boston

EDWARD EVERETT HALE

a graceful pen and extraordinary editorial acumen. The magazine in the end perished, submerged like much that was best in New England under the flood of foreign ideas following the rising of industrial immigration.

Practically contemporaneous with the *New England* was the *Arena,* likewise an outgrowth of the acute and restless mental activity of the day and place. It declared its purpose in this translation from Heine:

> "We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed
> by them.
> They master us, and force us into the arena
> Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."

Always radical, far ahead of the mass thought of the moment, the *Arena* blazed the way for reforms which are now accepted as the very commonplaces of government. It had a succession of editors, among whom B. O. Flower, John C. Redpath, and Paul Tyner were outstanding figures in their day. It flourished most in those days of active and radical political thought which lasted from 1896 to 1908, and in 1909 was merged with the *Christian at Work* and the *Evangelist*—surely a strange sepulcher for so vivacious and unorthodox a journalistic spirit.

Social Basis of Massachusetts

The disappearance of periodicals like the *New England* and the *Arena* fixes attention on the changed conditions of thought and of society in Massachusetts since the days of their foundation. It was in the very year that they vanished that Bliss Perry wrote, in his *Park Street Papers:*

"Read the editorials which Whittier wrote for the mill-folk of Lowell,—an educated, thrifty, ambitious class,—and then walk the streets of Lowell and Lawrence today, in an endeavor to find a native New England face. They have almost disappeared. Massachusetts which reckoned about one-fifth of her population as foreign-born or children of foreign-born in 1857 . . . now finds this class of her citizens in the majority. To the men and women for whom Whittier wrote, the Boston of today would be a city of aliens, only thirty-two per cent of its population is Protestant. No imagination can picture the laboring men of New England sitting down to read Whittier's 'Songs of Labor.' The very tools have changed, and the spirit of Whittier's Drovers and Shoemakers and Lumbermen is incomprehensible to their successors. . . . Far better these immigrants, as raw material for Democracy's wholesome task, than that exhausted strain of Puritan stock which lives querulously in the cities or grows vile in the hill-towns. It is no worse for Boston to be misgoverned by a clever Irishman than by some inefficient Brahmin of the Back Bay. But whether these changes in population are welcomed or deplored, . . . the local public . . . has altered beyond recognition."

Massachusetts might not have been the precise section of the United States which a famous French gourmet described as having fifty religions and only one sauce, but at least it has not lagged behind in the variety of its religious sects. Nowadays they say that the glorious climate of California is peculiarly propitious to the growth of sectarian cults; but in its palmier days Boston, with a climate never described as glorious, did its share in multiplying churches, creeds and publications devoted to the advancement of sectarian ideals. These publications, too, have been singularly exempt from that mortality which of late years especially has invaded the journalistic field. Two, at least, have rounded out their century of usefulness and honor, and many are approaching that venerable status in life.

Religious Periodicals (1816–1930)

While one reads much of the modern indifference to religion and of the falling off in church attendance there is, seemingly, a greater vitality in the field of religious journalism than in other branches of the profession. Nor does it appear that any transference of intellectual activity from the pulpit to the editorial chair is involved, for many of the most successful of the religious papers have been directed by lay members of the congregations they represented.

It is impossible to do more than to enumerate the religious periodicals which Massachusetts has supported during the last half century—any effort to characterize each would exhaust available space. In 1927 there were of such publications 36, weekly and monthly, three being in foreign languages; namely, the *Christian Science Journal,* appearing in French and German, and a Lithuanian Catholic paper. Most notable of the list, perhaps, is the *Hibbert Journal,* which under the editorship of L. P. Jacks has won preeminence in the field of both religion and philosophy. *Zion's Herald,* dating back to 1823, the organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, is credited with the largest circulation of any religious publication in the State. It does not, however, devote its columns exclusively to doctrinal discussions, but is a hard hitter in the domain of politics when moral issues are involved.

The palm for age must be conceded to the *Congregationalist,* which has enjoyed continuous publication since 1816. Its files constitute a true history of the characteristic, and one time dominant, church of New England for more than a century. Almost equal in age is the *Christian Register Examiner,* founded in 1821, and for a time edited by Edward Everett Hale, who was never quite happy as an editor because he longed for the pulpit, and never content in the pulpit because of the attractions of the editorial office. Of him Samuel Bowles once said that there was only "one good journalist in Boston and they were spoiling him in the pulpit." Like the church it ably represents, the *Christian Register* is alert to present-day social movements, and deals with them sanely and without sectarian bias. The *Boston Pilot,* a Roman Catholic weekly, started in 1835 and vigorous today, won eminence under the editorship of James Jeffrey Roche, in the early 'nineties. The *Christian Science Sentinel* (weekly) and *Journal* (monthly), the latter also published in German as *Der Herold de Christian Science* and in French as *L'Heraut de la Science Chrêtienne,* are the output of the Christian Science Publishing Society. In contradistinction to the *Monitor* these papers are purely doctrinal in their editorial character, and publish no advertisements.

It is not to be denied that there is a tendency toward the disappearance of the purely doctrinal religious press. Many of the weekly publications of this character, not in Massachusetts alone, but particularly in New York, have sought to change their character gradually to a more material type of publication. Notable among these are the *Independent,* now absorbed by the *Outlook,* neither of which has of late displayed the slightest trace of their old religious character. The trend toward the material reduction of publications of this type is shown by the fact that in 1909 there were 55 such publications in Massachusetts and in 1930 only 34.

Early Bookselling

The cognate callings of book publishing and bookselling in Massachusetts deserve a volume to themselves. Indeed, very respectable volumes could be written about such ancient publishing houses as Houghton Mifflin & Company, or such venerable bookshops as the Old Corner Book Store—now no longer on a corner. Perhaps in neither of these callings is the human element quite so pronounced as in older times. The publisher has too many authors on his list to play the Maecenas quite as hospitably as of yore; while there are few bookshops left which serve as rendezvous for distinguished authors. Indeed the really successful author is nowadays little inclined to seek out fellows of his sort in some publisher's office, or at a bookstall. Clubs, yachts, and seashore cottages are more his environment.

None the less the bookshops of Boston are still a picturesque feature, even though the Chamber of Commerce may not dignify them with its encouragement and support. The old Cornhill, which was the name given to that part of Washington Street from the present School Street to Dock Square, became a bookselling center in the seventeenth century. In 1855 there were no less than twenty-five bookstores within its limits. Gradually the neighborhood was modernized, and the haunts of the bibliomaniac disappeared. One shop, still in the modern Cornhill, traces its existence back to 1825, and has published a circular showing the various quarters occupied in that more than a century of literary existence. At one time its stock in trade had grown to such cumbersome proportions that it bundled up and sent off to the paper mill no less than 50,000 odd volumes, as many government documents and 100,000 old magazines—120 tons in all.

PRESENT-DAY BOOK SHOPS

The new Cornhill still possesses four notable book shops, two of them dusty tunnels walled from floor to ceiling with books of every sort and kind, appealing to the controlling lust of the bibliomaniac, and now and then disgorging treasures as the reward of his grubbing in their grime. The most picturesque of all the ancient shops—the Old Corner—beloved of Emerson, Lowell, Longfellow, Ticknor and their tribe, has lost its corner but not its name, while a shop which long attracted by its location in a downtown archway has lost its arch, but still retains its name of The Archway Bookshop.

That the basement of the Old South Church should be used for a bookstore grates less on the sensibilities than the employment of another section of that ancient edifice as an entrance to the subway. For after all should not religion and good books be near akin? Not a few of the ancient worthies who thundered from the pulpit of the Old South contributed their part to the output of volumes, mostly theological, which engaged the presses of Massachusetts in the earlier days. Perhaps their Puritan convictions might be shocked by some characteristics of the volumes on the shelves below today, but not more so than the religious beliefs of this generation would be amazed by the doctrines preached by them with fervor and deep conviction.

Of the booksellers who, like the traditional cobbler, have stuck to their trade, the oldest is the firm of Burnham in Cornhill. A distinguished book house is that of Lauriat in Washington Street, which for more than 50 years has been headquarters for the book-loving public, and which has made a specialty of the importation of English books, and old editions. Goodspeed's, and Smith & McCance, in Ashburton Place, have each a distinctive quality—the former renowned for its rare and quaint editions, and for occasional essays in publication; the latter for the size and extent of its collections of old books. Goodspeed also maintains a crypt of countless volumes under the Old South Church, and for some time had a shop on Park Street—bordering the Common, which once bade fair to be a true "booksellers' row."

Book Buyers

Despite the inpouring of hordes of immigrants unused to literary recreations, untrained in the English tongue, the ancient Puritan town has remained the greatest book market in the United States in proportion to its population. The taste of its public is serious, and books of philosophy, history and biography lead in the volume of sales. A like condition exists throughout Massachusetts, and towns of a size which in some other sections of the Union would not support one bookshop unless its literary stock-in-trade were largely adulterated with stationery, fancy goods and even wall paper, find ample trade for the maintenance of several.

This widespread reading habit is, no doubt, largely due to the many colleges and preparatory schools which flourish in the Bay State. If student bodies, as pessimists insist, are largely given over to sporting pages and the yellow Sunday sheets, at least the faculties may be relied upon to maintain an intelligent and widespread interest in the better class of current literature. The educational institutions of the State not only help to maintain a book-buying public, but are, in several instances, the centers of active publishing enterprises of their own.

Publishers

Even to attempt a list of the publishing houses of Massachusetts during the last half-century with any effort to characterize each would be futile. Boston has boasted of publishers of the highest quality—and has not been wholly without those of an exceedingly antithetical character. Maecenas has entertained writers on Beacon Hill and cheered their days with adequate royalties, but withal there have flourished firms given over to the practice of making the author "pay the freight." It would be interesting to trace the history of those houses which have a century or more of service to their credit, and to point out how most of them began as booksellers, drifted into publishing, and built up gradually a body of authors whose names became almost as closely allied to the firms as those of the partners themselves.

A self-constituted vigilance committee in Boston for the protection of public morals, the Watch and Ward Society, has an alert eye for literary violations of the pruderies of the peculiarly good, and now and then makes itself and its environment rather ridiculous. Yet the type of fiction pouring from the presses of even eminent publishers is sure, if long continued, to create a just demand for some form of censorship. The stage and the "movies" have had to submit, even though their offenses have been less heinous than those of certain publishers.

Famous Publishing Firms (1828–1930)

The publishing house of Houghton Mifflin Company, as it now exists, is an enduring edifice built upon foundations reaching back to 1828. Long associated with the Old Corner Bookstore, at the corner of Washington and School Streets, the firm is now established in the equally historic neighborhood of Park Street. Enumeration of the various firms and partnerships finally merged in the house of Houghton Mifflin is needless. Most renowned of them was the firm of Ticknor and Fields, succeeded in time by Fields, Osgood and Company. These names appear on many of the most notable of American title pages. Almost coincidentally with the establishment of the latter firm was the foundation in 1852 of the Riverside Press, by H. O. Houghton. After a quarter of a century of work along parallel lines, the one winning high place as a publisher of the best in American literature, the other setting a mark of achievement in artistic typography, the two were merged in 1878 as Houghton, Osgood and Company, adopting two years later the present style of Houghton Mifflin Company.

Maintaining, as it does, the historic Riverside Press, this firm has contributed almost as much to good printing as to good literature. It was in the service of this press that Bruce Rogers, primate of artistic printing today, won his first recognition; and the title pages and formats designed by him for the limited editions issued by Houghton Mifflin Co. are unexcelled for symmetry and beauty. It is, perhaps, an additional evidence of the interest of Massachusetts in the printing art that Rogers subsequently became printing adviser to the Harvard University Press.

No single firm, of course, could stand representative of Boston's publishing activities. The house of Little, Brown and Company dates its genesis back 150 years and had its birthplace in that street which under the king was called Marlborough, and under the Revolution, Washington Street. Today it is housed in almost equally historic quarters, on Beacon Street under the very eaves of the State House, in a dwelling house of Boston's best period of domestic architecture. Winning place first as a publisher of law books almost exclusively, the firm gradually took up the publication of fiction. In 1898 it absorbed the flourishing business of Roberts Brothers, and thereby added to its lists numbers of books by New England authors, among them Louisa M. Alcott, Edward Everett Hale, Emily Dickinson, Louise Chandler Moulton, and the monumental translations of Balzac and Molière by Miss Wormely. In later years the firm has acted as the publisher of the Atlantic Monthly Press books.

Among the books to which the house of Little, Brown & Company calls attention in its brochure are Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* in 1873—the author being a member of the firm; Captain Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power Upon History; Quo Vadis; If Winter Comes;* and two Pulitzer Prize plays, *Ice Bound* and *Craig's Wife.* The pleasing fact is also chronicled that of *Little Women* and other Alcott books more than 4,000,000 copies have been sold; while Miss Farmer's *The Boston Cooking School Book* is set down as a "perennial best seller." These statistics suggest that, however much the facts of Boston's activities may controvert Owen Meredith's dictum: "We may live without books," it upholds his wiser words: "But civilized man cannot live without cooks."

Educational Publishing

Boston has had much to do with the education of youth, even aside from Harvard and the other institutions of learning within or near its borders. Among its publishers the house of Ginn and Company, issuing textbooks only, ranks at the very head. The devotee of pure literature may sniff at the textbook as something devoid of literary art. The expert in typography may question whether it makes any demands upon the artistic capacity of the maker of books. The ordinary citizen may reiterate some of the charges of improper methods employed to secure the adoption of this or that series by acquisitive school boards. But the fact stands that the writers and publishers of textbooks exert a prodigious influence upon the national mind, and several attractive fortunes have been made by partners or stockholders in textbook concerns.

Nor is the preparation of such books a light task for the most experienced writer. It is comparatively easy to interest or inform the adult mind, but to hold the attention of children or arouse the enthusiasm of youth in an educational problem is a different matter. At the Athenaeum Press, maintained by Ginn & Company, the books which have passed the scrutiny of the editorial staff are given a form suited to their purposes and importance. The press is one of the largest and best equipped in New England.

No reference to Ginn & Company would be complete without some account of the notable service rendered by its founder, Edwin Ginn, to the cause of international harmony and enduring peace. The World Peace Foundation, created by him and endowed with more than a million dollars, occupies a stately old-time dwelling house at 40 Mt. Vernon Street. Here is maintained a working library of volumes and documents bearing upon international relations, while trained students and investigators produce authoritative studies of events bearing upon the relationship of nations. The Foundation also acts as sole United States agent for the publications of the League of Nations.

Music Publishing (1835–1930)

A branch of publishing in which Boston has long stood preeminent is the issuance of sheet music, and of volumes and periodicals dealing with music. The house of Oliver Ditson Company, oldest of its sort in the United States, has witnessed the making of much musical history since in 1835 young Oliver Ditson put forth his first publication—a song entitled "There's not a Leaf within the Bower." How old-time intellectual workers in Boston clung together! Ditson was then working for the printing plant that issued the *North American*

Review. We find the first mention of his musical work in the files of the *Transcript* for 1835. His first office was in the old gambrel-roofed building later to become famous as "The Old Corner Book Store." Since then the company has been linked closely with Boston's musical history. Besides encouraging and fostering orchestral and chamber music in every way, it has published various music periodicals, which have by gradual consolidation and evolution culminated in the *Étude* of today.

It is an interesting fact that according to the Census of Manufactures, taken by the Department of Commerce in 1923, Massachusetts put forth about one fourteenth of all the music, sheet and volumes, in the world; has a practical monopoly of that class of publication in New England; and ranks third in the United States. For the publication of sheet music alone the State ranks second.

Present Output of Literature

Time was that a Boston imprint was looked upon as essential for any book of serious literary character. Probably the time will never come when it will be a detriment. Even now the wholly materialistic Chamber of Commerce puts out as one of its claims to the greatness of Boston the fact that it sells at retail more books per capita of population than any city in the United States. But the old primacy in the book-publishing business has gone to New York. Unlike *Punch's* complacent author who blandly announced, "I don't read books; I write them," Boston may plead that she no longer leads in making books but in reading them.

Nevertheless, the Boston output of literature is not inconspicuous. The city is still the second center of publishing in the United States, and while the number of volumes issuing annually from her presses is exceeded by those bearing a New York imprint, it is today greater than ever in the history of the New England field.

Publications of Educational Institutions

In addition to the distinctly commercial publishing houses, the educational institutions of Massachusetts, led by Harvard, are annually issuing more and more examples of literature which can only be put forth by the aid of a press above merely commercial considerations. No less than 56 such publications are listed in the latest newspaper directories ranging in seriousness of import from the *Purple Cow* of Williamstown to the *Harvard Theological Quarterly*. The student bodies contribute to this list one daily, the *Harvard Crimson*, several comic sheets with such titles as the *Bean Pot*, *Voo Doo*, and *Tomahawk*, and a number of weeklies of more serious import. Most of the colleges publish an undergraduate magazine of some sort, the oldest being the *Harvard Advocate*, founded in 1866. The list includes Williams, Amherst, Clark, Mount Holyoke, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Smith, Boston University, Wellesley, and Holy Cross.

In the domain of more serious publications Harvard University naturally takes the lead, the *Harvard Graduate Magazine*, the *Bulletin of the Graduate School of Business Administration*, the *Harvard Law Review* and the *Journal of the School of Medicine* being the more important. To the non-technical reader Harvard journalistic genius shines most in the columns of the *Lampoon*, deservedly known with affection as "Lampy," which, founded in 1876 as "a college Punch," is the oldest comic paper now published in the United States, although it suffered an eclipse of some months in 1880. Its artistic and humorous qualities have naturally varied in excellence with the personnel of its editorial boards. *The Crimson* (popularly known as "The Crime") shares with it the honors of the undergraduate field, and is the oldest American college daily.

Commercial and Technical Journals

It is the fashion nowadays to deplore the state of journalism and the decadence of ethical and artistic standards among publishers. Probably the same fashion was followed even in the bygone century when Pope complained of "the mob of gentlemen who write with ease." With no desire to break any lances in defense of the modern newspaper, and certainly with the fullest recognition of its tendency to sensationalism, there may be echoed approvingly this dictum of one of the most famous practitioners of "yellow" journalism: "A newspaper is a mirror reflecting the public. . . . And the paper that the individual holds in his hand reflects that individual more or less accurately."

Perhaps if the tone of the daily press, and the character of the output of the publishing houses of Massachusetts manifest changes during the last half century, it may be because the tone and taste of local readers have likewise changed. But has there been an actual deterioration? It may well be doubted. So eminent an observer as the late President Eliot, of Harvard, disposed of the charge, so often and so lightly made, as follows: "Many people are in the habit of complaining bitterly of the intrusion of the newspaper reporter into every nook and corner of the State and even into the privacy of the home; but . . . this extreme publicity is . . . on the whole . . . a beneficent and a new agency for the promotion of the public welfare. . . . The newspapers, which are the ordinary instruments of this publicity, are as yet very imperfect instruments . . . but as a means of publicity they visibly improve from decade to decade and taken together with the magazines and the controversial pamphlet, they shed more light on the social, industrial, and political life of the people of the United States than was ever shed before on the doings and ways of any people. This force is distinctly new within the century, and it affords a new and strong guarantee for the American Republic."

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CHAPTER XVII

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MASSACHUSETTS

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Two Aspects of the Subject

The history of Catholicism in Massachusetts presents two features of large interest.

First, in little more than a century the religious and social structure of this once fundamentally Anglo-Saxon and exclusively Protestant commonwealth has been profoundly altered by the incoming of other racial elements and the vast growth of the Roman Church, to the point where the majority of the population is now of other than English stock, and as far as church affiliations are concerned, Massachusetts is today more nearly Catholic than anything else. Indeed, the old Puritan Colony has become (save for Rhode Island and New Mexico) the most Catholic State in the Union, and one of the greatest centres of Catholic activity, not only in this country, but throughout the world. History affords few parallels to this transformation. Its consequences, though they cannot be fully evaluated today, can scarcely fail to be momentous.

Secondly, this great upbuilding of the older Church has taken place in a region which was originally the stronghold of ultra-Protestantism, and of all American communities the one most passionately hostile to "popery." It was effected, moreover, mainly by the Irish, of all newcomers those in some ways most antipathetic to the older stock. Racial antagonisms were thus added to religious ones to produce that "dead wall of prejudice and hatred, hard as the granite of our eternal hills," which Catholicism has had to encounter in this Commonwealth. At first, a chasm seemed to separate Catholic and Puritan, New England and "New Ireland." On the effects of this cleavage, political and social, much of Massachusetts history in the past century turns. Naturally, there has been not a little friction, tension, conflict, legal discriminations, political battles, at times physical violence, and a social estrangement that is even yet not completely obliterated.

With such sharply contrasted and contrary social elements, what else could have been expected? Perhaps the remarkable thing is rather that serious struggles have been so rare, and that so much progress towards reconciliation and mutual understanding has been made. If Catholics have had to fight for their rights, they have usually been helped by liberal Protestants; and they have owed their final success largely to the sense of justice and the loyalty to democratic principles always shown in the long run by the Protestant majority. The outcome has benefitted not Catholics alone, but every element that desires complete religious freedom and perfect equality of rights between all religious bodies.

Colonial Attitude Towards Catholicism
(1630–1775)

No more unfavorable conditions for the growth of Catholicism could well be imagined than those in Massachusetts during the colonial period.

It is well known that the Puritans, with all their merits, were no friends of religious freedom. "What is contrary to the Gospel hath no right, and therefore should have no liberty," declared the Rev. John Higginson in the Election Sermon of 1663. "I look upon an unbounded toleration as the first-born of abominations," said the Rev. Urian Oakes on a similar occasion (1673). Increase Mather, in his Election Sermon of 1677, thundered against "sinful toleration" and "hideous clamors for liberty of conscience", and the Rev. John Cotton affirmed as against Roger Williams that "it was toleration that made the world anti-Christian," and that "the Church never took hurt by the punishment of heretics."

Least of all was any weakness in this regard to be expected in favor of Roman Catholics. Indeed, the violence and bitterness of Puritan sentiments towards "papists" can scarcely be exaggerated; and they need to be emphasized if one is ever to understand the deep under-current of aversion, distrust, and fear which the Catholic Church here has had to contend with even down to recent times.

The colonial hatred of Catholicism was based chiefly on memories of old unhappy things across the water: the reign of "Bloody Mary," the Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, the Ulster Massacres, the "revelations" of Titus Oates, the struggle against the Stuarts. It was also accented by much that had happened, or was supposed to have happened, on the continent of Europe. Colonial experience could add the tradition of a century of conflict with the French "idolaters" in Canada, Indian raids under "Jesuit direction," the Deerfield Massacre, and triumphs of the godly over the "children of Baal" at Norridgewock and Louisburg. From all this there emerged a composite picture of Catholicism that was as lurid and grotesque in its ignorance as it was deeply fixed in the popular mind.

For an example one may turn to the *New England Primer,* which, as Paul Leicester Ford declares, gives "the Puritan mood with absolute faithfulness," and which was for over a century *the* school book of American dissenters. In all the editions of this much-printed classic one finds a wood-cut representing (with slight regard for historic truth) the sad fate of the Rev. Mr. Rogers, burnt at the stake by papists, his wife looking on with her nine small children and an infant at the breast, while in a long exhortation to his offspring the martyr adjures them *inter alia:*

"Abhor that arrant Whore of Rome
and all her Blasphemies;
And drink not of her cursed cup,
obey not her decrees."

Still more impressive was another picture with the legend, "Child, behold that Man of Sin, the Pope, worthy of thy utmost Hatred." Here the head of the Catholic Church was portrayed as the embodiment of "heresy," "idolatry," "covetousness," "malice, murder and treachery," "cruelty," and "the worst of lusts." Characteristic, too, was the annual festival called "Pope Day" (November 5), into which the Puritans transformed the "Guy Fawkes' Day" of England, and which was celebrated here from the Restoration period down to the

American Revolution. On these occasions an effigy of the Pope, usually accompanied by that of the Devil, and sometimes by figures of monks and friars, was paraded through the streets on a platform, with much hilarity and firing of crackers, and was duly burnt in a bonfire amid the huzzas of the crowd. In Boston, unhappily, the affair was likely to lead to a pitched battle between the North and the South Ends for possession of the "pope" and rights of cremation. Such lessons and traditions as these, drilled into the New England mind for many generations, help much to explain the periodically recurring anti-Catholic movements of later times: the Nativists of the 1830s, the Know-Nothings of the '50s, the "A. P. As." of the '90s, and the Ku Klux Klan of our own day.

Anti-Catholic Legislation (1647–1700)

In their effort to keep a Bible Commonwealth free from the incursions of the Scarlet Woman, the Puritans very wisely concentrated their attention upon barring the doors to the Catholic clergy. The chief law enacted for this purpose was the Act of 1647, which was directed not merely against Jesuits, as has often been said, but against every "spirituall or ecclesiastical person (as they are tearmed), ordained by the authority of the pope or sea of Rome." Every such person caught within the Colony was, after trial and conviction, to be "proceeded with by banishment or otherwise, as the Corte shall see cause"; and if he returned and was convicted a second time, the punishment was death. Exemption from these stringent provisions was duly made, however, for priests who might be cast upon "our shoares" by shipwreck, or who might come here "upon publike occasions," i.e., upon a diplomatic mission. In 1700 it was prescribed that any "Romish" priest found within the province was to be condemned to imprisonment for life; and if such an one escaped and was retaken, he was to be put to death.

As for Catholic laity, the law denied them either civil or political rights, whether under the early Puritan theocracy or under the regime of "liberty of conscience" (for Protestants only) inaugurated by the charter of 1692.

Catholic Clergy in Massachusetts (1643–1674)

Under such conditions it is comprehensible enough that the Catholic Church as such was non-existent in Massachusetts throughout the colonial period, and that few individual Catholics cared to stray into the Province.

It is true that several priests did make brief visits here in the seventeenth century. In 1643 and again in 1646 French ships stopped in Boston harbor, with "two friars" on board in the first case, and two priests in the second. On both occasions these dangerous persons were allowed to go into the town, but they did so just once "lest they should give offence." In the winter of 1650–1651 Fr. Gabriel Druillettes, S. J., visited Boston and Plymouth, sent by the governor of Canada to negotiate for a trade agreement and an alliance against the Iroquois. Though unsuccessful in his mission, he was courteously received by the authorities and leading men of the two Colonies, notably by "Master Heliot" (Reverend John Eliot) in "Rogsbray." Indeed, these two exemplary soldiers of Christ, so opposite in their beliefs, conceived such sympathy for each other that the Puritan Apostle to the Indians wished to keep with him all winter the brave Jesuit who was to spend his life in evangelizing the savages and who died with the reputation of a saint.

As Fr. Druillettes was allowed a room in Maj.-General Gibbons's house in Boston in which he could "say his prayers and perform the exercises of his religion in all liberty," it is generally believed that he was the first who offered the sacrifice of the Mass upon the soil of this Commonwealth (December, 1650). After this, except for one Jesuit (Fr. Pierron), who travelled through in disguise in 1674, we have no sure knowledge of the presence of any priests in Massachusetts down to the Revolution.

Catholic Immigrants (1640–1772)

In the time of Charles I and Cromwell there was a small immigration of Irish and Scotch Catholics, mainly redemptioners and deported prisoners of war. After 1654 the Massachusetts authorities succeeded in stopping this influx for about sixty years. In 1689 it could be boasted that there was not a single "papist" in all New England.

About 1717 Irish immigration set in again, both Protestant and Catholic, and henceforth it was rather encouraged as a stimulus to industry. By 1732 a Boston newspaper, the *Weekly Rehearsal,* could report: "We hear that Mass has been performed in town this winter by an Irish priest among some Catholics of his own nation, of whom it is not doubted we have a considerable number among us." By the end of the colonial period Massachusetts must have had a far from insignificant Irish population; as is shown, for instance, by the surprisingly large number of Irish (and Catholic) names on the muster-rolls of Bunker Hill or Lexington and Concord. Some infiltration of French Catholics came about, as illustrated in 1746, when the authorities of Boston, fearing an attack by a French fleet, arrested about one hundred such persons "to prevent any danger the town may be in from Roman Catholicks residing here."

Nevertheless, all this immigration represented no gain for the Catholic Church. Cut off from the worship and sacraments of their Church, and presented with the strongest practical motives for conforming to the dominant religion of the country, these French and Irish immigrants were within a generation or two lost to Catholicism.

The Acadians (1755–1775)

How little prospect there still was for the open profession of the older faith was shown in the winter of 1755–1756, when 2,000 exiled Acadians landed in Massachusetts. They were indeed received with much sympathy and allowed even to say their prayers "in their families in their own way", but as Hutchinson writes, "the people would upon no terms have consented to the public exercise of religious worship by Roman Catholick priests." As the last word of colonial Massachusetts upon the subject we may take a passage from the Boston Town Records of 1772, where it was affirmed that, while religious toleration was "what all good and candid minds in all ages have ever practiced," its benefits were not to be extended to Roman Catholics, because their belief was "subversive of society."

RESULTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION FOR CATHOLICS (1775–1801)

The change began with the American Revolution. The patriotism displayed by Catholics during that struggle; the aid received by the United States from two foremost Catholic nations, France and Spain; the general trend of the time towards liberal ideas; and the weakening of the hold of Calvinism upon the community—all these things combined to pave the way for at least partial Catholic emancipation in Massachusetts. Symbolic of the new era was Washington's order of November 5, 1775, forbidding to his soldiers "the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope"—after which this annual outrage to Catholic feelings almost everywhere fell into oblivion.

The Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, in theory at least, extended the equal protection of the law to "every denomination of Christians demeaning themselves peaceably and as good subjects of the Commonwealth." Unfortunately, it also prescribed an oath for officeholders, so framed that no Catholic could conscientiously take it (a provision repealed only in 1821). It also left Catholics under the necessity of paying taxes for the support of "public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality" (an injustice maintained until 1833). As late as 1801 the judges of the State supreme court could declare: "Papists are only tolerated, and as long as their ministers behave well, we shall not disturb them; but let them expect no more than this" (a view that suggests lingering doubts whether Catholics could be considered as Christians). At all events, legal barriers and old prejudices had now been reduced to the point where it was possible to begin the organization of the Catholic Church in Massachusetts.

THE FIRST CATHOLIC PARISH (1788–1792)

"The foundation of a Catholic Church in Boston," William Tudor wrote in 1819, was a marvel that "only could be surpassed by devoting a chamber in the Vatican to a Protestant chapel." The first of these wonders came to pass in 1788. But the beginnings were singularly unfortunate. A former chaplain in the French navy, the Abbé de la Poterie, appeared in Boston—no one knows just how or from where—with faculties from the apostolic prefect, Dr. John Carroll, and gathered around him a little congregation of French and Irish Catholics, perhaps 100 persons. After at first saying Mass in the house of a Mr. Baury on Green Street in the West End, he was soon able to lease the old and then vacant Huguenot church on School Street (three or four doors from Washington Street and opposite the present City Hall). Here on November 2, 1788, for the first time in the history of this Commonwealth, Mass was publicly celebrated, "amid a large concourse of people of all persuasions."

Unfortunately, however, the Abbé de la Poterie was, as Dr. Belknap wrote, but a "speckled bird," a fantastic adventurer with an unsavory past. Within a few months he had to be removed from his post by Dr. Carroll, as soon as the facts about him became known. Nor was his successor, the Abbé Rousselet, another French volunteer whom Carroll in his dire need for priests felt forced to accept, much of an improvement. Great hopes, on the other hand, were attached to the Rev. John Thayer (1758–1815), who in 1790 was sent to take charge of the discouraged little flock in Boston. For Thayer, already a famous man, a graduate of Yale, a former Congregational minister, and an ex-army chaplain, was the first notable New England convert to Catholicism. He was returning, after years of study abroad, consumed with zeal to spread his new faith in the land of his birth. But he, too, proved a disappointment. Though a man of fine character, blessed with learning, genius, and wit, he suffered from a certain arrogance, tactlessness, and overfondness for controversy, which led him not only to quarrel with his own congregation but also rather to antagonize the non-Catholic community. After two years of strenuous, brave, and blundering activity, he had to be sent away to other fields. At any rate, it was a gain that, when for the first time a Catholic bishop (John Carroll) visited Boston in 1791, he was received everywhere with profuse courtesy—Governor Hancock even attended Mass as a mark of respect; and the bishop could write, "It is wonderful to tell what great civilities have been done to me in this town, where a few years ago a 'Popish' priest was thought to be the greatest monster in the creation."

Matignon and Cheverus (1792–1823)

Fortunately for the sorely-tried church in Boston, the French Revolution was now beginning to drive towards our shores priests who well represented the élite of the clergy of old France. One such refugee was Dr. François Matignon (1753–1818), a former professor of theology in the *Collège de Navarre* at Paris, who arrived in 1792 to replace Fr. Thayer. A second was Fr. Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus (1768-1836), who, at Matignon's invitation, came over in 1796 to assist his old friend at Boston. These two admirable Frenchmen were the true founders of the Catholic Church in Massachusetts.

They were a remarkable pair, united by a friendship that reminded contemporaries of David and Jonathan, and linked also by a singular community of tastes, temperament, and lofty purpose. Both were men of broad culture, talent, and refinement, who chose to lead lives of poverty and hardship in the whole-souled service of their poor and scattered flock. Both came to be loved and venerated by Catholics and Protestants alike. They made no effort, indeed, to carry the Protestants by storm, as Thayer had done. But, as a contemporary writes, "nothing could withstand the influence wrought by the beautiful life of zeal, charity, and devotedness exhibited by Dr. Matignon and M. Cheverus." By their simple friendliness and benevolence, by their mildness and gentleness, by sheer force of goodness, they not only disarmed hostility and prejudice, but "laid the Puritan community under something like a spell."

The First Cathedral (1803)

For over twenty years these two labored together, ministering not only to the congregation in Boston but to scattered Catholics all over New England, such as the faithful Abnaki Indians of Maine. The first notable achievement was to replace the small and dilapidated leased chapel on School Street by building an adequate new church. As this involved a severe strain on the resources of a small flock, gifts from outside were welcomed. Catholics have always gratefully remembered that, out of the $20,000 required for their first church in Boston, nearly $3,500 was contributed by generous Protestants. John Adams, then President of the United States, headed a subscription list that included the names of most of the best-known Boston families of that period. Located on Franklin Street, in what was then the most fashionable part of town, built in brick in dignified Ionic style according to plans gratuitously furnished by Bulfinch the architect, the Church of the Holy Cross was dedicated Sept. 29, 1803. Soon raised to the rank of a cathedral, it was to be for more than half a century the centre of Catholicism in New England; and even today the memory of the "first" or "old" cathedral is a hallowed one to Boston Catholics, associated as it is with many of the most famous scenes and most venerated figures in their Church's history.

The First Bishop of Boston (1808–1823)

April 8, 1808, Pius VII, by the brief *"Ex debito pastoralis officii,"* raised Boston to the rank of a bishopric. This change was due much less to the number of Catholics in these parts than to the need of reducing the size and burdens of the diocese of Baltimore, which had hitherto embraced the whole of the United States. The new see included all New England. As its first incumbent Cheverus was chosen, since Matignon had insisted that the honor must go to his younger and more brilliant friend.

The modern world has not often seen such a figure as this first Bishop of Boston. New Englanders had heard much of the horrors of "prelacy," but what were they to make of this bishop, who lived in one small room, with so little furniture that visitors often had to sit on the bed; who stinted himself to the utmost on food and clothes; who split his own firewood; who might be found visiting the poor and the sick at all hours of the day and night; who often tramped to Salem on foot in order to save money to give to the needy; who was seen one day walking back to Boston in a pouring rain from Hingham, where he had gone to visit a dying man; and who periodically travelled all over New England to find and succor the lost sheep of his flock?

Innumerable are the picturesque tales that have come down to us about him: of his heroism amid two epidemics of yellow fever; of his tending with his own hands for a long period a poor, friendless negro, suffering from a loathsome disease; of his going to split and carry firewood for a poor invalid woman before daybreak—that none might know that he, the bishop, had had to do what charitable neighbors ought to have done; of his getting out at the head of his flock to labor on the fortifications of Boston—trundling a wheelbarrow—at a time when a British attack was feared during the War of 1812.

He entered with tact and dignity into movements for public betterment. He helped to found the Athenaeum, to which he gave a considerable number of books. He was a charming and welcome figure in the best society, whenever he chose to appear in it. On one occasion he was seen at a large banquet seated next to the President of the United States. But he was equally at home, and doubtless happier, among his beloved Maine Indians, whom he long visited annually, learning their language, sharing their squalid huts and their "terrible" meals, and bringing back with him as his only "fees," as he liked to jest, a horde of vermin which it took him months to get rid of. Morally, it was of incalculable value to the Church that it had for its first bishop in New England—of all places!—a man with the gracious, winning, and truly apostolic personality of Jean de Cheverus.

Material progress, however, was by no means rapid during this period. Immigration, long held back by the Napoleonic Wars and our conflict with England, supplied as yet but few additions to the fold. The scarcity of priests made it difficult to follow up, reclaim, and organize what Catholics there were, sprinkled over a vast diocese. Converts, although now beginning to appear in some numbers, made, after all, but a thin stream of new recruits. At the end of Cheverus's rule the number of Catholics in Massachusetts had risen from about 100 (in 1790) to about 3,500; apart from the cathedral, three poor little churches had been built at South Boston, Salem, and New Bedford; there were but five priests in the whole diocese; and one small group of nuns, the Ursulines, had arrived (1819) to set up a girls' school which was to attain mournful celebrity in the future.

Influence of Cheverus (1808–1823)

After Matignon's death in 1818, the bishop's health declined to the point where his physicians warned him that it would be fatal for him to remain much longer in the climate of Massachusetts. In 1823 Louis XVIII offered him the see of Montauban if he would return to France. The decision was a hard one for Cheverus, the more so when over 200 of the leading Protestant citizens of Boston joined in a public appeal to the French government not to take away from them one who had been "a blessing and a treasure in our social community," and who could "never be replaced." Finally, in deference to what was virtually a command from the sovereign of his native country, the bishop decided to go. He divided what little property he possessed between the Church, his friends, and the poor, and taking with him only his cross, his chalice, and the old trunk with which he had arrived in this country twenty-seven years before, he left Boston (September, 1823) amid the regrets and eulogies of the whole community. In France he soon gained the same universal popularity as here; and he died in 1836 a cardinal and Archbishop of Bordeaux.

His influence here may best, perhaps, be gauged from the words of William Ellery Channing (written in 1829): "To come down to our own times, has not the metropolis of New England witnessed a sublime example of Christian virtue in a Catholic bishop? Who, among our religious teachers, would solicit a comparison between himself and the devoted Cheverus? . . . How can we shut our hearts against this proof of the power of the Catholic religion to form good and great men? . . . It is time that greater justice were done to this ancient and widespread community."

Bostonians long loved to recall that familiar figure—in the shabby black coat, with the knee-breeches, stockings and buckled shoes of the older generation—trudging tirelessly through the streets, while children ran after him, "delighted to receive a smile and a kind word from one whose personal presence was like a benediction" and whose face seemed "visibly aglow with the light that springs from some unearthly source."

Bishop Fenwick (1825–1846)

After an interval of two years, during which the diocese was administered by the vicar-general, the Very Rev. William Taylor, Boston received its second bishop in the person of Benedict Joseph Fenwick, S.J. (born 1782), president of Georgetown College, and a scion of one of the old Catholic families of Maryland. The new bishop was a robust, vigorous man, whose somewhat leonine form (he weighed 300 pounds) and strong, if not handsome, face seemed to radiate energy, health, and geniality. In true Jesuit fashion, he combined the talents of a scholar "who seemed to have read everything and to have retained all he had read," with those of a practical, prudent man of affairs, and with as complete and self-sacrificing a devotion to his faith and flock as even Cheverus had shown. By nature rather irascible, he had by self-discipline acquired a patience, gentleness, and serenity that nothing could exteriorly disturb—and of these qualities he had much need during his stormy episcopate. All in all, this was probably the ablest of the early bishops of Boston, certainly the most sorely tried, and one of the finest characters that the American Church has produced.

The new regime opened under promising auspices. Immigration soon began to throw large and ever-increasing numbers of Irish Catholics on our shores, although the great deluge came two decades later. Under Fenwick the Catholic Church here first came to face a situation that has since been permanent, in which the main problem has been, not how to gain or hold adherents, but how to find priests enough and build churches fast enough to provide for a swarming population. Fortunately, Ireland also commenced to export priests, and native candidates for holy orders were at last coming forward in some numbers. Like Cheverus before him, Fenwick at first cherished high hopes of effecting conversions on a large scale among the people of old New England stock. It was primarily for this purpose that he founded in 1829 *The Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel,* one of the first Catholic journals printed in the United States. After an eventful history and various changes of name, character, and management, this paper, now called *The Pilot,* is today the official organ of the archdiocese of Boston.

The Nativist Movement (1829–1840)

Meanwhile the cloudless horizon was beginning to show signs of the coming storm—the first of a series of periodical outbreaks of anti-Catholic feeling that marked the history of Massachusetts in the past century. These movements, of course, have by no means been confined to this Commonwealth; they have, on the whole, been less violent here than in several other States; and it is pleasant to record that here at least they have never led to actual bloodshed.

The "Nativist" agitation of the '30s may be explained primarily by alarm over the increasing tide of Catholic immigration. It may be noted that New Englanders at that time were brought up on schoolbooks in which it was still the fashion to describe all Catholic nations as "ignorant," "superstitious," "deceitful," "licentious," "cruel," "lazy," etc. Even a would-be generous writer like "Peter Parley" would regale his readers with such statements about the Irish as that they set apart St. Patrick's Day "for going to church, drinking whiskey, and breaking each other's heads with clubs." Hence when Irish immigrants then began to appear here in great numbers, people were prepared in advance to find their worst suspicions realized.

Naturally, the newcomers were often the poorest members of a shamefully oppressed nation; but their poverty, not the causes of it, was noted. They were largely unschooled, not exactly through their own fault. They were said by unfriendly neighbors to be addicted to drunkenness, brawling, and fighting, though in these respects it would hardly seem that native Americans of that time were in a position to throw stones. Above all, the Irish were thought to be too clannish, flocking by themselves and cutting themselves off from the life of the community like an alien element; although one wonders what else could have been expected in view of the attitude of mingled dislike, distrust, and contempt which they so frequently encountered from the natives. In fact they could usually find real friendliness and help only from people of "their own kind" and from their priests.

The native American's aversion to the immigrant was doubtless much stimulated by economic motives. The laborer, teamster, or factory hand who found himself "done out of his job" by an Irishman, was likely to have strong convictions as to the danger of this foreign invasion for the Protestant religion and "our free institutions." The religious bigotry which pervaded the Nativist movement was aggravated by the fact that this country was just then receiving a flood of anti-Catholic literature from England, called forth by the struggle over Catholic Emancipation. Moreover, during the "revivals" so frequent in the '30s, not a few Protestant ministers felt it a major duty to berate the Church of Rome and to revive all the old accusations in the best style of the sixteenth century.

The Burning of the Ursuline Convent (1834)

Beginning with some minor disturbances in 1829, the anti-Catholic agitation increased until five years later it brought forth the famous "burning of the Charlestown convent." The Ursuline nuns, originally settled on Franklin Street, Boston, had been transferred by Bishop Fenwick in 1826 to a more commodious location, in what is now the eastern part of Somerville but was then included in Charlestown. Here on a hill called "Mt. Benedict" (in honor of the bishop), with a splendid view of Boston, the harbor, and environs, there arose a handsome convent and boarding school, surrounded by gardens and terraces, greenhouse and vineyards. As the gentle sisters of St. Ursula were known to be highly cultivated women and accomplished teachers, and as such opportunities for the education of girls were rare enough in New England at that time, the school soon came to be largely frequented, mainly by the daughters of wealthy Protestant families.

In the summer of 1834 public attention was attracted to this flourishing and peaceful institution, first by a "whispering campaign" started by an imaginative and mendacious girl

(Rebecca Reed), and then by the fact that one of the nuns, broken down by over work in teaching, had left the convent, in a state of delirium, and gone to the house of a friend, though it was true that as soon as her reason returned she promptly and voluntarily went back to Mt. Benedict, full of regret for what she had done. The wildest stories soon circulated about the attempted flight and forcible recapture of the "mysterious lady," who was now supposed to be imprisoned in the convent. "In the popular mind, the building on Mt. Benedict became a very labyrinth of dungeons, crowded with instruments of torture and every iniquity." Placards summoned the "brave and free" to "unshield the avenging sword" and "leave not one stone upon another of that curst nunnery."

On the evening of August 11, 1834, a band of fifty of the "brave and free," well disguised and equipped with tar barrels, muskets, stones, and a barrel of rum, descended upon the convent. A huge bonfire and the clanging of the firebells brought thousands of people to the spot, though none of the spectators, the firemen, or the selectmen of Charlestown made any serious attempt to interfere with the ghastly scenes that followed. While terror and confusion reigned inside the building, the dauntless superior faced the mob bravely, perhaps too defiantly, at any rate fruitlessly.

About midnight, the howling, swearing, menacing crowd burst into the convent. The place was sacked from top to bottom; even tombs were desecrated, the sacred vessels stolen, the consecrated Hosts from the tabernacle profaned and strewn about; and then the building, the first fruits of Catholic educational enterprise in New England, went up in a roar of flames. By a hair's breadth the nuns and their pupils effected their escape, and made their way, pursued across the fields, to sheltering homes around Winter Hill. So ended what a Protestant historian has called "this most outrageous assault upon a house occupied solely by ten feeble women and fifty terror-stricken children." "Never," he adds, "at least in New England, has there been a more cowardly performance."

Effects of the Destruction of the Convent (1834–1835)

Catholic feelings over the event can be imagined. Crowds of Irish laborers on the Worcester, Lowell, and Providence railroads started for Boston, vowing to defend the nuns, and doubtless with blood in their eyes. But on the evening following the tragedy Bishop Fenwick assembled his people in the cathedral and preached from the text, "Love your enemies. Do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you." So successful was he in calming and controlling his flock that the crisis passed off without an act of retaliation on the Catholic side.

Law-loving Protestants were no less indignant than Catholics. Meetings of protest were held in Faneuil Hall, Cambridge, and Charlestown, led by men like Edward Everett, Judge Story, Harrison Gray Otis, and T. H. Perkins. A citizens' committee in Boston, headed by Charles G. Loring, investigated the affair and brought in a report completely vindicating the Ursulines and their school and roundly condemning the outrage.

But the ensuing judicial proceedings showed that by no means the whole community shared such opinions. Of the nine persons brought to trial for participation in the attack, eight were acquitted, whether because of the partiality of the jury or through the force of excited and misguided public opinion. Only one conviction was obtained; and that in the case of a boy of seventeen, who had taken part in the affair simply as a lark. Bishop Fenwick promptly headed a successful petition for his pardon, and the Ursulines joined in the request. In the end, then, no one was punished. The State, notwithstanding persistent efforts, refused to grant an indemnity. The Ursulines, after a brief attempt to start up their school again in Roxbury, an attempt thwarted by the continued hooliganism and threats of violence to which they were subjected, retired to Canada.

The Darkest Years (1834–1837)

The years immediately following this affair were the most trying period in the history of Catholicism in Massachusetts.

This was the time when Catholic churches were so frequently threatened that the bishop, despairing of aid from the authorities, authorized his people to prepare to defend themselves; when the men of St. Patrick's, Northampton Street, had to turn out well armed night after night to guard their church against incendiaries; when the bishop's life was menaced; when the anniversary of "Mt. Benedict" was celebrated by shooting him in effigy; when the Washington Artillery revived "Pope Day"; when the *Pilot* office had to be put under police protection; when Boston elected a "Native American" mayor (Thomas A. Davis).

The climax was reached in 1837. On June 11 came the "Broad Street Riot," when a mob attacked the Irish quarter of Boston with such fury that that section would probably have been wiped out but for the prompt action of Mayor Samuel A. Eliot in bringing out the militia. On Sept. 12 there was a new outbreak, when the "Montgomery Guards," a newly-formed Irish-American militia company, were grossly insulted by other units of the militia at a muster on Boston Common, and pelted with missiles and insults by the crowds in the streets as they marched back to their armory near Faneuil Hall. These events, at any rate, seem to have produced a reaction in public opinion. Henceforth the anti-Catholic and Nativist agitation appeared for a while to die away. Naturally it did not fail to leave more or less lasting results. Of Bishop Fenwick, whose calm and forbearing course throughout the crisis cannot be too highly commended, it can only be said that his spirit was broken and never revived.

For the rest, the events of those years left a twofold result. "On the one hand, by identifying the term 'Catholic' with 'Irish,' they narrowed the Church socially, and checked the stream of American conversions, to which Bishop Fenwick had looked forward with confidence. On the other hand, they solidified the Irish Catholics, with whom the sense of race wrongs gave powerful support to religious constancy."

The Age of the Pioneer Priests (1830–1860)

In spite of all opposition, the Church was making steady and notable progress. This was the time when the Catholic population, hitherto confined mainly to a few towns along the coast, began to penetrate all over the State. Crowds of Irish immigrants, who went out to labor on the canals, the turnpikes, the new railroads, or in the mills so rapidly springing up at that time, remained settled in the Merrimac, the Blackstone, and the Connecticut valleys, and in the towns of the Cape and the Berkshires.

In their track followed a little band of indefatigable priests, eager to bring the rites, the sacraments, and the consolations of their religion to every wandering sheep. This was the great age of the "pioneer priest." Something of a halo still clings to the memories of such fine exemplars of that class as Fr. James Fitton, who, during twenty-five years of missionary labors, scoured nearly the whole of New England; Fr. Matthew Gibson, the chief upbuilder of the Church in the region around Worcester; and Frs. John D. Brady and Bernard O'Cavanaugh, the first apostles of the Berkshires.

In most Massachusetts communities the history of Catholic origins is much the same story. First the time when the people might have to trudge half a day's journey to hear Mass in some distant town, or a priest might come from forty miles away to visit a single sick bed. Next, a priest arrives to organize more or less regular services, and wanders from "shanty" to "shanty" and from "pit" to "pit" to hunt for Catholics. He gathers them around him for Mass, at first in all kinds of places—in the largest cottage, in the "boarding-house," in the "machine-shop," in a barn, in the open air, under a tree. Presently a resident pastor is assigned to the place; and a disused Protestant church is bought or, more commonly, a new edifice is built, at the cost of what brave sacrifices from poor congregations and what trials and anxieties for pastors we shall never fully realize. Plain little wooden structures they were for the most part, those first Catholic churches, which have since almost everywhere been replaced by the far larger and more imposing brick or stone churches of the later nineteenth century.

While at the outset a certain hostility was sometimes evinced by non-Catholics, and still more an immense curiosity to see and hear the first "popish" or "Paddy priest" that appeared among them—as if he had been some new wonder of nature—on the whole rural Massachusetts seems to have received the Church with more tolerance than did the cities. It is pleasant to recall the very numerous cases in which Protestant churches lent their buildings for holding Catholic services, or in which generous Protestants donated land or money for the first Catholic churches.

By the end of Fenwick's episcopate (1846), the number of Catholics in Massachusetts had grown from 3,500 to 55,000; the number of churches from 4 to 40; the number of priests from 5 to 44 (as compared with the situation at Cheverus's departure). The organization and administration of the diocese had been set on a sound basis by Fenwick's firm and prudent management. Education, in which he was especially interested, had been advanced by the establishment of the first Catholic college in New England, Holy Cross, at Worcester (1843), an institution of which the bishop was the founder but which he at once turned over to the Jesuits. A beginning of Catholic effort in another field was the orphan asylum conducted by the Sisters of Charity, now located in Cambridge, whose long and honorable history goes back to 1831.

Bishop Fitzpatrick (1846–1866)

Fenwick was succeeded by John Bernard Fitzpatrick (born in Boston in 1812, the son of Irish immigrants), who had already been his coadjutor since 1844. The new bishop was a man of majestic presence, tall, dignified, and handsome. Of the character and attainments which had brought him to the episcopate at such an early age, Brownson, no mean judge, declares that he was "the soundest theologian," "the most perfect master of the spiritual life," and "one of the ablest as well as most modest men" he had ever known. Unfortunately, Bishop Fitzpatrick appears to have overtaxed his strength by excessive work during the first half of his episcopate, so that during the second half he was pretty much an invalid, and he died relatively young.

The Fitzpatrick era coincides with the high tide of Irish immigration, which attained enormous and unprecedented proportions during the famine years from 1845 to 1847, and continued steadily down to the '60s. Naturally the Church grew by leaps and bounds. If under Cheverus the

Catholics in this Commonwealth had been little more than a handful, and under Fenwick only a small minority, under Fitzpatrick they became one of the largest religious bodies. In Boston they already formed about two fifths of the population. Between 1846 and 1866 the number of churches increased from 40 to 109; the number of priests from 44 to 119; and the number of Catholics from 55,000 to about 200,000. The period also saw the introduction of new religious orders and a considerable development along charitable and educational lines; notably the first parochial schools, and the opening in 1863 by the Jesuits of Boston College, a second institution of higher studies.

Know-Nothing Times (1854–1860)

Inevitably, perhaps, the striking growth of the Church during the '50s brought on a new outburst of anti-Catholic feeling, expressed this time through the "American" or "Know-Nothing" political party. The sudden rise of this organization and its spectacular triumph in the State election of 1854 have been related elsewhere in this work. Aided, of course, by many factors besides the religious issue, the Know-Nothings had succeeded in electing their candidates for governor and for every seat in the legislature, save for three in the lower house. For the next three years (1855–1857) Catholics in Massachusetts enjoyed the privilege of living under the rule of a State party whose first principle was hostility to their religion and whose most immediate aim was to exclude all of them from public office.

Characteristic of the affronts inflicted at that time was the Election Sermon, preached before the governor and the General Court at the opening of the session of 1857 by the Rev. John Pike, which was one long diatribe against "that infallible Church which has covered many an island and mainland with ignorance, crimes, and wo," with incidental jibes against the "barbarism" that still enshrouded all those parts of Ireland that had not been happily "torn from their old faith"—a sermon thankfully received and printed at the expense of the Commonwealth.

Nevertheless, in a practical way not much was done to save the State from the "Romish peril." The sole "achievements" of the Know-Nothing administration along this line were to disband the Irish-American companies of the militia, and to appoint a committee to "visit and examine theological seminaries, boarding-schools, academies, nunneries, convents, and other institutions of a like character" (1855). This "nunnery committee," or "smelling committee," as the irreverent styled it, visited the Jesuit college at Worcester and two convents at Roxbury and Lowell. Unfortunately no scandals could be discovered, though the committee displayed an inquisitiveness and suspiciousness equalled only by their thirst for good whiskey and by the freedom from conventional restraints that led one of them to carry around with him on this moral crusade a lady inaccurately described as "his wife."

Outside the legislation halls, the campaign against "Romanism" went merrily on for a few years, whether organized or spontaneous. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, on a public occasion in 1888, declared that he had got his first lesson about religious liberty from watching the burning of the Charlestown convent, and his second when "in the Know-Nothing days I saw procession after procession of Protestants march through the streets then occupied by Irish Catholics, with torchlights and having every form of insulting banner in their hands, and making every effort to taunt these Catholics out of their homes and bring them into a street fight, which from the self-control of these naturalized citizens they failed to do." One familiar figure in these "No Popery" parades, as another witness relates, was a crazy man known as the "Angel Gabriel," who generally led the way "mounted on a white horse and blowing a bugle, while troops of wild-eyed fanatics hallelujahed in his wake."

Those times were filled with unpleasant episodes: attacks and threatened attacks upon Catholic homes, churches, and cemeteries; the blowing up of the church in Dorchester (1854); boycotts against Catholic storekeepers and laborers; Catholic priests denied access to public institutions ("I'll allow no Paddy superstition to go on in a house under my control," declared the superintendent of the almshouse in Fitchburg); Catholic children in the public schools severely beaten by teachers for refusing to use the Protestant Bible. One incident of the kind last mentioned, the "Wall case" of 1859, attracted so much attention that it led to a reform of religious practices in the public schools and also to the election of the first Catholics on the Boston School Committee.

The Civil War cleared the atmosphere. Then, as in all other wars, the Catholics of Massachusetts demonstrated that they yielded to none of their fellow citizens in patriotism and courage, or in examples of extraordinary individual heroism. Two regiments that went to the front were so distinctively composed of men of Irish blood and Catholic faith that they were allowed by the State to carry the Green Flag along with the Stars and Stripes. For nearly a quarter of a century thereafter religious animosities in Massachusetts seemed very largely forgotten.

ARCHBISHOP WILLIAMS (1866–1907)

On Bishop Fitzpatrick's death (Feb. 13, 1866), the Rt. Rev. John J. Williams, who had been his vicar-general, was appointed his successor. The new bishop, like his predecessor, had been born in Boston (1822), and was the son of Irish immigrants. During an unusually long tenure of office he was to show himself in all things a model shepherd of his flock, and by wisdom, gentleness, and modesty to win the esteem and affection of the whole community.

Soon after his accession the ecclesiastical geography of Massachusetts was fixed substantially in the form it has since retained. The diocese of Boston, which originally included the whole of New England, had been reduced by the cutting-off of Connecticut and Rhode Island (1843) and then of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont (1853) so as to embrace only Massachusetts. The rapid growth of the Church now necessitated the erection of the new diocese of Springfield (1870), made up of Worcester, Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin, and Berkshire Counties. In 1872 a part of southeastern Massachusetts (the Counties of Bristol, Barnstable, Dukes, and Nantucket, and the towns of Marion, Mattapoisett, and Wareham in Plymouth County) was also detached from Boston to enlarge the new diocese of Providence. In 1904 this same area was organized into a separate diocese, Fall River, the third to be erected within the limits of Massachusetts. In 1875 Boston was raised to the rank of an archbishopric, the metropolitan see of a province which included all New England.

Growth of the Church (1866–1907)

The old cathedral on Franklin Street, the cradle of Catholicism in this Commonwealth, had been sold in 1860, abandoned both because of its small size and because of its location in a district now given over entirely to business. Its replacement by a structure adequate to new needs and to the position which Boston had attained in the Catholic world, involved many years of planning and labor. December 8, 1875 the newly created archbishop had the pleasure of dedicating the new Cathedral of the Holy Cross on south Washington Street, a huge edifice in the early English Gothic style, which in size surpasses many of the cathedrals of Europe and which at that time was considered a triumph of American architecture.

An achievement which probably lay even closer to the archbishop's heart, was the foundation of St. John's Ecclesiastical Seminary in Brighton (opened 1884). This was distinctly his personal work, and by it he at last provided an institution for the training of candidates for the priesthood —a need which the diocese of Boston had been relatively slow to meet.

Limits of space preclude any attempt to describe the enormous progress made by the Church along other lines during this long episcopate—the multiplication of religious orders; the attempt, beginning after the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, to establish a parochial school in every parish capable of maintaining one; and the rapid growth of charitable institutions—for which the decade 1860–70 was preeminently the "era of foundations."

This expansion was made possible largely by the fact that Catholic immigration continued at flood tide. If the Irish were no longer coming in such numbers as during the "Great Immigration" after the famine, their places were taken from the late '60s onward by the French Canadians, and after 1880 by Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, and Portuguese. For the State as a whole between 1866 and 1907 the number of churches grew from 109 to 487; the number of priests increased from

119 to 1035; and the number of Catholics swelled from about 200,000 to well over 1,200,000. By the latter date the Catholic Church had come to outnumber all other religious bodies in Massachusetts taken together.

The School Question (1888–1889)

The one serious issue that arose during this period between the Church and a section of the non-Catholic community related to the school question. The rapid development of parochial schools after 1884 gave rise in some quarters to fears that a large proportion of the youth of Massachusetts would henceforth receive an education inferior to that given by the public schools; or at least one that would tend to keep them apart from their fellows, and to hamper the great work of assimilating and Americanizing the now so heterogeneous population of the Commonwealth.

In 1888 and 1889 bills were brought in before the legislature providing for the inspection and supervision of all private schools by the local school committees, though it was clear that the framers of this legislation had only Catholic schools in view and that some of its supporters were animated by very hostile intentions. Indeed, the bill of 1889 would have placed the very existence of each parochial school at the mercy of the local school committee; and its provisions were so drastic that, had it ever become law, it might have plunged Massachusetts into a veritable *Kulturkampf*. Behind this measure stood the newly formed "A.P.A." (American Protective Association), whose principles, aims and language were strongly reminiscent of the Know-Nothings. Arrayed on the other side were such liberal Protestants as President Eliot of Harvard, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Edward Everett Hale, who argued that the proposed legislation would violate the rights of parents and freedom of conscience, and that nothing could be worse for civic peace and harmony than to have each community annually convulsed with religious antagonisms at every election of a school committee. After two years of excitement, controversy, and protracted hearings before legislative committees, the measures in question were dropped; and the existence and free development of the parochial schools have never since been called in question.

From a photograph by Canlin, Boston

HIS EMINENCE, WILLIAM CARDINAL O'CONNELL

In more recent years a few outstanding issues in which freedom of conscience was involved have been settled without serious difficulty. Catholics have secured laws recognizing the right of their clergy to enter all State, city, and town institutions at all times for the purpose of celebrating Mass, hearing confessions, and visiting the sick. And the law now guarantees the right of every minor ward for whom the State finds a home to be brought up in the faith of its parents. In general, it may be said that the Catholic Church now enjoys in Massachusetts the fullest liberty that it could possibly desire.

Cardinal O'Connell, Second Archbishop of Boston

(1907)

Archbishop Williams' successor, now His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, was born in Lowell, Dec. 8, 1859. Educated in the public schools of his native city, at St. Charles' College (Baltimore), Boston College, and the American College at Rome, he was ordained to the priesthood in the Basilica of St. John Lateran, June 8, 1884. There followed eleven busy and fruitful years of parish work in Medford and the crowded West End of Boston; six years as rector of the American College (1895–1901); five years as Bishop of Portland, broken only by an important, delicate, and highly successful mission to Japan as extraordinary envoy of Pope Pius X (1905). Then followed the calling of the still youthful prelate to Boston to become coadjutor-bishop (1906), and within a year to succeed to the archbishopric. In 1911 he was raised to the rank of cardinal, being the third American to receive what is, save for the Papacy itself, the highest dignity in the gift of the Catholic Church.

It was in many ways a splendid heritage to which Archbishop O'Connell succeeded, this see of Boston which was about to celebrate its hundredth anniversary. Within a century it had grown from the humblest beginnings to become one of the strongest and most flourishing dioceses of the Catholic world. The age of pioneering, of teeming immigration, of establishing in most places at least the minimum apparatus of the Church—"the brick and mortar period"—might be regarded as ended. Further and notable expansion there was to be; but henceforth the problem was not so much of extensive as of intensive work. The great needs were for a better organization of the forces already at hand; for quickening and deepening the spiritual life of the people; for developing to the utmost all the many-sided activities of the Church; for introducing certain new methods and modes of action adapted to the new age; and for making the Church better understood and more articulate in a community where it had hitherto been rather backward in offering its contribution towards the solution of social, moral, and intellectual questions.

The new archbishop was precisely the man for such a situation. Apart from abounding health and energy, wide experience of men and affairs, and great personal charm and distinction, he has brought to his task a deeply cultivated, versatile, and incisive mind; prompt judgment, courage, and inflexible will-power; broad vision and keen discernment of the trend of the times; remarkable talents for organization, administration, and leadership. Above all, he has shown a superb faith in the cause that he represents and an unfaltering devotion to duty. And he has been supported in his undertakings by his people with a loyalty and a generosity that could scarce have been surpassed.

Material Progress (1907–1930)

Under such intelligent and forceful leadership splendid progress has been made in every field. There has been the usual increase in the number of Catholics, and an extraordinary increase in the number of new churches (138 built between 1907 and 1923), parochial schools, high schools, academies, colleges, charitable institutions (a total of 53 in 1925, as against 23 in 1907), and houses of religious orders and congregations. What is most distinctive of the present regime is the systematization and centralization of effort. In most fields the Cardinal's method seems to be the same: first a careful survey of existing agencies, their methods, merits and defects; then a reorganization with the purpose of securing proper coordination, uniformity, efficiency, and the saving of money and labor; and finally, a persistent effort to derive the maximum results from the systems and policies adopted.

From a photograph by Clifton Church

Boston College

Many are the outstanding achievements of the period. Charitable enterprises have been entirely reorganized, with the result that in this field Boston is one of the most completely equipped and best organized Catholic dioceses in the United States. Great improvements have been made in the work of the parochial schools through closer supervision and standardization. A uniform diocesan course of study and uniform diocesan tests have been introduced. Extension courses and a summer school for Catholic teachers have been established. Other notable achievements have been the building of the splendid new St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Brighton; and the transfer of Boston College to its new site at Chestnut Hill, where its Gothic buildings, rising high above the waters of twin lakes, already make it one of the fairest of American colleges and may in time earn for it the name of the "American Oxford."

Spiritual Progress (1907–1930)

Still more important have been the numerous evidences of a quickened spiritual life in the diocese. One sign of that is the development in almost every parish of the St. Vincent de Paul Society (ministering to the poor); the Holy Name Society, whose annual processions of 40,000 to 50,000 men have become a familiar and impressive spectacle in Boston; the Sodality for women; and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which has brought the annual contribution of the diocese for home and foreign missions from $1,400 in 1898 up to $750,000 in 1925.

Equally striking is the vast growth of professional guilds of Catholic men and women (physicians, dentists, teachers, business women, stenographers, telephone operators, factory workers, etc., etc.) for social service and spiritual betterment, or the founding of two great "retreat houses"—the Passionist Monastery for men, and the Convent of the Cenacle for women, both in Brighton—where each year thousands of Catholics and many non-Catholics retire for a few days of prayer, reflection, and the renewing of the inner life.

Most striking of all, perhaps, is the astonishing growth among Catholic people of the practice of frequent Communion. The diocesan statistics for 1922 show three million

Communions on week-days, four million on feast days and "first Fridays," and ten million on Sundays. The diocese of Boston stands almost at the head of the Catholic world in the annual number of its young men and young women who dedicate themselves to the service of God in the priesthood, in missionary work, or in religious orders.

His Eminence has done much to facilitate understanding and good relations between Catholics and non-Catholics, both by his readiness to cooperate with others in all ways that are possible to him, as shown notably during the World War, and also by his efforts to make the Catholic Church and its point of view better known to the rest of the community. His public addresses, instinct with patriotism and always marked by vigor, clearness, and candor, have been received with universal attention and respect.

Another means for promoting understanding has been the creation of the Catholic Truth Guild, whose representatives have toured the State, and indeed the country, speaking to crowds in the open air. The Common Cause Forum is an arena for weekly free discussion. Annual courses of public lectures have been organized. A diocesan newspaper, *The Pilot,* has been established. Very recently the radio has been regularly in use for presenting Catholic doctrines and standpoints to the public. In short, this has been an episcopate replete with activity and achievements, and one that will doubtless remain illustrious in the history of the see of Boston.

The Dioceses of Springfield and Fall River
(1870–1930)

The diocese of Springfield has been ruled by three bishops: Patrick T. O'Reilly (1870-92), Thomas D. Beaven (1892-1920), and Thomas M. O'Leary (since 1921). Under their leadership the Church in western Massachusetts has had a remarkably vigorous development, whether as regards its growth in numbers, the efficiency of its organization, the variety and excellence of its charitable institutions, or the number of vocations to the priesthood and the religious life, for which the diocese of Springfield has long been famous.

Fall River has hitherto had but two bishops: William Stang

(1904–07), Daniel B. Feehan (since 1907). Recent as is its creation and small as it is in area and population, this diocese, too, has grown and expanded its activities in highly creditable fashion.

Educational and Charitable Institutions

The position which the Catholic Church has come to hold in the Commonwealth may best be indicated, perhaps, by the statistics for 1929, taken from the latest volume of the *United States Catholic Directory:*

	Total Number of Catholics	Churches	Priests
Archdiocese of Boston . . .	999,000	350	1,062
Diocese of Springfield . . .	446,752	230	447
Diocese of Fall River	195,000	113	199
Total	1,640,752	693	1,708

According to the federal religious census of 1916 (the last for which the data are available), 71.3% of the "church members" of Massachusetts were Roman Catholic; 73.5% of the population of Boston that had any religious affiliations were reported as Catholics: 62.4% in Cambridge; 69.1% in Worcester; 71% in Lowell; and 86% in Fall River (the highest percentage of Catholics to be found among the fifty largest cities of the country).

The strength of the Catholic Church may be further measured by the fairly complete educational system which it has built up, which in 1929 included 264 parochial schools, 79 high schools, 26 academies and preparatory schools, and 6 colleges. In all 163,000 young people are being trained under Catholic auspices.

The Church's charitable institutions in Massachusetts include 18 orphan asylums, 3 infant asylums, 1 school for deaf-mutes, 5 industrial or reform schools, 15 hospitals and 19 homes for the poor and aged. By providing institutions for the needs of helpless infants and indigent or wayward mothers; for homeless children beyond infancy and for wayward boys; for the comfort and protection of wage-earning women who are without homes; for the aged, the sick, and the victims of chronic and incurable diseases, as well as by its many-sided work of a non-institutional kind, the Catholic Church has made itself a social asset of the utmost value to the Commonwealth, second only to the State in the magnitude of its charitable activities, and able to do many things that the State can never do.

The work of the Church in Massachusetts is greatly helped by the presence here of religious communities representing nearly seventy different orders and congregations of men or women. Whether they are engaged in teaching school children or in training college youth, in rescuing fallen women or nursing sufferers from cancer, in incessant preaching tours "on the mission" or in cloistered prayer and contemplation, the lives of these people are a perpetual inspiration to Catholics, and a reminder to the world at large that the age of faith and idealism and heroic self-renunciation is not yet past.

CONVERSIONS TO CATHOLICISM

While the immense growth of Catholicism in this State has been due primarily to immigration, the fact should not be overlooked that since the days of Cheverus every generation has furnished a large number of converts to the Catholic faith from the older stock, including many men of high intellectual distinction. The most famous of these converts was Orestes A. Brownson (1803-1876), one of the leading figures here in the stirring days of Transcendentalism and Brook Farm. After a spiritual Aeneid that led him from Presbyterianism to atheism, he found his way to the Catholic Church in 1844. Brownson's writings on religious, philosophical, political, and social questions would fill a library. But he was more than prolific: he was probably one of the ablest thinkers this country has produced.

Among other converts of the nineteenth century, one may name: the gifted Barber family, no less than seventeen members of which came into the Church at about the same time, most of them to become priests or nuns; Rev. James Kent Stone (Fr. Fidelis, C. P.), who after being president of Kenyon and Hobart Colleges, became a Catholic, a missionary, and the most famous and venerated figure that the Passionist order in this country has produced; Fr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, S. J., son of a mayor of Boston, a Harvard man, and a captain in the Civil War; Fr. George M. Searle, C. S. P., also a Harvard graduate, who ended his life as director of the Vatican Observatory; Fr. George M. Haskins, a former Protestant clergyman, who bears one of the greatest names in the history of Catholic charities in Boston; General Joseph W. Revere, Paul Revere's grandson; Fanny Allen, the "first nun from New England," the daughter of Ethan Allen; and Julia Hawthorne Lathrop, daughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose last years were spent as the head of a religious community which she had founded for the purpose of caring for sufferers dyeing of cancer.

Catholics in Public Life (1841–1930)

It was but slowly and tardily that Catholics were admitted to public office in Massachusetts. The first notable case is that of Dr. Henry C. B. Greene (a convert), who was elected to the legislature in 1841. The first election of a Catholic as a common councilman in Boston came in 1857; as an alderman in 1870; as a congressman from Massachusetts in 1882. Hugh O'Brien became mayor of Boston in 1884, but not till the turn of the century did it become common to see Catholics sent to Congress or chosen mayors of the larger cities. The Hon. David I. Walsh has the distinction of being the sole Catholic who has hitherto served either as governor of the Commonwealth or as Senator from Massachusetts.

Among the Catholics who have distinguished themselves in the political, professional, or business life of the State, are: Patrick A. Collins (1844–1905), who rose from poverty to become an able lawyer, one of the outstanding leaders of the national Democracy, Congressman, and twice mayor of Boston, a man universally esteemed for his sterling character and absolute integrity; Charles F. Donnelly (1836–1909), a talented lawyer, who has left his mark equally by his successful championship of Catholic schools during the battle of 1888–1889 and by his thirty years of eminent service to the State Board of Charities; Dr. Thomas Dwight (1843–1911), a convert, a famous anatomist, and successor of Oliver Wendell Holmes in the Parkman professorship in the Harvard

Medical School; Andrew Carney (1794–1864), whose success in business made possible the philanthropies of which the Carney Hospital in South Boston is only one example; Patrick R. Guiney (1835–1877), who rose from private to brigadier general in the Civil War, lost an eye, and went through the rest of his life with shattered health but smiling face, the personification of chivalry, integrity, and deep religious feeling.

In the field of literature Catholics are proud of such names as Brownson, Robert Dwyer Joyce, Charles B. Fairbanks ("Andrew Aguecheek"); John Boyle O'Reilly (1844–1890), that many-sided genius and most lovable of men, who played so great a role in the intellectual and social life of Boston in the twenty years after 1870; Katherine Eleanor Conway; and Louise Imogen Guiney, author of what one discriminating critic calls "the most authentic and exquisite verse America has yet produced."

A Persisting Problem

Of O'Reilly it was said by Thomas Wentworth Higginson that he gave his later life to "the mission so momentous for Boston, so momentous for America," of working for "reconciliation in this community between the Roman Catholic Irishman and the Protestant American." The history of the past century testifies to the need of that reconciliation and to much progress made towards that end. But "the gulf, though narrowed, is visibly still here."

On this subject one cannot do better than cite the words of the present Archbishop of Boston, uttered in a memorable address of 1908: "No lover of New England will stand passive in this problem before us. There are rents enough growing in the social fabric without perpetuating those made by our fathers, the baneful influence of which in every walk of life even today we still feel. To harmonize into a common sympathy and patient forbearance these varied inhabitants of the land, so that while each retains the birthright of his race, each learns from other something worth acquiring for the common good—that is the only sensible, practical, and efficacious method by which concord and fellow feeling can become a reality, for the peace of all and for the nation's strength."

From a photograph by Notman, Boston

JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY

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CHAPTER XVIII

MEDICINE IN MASSACHUSETTS (1620–1930)

By Walter L. Burrage, A.M., M.D.

The Task

The Venerable Bede said twelve centuries ago: "The hard condition of the historian is that if he speaks the truth he provokes the anger of man; but if he commits falsehoods to writing he will be unacceptable to God, who will distinguish in his judgments between truth and adulation." This chapter aims to be a necessarily brief recital of the efforts of the medical profession of Massachusetts to advance the standards of the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of diseases in this Commonwealth. It is understood that the medical profession is distinguished from a business in that it is devoted to its own destruction, the major purpose of the medical profession being to prevent the ills that flesh is heir to and to keep every one well. Medicine has progressed by rejecting the old truth for the new. In spite of its best efforts in the past the millenium of perfect health seems even yet to be far in the future. Although in this short sketch we are to put greatest emphasis on the last fifty years, the story would be neither complete nor understandable without a resumé of what has gone before.

Seventeenth-Century Practitioners

Any account of medicine in the old Bay State must begin with the arrival of the first physician to these shores, namely Samuel Fuller (1580–1633), who came to Plymouth in the *Mayflower* and ministered most acceptably to the medical needs of the colonists, not only at Plymouth but also to the Puritans at Charlestown. William Bradford tells nearly all we know about Fuller in his *History of the Plymouth Planta-*

tion, bearing testimony to the high repute in which he was held by the settlers.

Few were the educated physicians among the colonists in the seventeenth century, and these few belonged primarily to the clerical profession. Instance Giles Firmin (1615–1697) of Ipswich, the first lecturer on anatomy in the country, who, although practising medicine all his life, became a dissenting parson and pamphleteer in England at the age of thirty-four. When Firmin had been two years a practitioner in Ipswich, Massachusetts, he wrote to Governor Winthrop: "I am strongly sette upon to study divinity, my studyes else must be lost: for physic is but a meene help." Firmin was the instigator of the first anatomical clinic, for he instructed students in that art by means of a skeleton, thereby stimulating the General Court to pass an act in 1647 which recited the necessity that "such as studies physick, or chirurgery may have the liberty to read anatomy and to anatomize once in four years some malefactor in case there be such as the court allow." No other anatomy act was passed until 1830, nearly two hundred years later.

The first woman to practise medicine in the Commonwealth was Anne Hutchinson, who came to Charlestown in 1636. She was said to be an accomplished midwife, as was Samuel Fuller's widow. We know that Patience Miller, wife of William Miller, tanner, and mother of eight children, was the only practitioner in Northfield during the first two settlements, 1673 and 1685.

Thomas Thacher, the first minister of the Old South Church, Boston, was in 1677 the author of the earliest medical publication in America, entitled *A Brief Rule To Guide the Common People of New England how to order themselves and theirs in the Small Pocks or Measels.* Charles Chauncy, the second president of Harvard, had been trained in medicine at Cambridge University, England; he instructed students in the art, as did his successor as president, Leonard Hoar.

In the year 1649 the General Court passed the first law of its kind in the country, namely an act which restricted the practice of medicine and surgery to such persons as might be judged competent by "some of the wisest and gravest, or most skilful in the same art." As early as 1647 a quarantine law, the first in America, had been enacted in order to keep out yellow fever, brought from the West Indies.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MEDICINCE

One of the chief events in medicine in Massachusetts in the eighteenth century was the introduction of inoculation of smallpox as a preventive of that disease, by Zabdiel Boylston (1679–1766) of Boston, incited and assisted by the Rev. Cotton Mather. William Douglass (1692–1752), a learned and highly educated physician from Scotland, organized the first medical society in the country, in Boston, in 1735. He suggested the formation of a board of physicians and surgeons to examine all practitioners of medicine as regarded their training and capabilities, an advance in the protection of the public that was destined to be postponed for some fifty years, when the Legislature conferred such power on the Massachusetts Medical Society, in 1781. Dr. Douglass wrote the first adequate description of scarlet fever, was a voluminous writer on meteorological and statistical subjects, but had a quarrelsome temper. Cotton Tufts (1731–1815) of Weymouth, tried to organize a state medical society in 1765, the year before the beginning of the New Jersey State Medical Society; later (1781) he was instrumental in starting and fostering the Massachusetts Medical Society.

Benjamin Waterhouse (1754–1846), of Cambridge, was fortunate in an unusual education in medicine in London, Edinburgh and Leyden. He introduced vaccination with cow pox for smallpox in 1801, and has been called the "Jenner of America." Waterhouse, like Douglass, did not hesitate to inform his less fortunate brother practitioners, who had not enjoyed European advantages, how ignorant they were; with the result that, what with their contentious dispositions and personal unpopularity, it was a hundred years before any historian could be found to say a good word for these two pioneers, although their great contributions to the country were recognized. Waterhouse, with John Warren (1753–1815), founded the Harvard Medical School in 1782.

Public Interest

The first State health law, the "Great Public Health Act," was passed by the Massachusetts Legislature in the year 1797. It authorized the appointment of local health officers by cities and towns, its chief object being quarantine regulations to prevent the spread of contagious diseases. Under this act Newburyport was the first town to create a local health organization, Boston following suit in 1799. Paul Revere was the first president of the board of health. Thus we see that local health boards antedated a State board by seventy years. Medicine in Massachusetts got its first real start at the Revolution, when physicians were called into the army and navy; more or less efficient hospitals were inaugurated, and the treatment of the sick and injured received systematic and intelligent attention.

Space serves to mention here only the outstanding facts concerning the founding of the chief medical institutions of the State. The advances in the science and art of medicine made in Europe, a region long civilized, were taken up by the physicians of Massachusetts with increasing promptness as the nineteenth century ran its course. Most of the medical men of prominence finished their medical education abroad, bringing home, as had Benjamin Waterhouse, all that was new and best. The custom of training young practitioners by the three year apprentice system—as assistants to older physicians—gave place to matriculation in a medical school and service as an interne in a hospital, as soon as the schools and hospitals had been established.

The Massachusetts Medical Society (1781–1930)

In order to safeguard the inhabitants of the State from untrained and ignorant practitioners and quacks, the Massachusetts Medical Society was organized and incorporated by the Legislature in November, 1781, thirty-one physicians in different parts of the Commonwealth being the incorporators. It was a small select society for the first twenty years of its existence, its membership being limited to seventy Fellows.

In 1803, its charter was modified, and the society made democratic—any reputable physician being eligible for fellowship—the bill laying down the rules for its government being drawn by Judge Samuel Sewall of Salem, afterwards Chief Justice of the State. This statute is in force at the present time and the membership of the society has increased from 117 in 1804 to 4622 in 1930, the increase being progressive through all the years and including (according to the figures published in the last directory of the American Medical Association) seventy-one per cent of all the physicians of the State.

Licensing of Physicians (1781–1930)

By its charter of 1781 power was conferred on the state medical society to license practitioners of medicine. Again, in 1789, by another act, the duties of the society were defined more precisely, for the act set forth that the society was also to give "medical instruction or education as they [the society] shall judge requisite for candidates for the practice of physic or surgery." Thus early, the society took steps to improve the status of medical education, in conjunction with the Harvard Medical School, then the only institution of the sort in the Commonwealth. This situation continued, with modifications introduced by the founding later of other medical schools, until the belated passing by our Legislature—belated because almost all the other states of the Union had preceded us in practice acts—of the medical registration law of 1894. The State government has continued to take a paternal interest in the medical society even to the present ime. In 1859 a law was passed requiring every candidate for admission into the society to pass an examination before a board of censors of the society as a requirement for fellowship, a condition which exists today. In 1921 the Legislature authorized the society to publish a weekly journal devoted mainly to medicine and surgery, the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal.*

Early Medical Education (1782–1860)

The story of the medical schools of the State can be told here only in the most important features. Harvard, founded in 1782, graduated relatively few students previous to the late sixties of the nineteenth century. In 1822, fifty years after the founding, the graduates numbered 12; ten years later, 27;

in 1872, 58, the number varying in the intervening years and reaching 137 in 1929. The next school to be founded was the Berkshire Medical Institution, at Pittsfield in 1823, aided and fostered by Dr. Henry Halsey Childs (1783–1868) of that city. This was connected with Williams College until 1837. It flourished until shortly before Childs's death, going out of existence in 1867. In the year 1830, it graduated 24 students while Harvard gave degrees to 21. One may note that in the same year the other medical schools of New England graduated students as follows: Dartmouth, at Hanover, N. H. (established in 1798), 18; Yale, at New Haven (established in 1813), 17; Medical School of Maine, at Brunswick (established in 1820), 37.

The Worcester Medical College ("eclectic," *i.e.*, choosing the best) had an existence of eleven years (1848–1859), but not much is known about its graduates.

RECENT MEDICAL SCHOOLS (1914–1930)

The unexpired charter of the Worcester College was revived by the Middlesex College of Medicine and Surgery, in Cambridge, in 1914. That institution, having united with the Massachusetts College of Osteopathy, has graduated each year about 28 students. The New England Female Medical College (homeopathic) was organized in Boston in 1848 and was merged with Boston University School of Medicine in 1874, an institution founded the previous year and also homeopathic. The Boston University school became non-sectarian in 1918, graduated 49 students in 1929, and has improved constantly its courses of instruction and its teaching staff. The Tufts College Medical School began in 1893, with buildings in Boston. In 1929 this medical school graduated 114 doctors. It has been a growing and increasingly useful educational institution.

The only other medical school in the State is the Boston College of Physicians and Surgeons, organized in 1880. It has had a checkered career from the start, partly because of its limited facilities. No efficient medical school, we know, can support itself on the fees from the students, which constitute only a third of the cost of medical education in the schools of the United States taken together. The Middlesex Medical

College, which has called itself the medical department of the University of Massachusetts, and the Boston College have inadequate teaching equipment. The latter graduated nine students in 1929. Neither of these two schools has sufficient facilities.

Since 1893, Massachusetts has maintained three good medical schools. The standards of training have been raised progressively from a graded three-year course (1874) to a full four-year course. Students now are expected to follow their school training by an interneship of eighteen months in an approved hospital, before taking up practice, and they must pass an examination by the State Board of Registration in Medicine before they may be licensed.

Number of Physicians

According to the figures published in the "Educational Number" of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 1929, Massachusetts had enrolled as students of medicine in her five schools in 1929 a total of 742 students, the whole number for the United States being 20,878. The graduates of the medical schools of the entire country in that year were 4,446. Nearly all of these were from the so-called "Class A schools"; that is, rated as the best by the national medical society. Massachusetts, according to the same authority, had in 1929 a total of 6,375 physicians.

The scarcity of general practitioners in thinly settled districts, a subject that has been prominent in the press of late years, has not affected seriously this State, than which only four in the Union have a smaller area. We have few regions that are inaccessible to physicians during winter storms, and our roads are getting better every season. Although for a long time the trend of practitioners has been to settle in the cities rather than in the country, what with better roads, the motor car, district nurses, and the telephone, the inhabitants of the hill and mountain districts are cared for even better than in the past.

Hospitals (1784–1930)

The earliest hospital in the State was, apparently, the hospital connected with the Boston Almshouse, which, at the time it was first used as a place of teaching for the students of the newly founded Harvard Medical School (1784), had about 50 patients. The Boston Dispensary was opened in 1796 and incorporated in 1801. The Marine Hospital, established at Charlestown in 1803, then cared for about 30 patients. The hospital at the state prison, also at Charlestown, erected in 1805, provided the clinical facilities for the students of the medical schools up to the opening of the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1811. The beginnings of the other early hospitals of the State may be enumerated as follows: Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary, 1827; Boston Lying-In Hospital, 1832; Lowell Corporation Hospital, 1839; Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital, 1855; New England Hospital for Women and Children, 1862; Carney Hospital, 1863; Boston City Hospital, 1864; St. John's Hospital, Lowell, 1867; Springfield Hospital, 1869. They are all in active operation today. Space does not allow the tracing of the growth of the modern hospitals here. It is enough to say that in the year 1929 there were in the Commonwealth 307 registered hospitals, both public and private, containing a total of 48,905 beds.

TRAINING OF NURSES (1872–1930)

The first training school for nurses in the United States was founded by Dr. Susan Dimock (1847–1875) at the New England Hospital for Women and Children, Roxbury, in 1872. The previous year she had received a degree in medicine at the University of Zurich, after studying at the New England Hospital and being denied admission to any of the classes for male students at the medical schools of this country. She sensed the need of nurses not of the Sairey Gamp variety, and succeeded in opening the doors of a training school at her alma mater. Unfortunately her brilliant career was cut short only three years later, when she was drowned at the wrecking of the *Schiller* off the coast of England.

Training schools for nurses were established within the next few years in New York City at Bellevue Hospital; and at the Massachusetts General Hospital and the City Hospital in Boston.

At the present time there are in the State 124 hospitals that have training schools connected with them, with a total of

Courtesy of the Treadwell Library

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL, BOSTON

4643 student nurses under training. On January 1, 1927, there were 15,591 registered nurses in Massachusetts, or one registered nurse for every 37 persons of the population. The State requires thirty-six months of training before a nurse may be registered by the State Board of Registration of Nurses. Attendant nurses and pupils, who have gone through a course of instruction less protracted, are now graduated by a school in Boston, for the care of the less serious and chronic cases of illness.

MEDICAL JOURNALS (1812–1930)

The chief mouthpiece of the profession was started by Dr. John Gorham, Dr. John C. Warren and Dr. James Jackson in Boston in 1812 as a monthly named *The New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* It was to be the official organ of the Harvard Medical School. It had a precarious existence until 1828 when, through the energy of Dr. Walter Channing (1786–1876) and Dr. John Ware (1795–1864), who assumed the editorship, the journal was converted into the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal,* which has appeared every week since that time, completing one hundred years in February, 1928, when its name was changed to *The New England Journal of Medicine.* At present it contains about forty pages of reading matter, and twenty-four pages of ethical advertisements. Until 1921, the journal was an independent publication, carried on by different public-spirited medical men, who often had to reach into their pockets, besides furnishing free copy. In that year it was purchased by the Massachusetts Medical Society, to act as its official organ. Of late it has been also the official organ of the New England Surgical Society, the Boston Surgical Society, the New England Pediatric Society, the New Hampshire Surgical Club, and the New Hampshire and Vermont medical societies. The journal is managed by a committee of the State medical society and an ex-president of the society—Dr. Bowers, of Clinton, who is managing editor. It is now the only weekly medical journal in the country except the *Journal of the American Medical Association,* published in Chicago, with a weekly output of 100,000 copies. Several monthly journals have been started, many of brief life, such as the *Medical Magazine* (1832–1835) and the *New England Medical Gazette,* the organ of the Massachusetts Homeopathic Medical Society.

CONTAGIOUSNESS OF PUERPERAL FEVER (1843)

An outstanding event in the history of medicine in this State was the discovery in 1843 of the contagiousness of childbed fever by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–1894). February 13 of that year his essay on the "Contagiousness of Puerperal Fever" was read before the Boston Society for Medical Improvement, an organization of long and honorable existence, made up of the leading members of the profession. Holmes declared that physicians carried the contagion of childbed fever from the autopsy room and from one case to another on their hands and clothes; that the nail brush should be used, the hands washed in chloride of lime solution and the clothes changed after leaving a case of the disease. The essay caused an outburst of indignation in the profession, especially in Philadelphia.

Semmelweis of Vienna, five years later, proved that puerperal fever was a blood poisoning or septicemia, by investigations which he carried on in the great Vienna hospital where he occupied the position of assistant in obstetrics. By the use of simple cleanliness he lowered the mortality of the disease over 8.5 per cent. Both Holmes and Semmelweis encountered violent opposition, for who could be expected to believe, without a knowledge of the causative factor evidenced by germs, that a physician himself spread the infection of a disease which had been so fatal since time began? By persisting and reiterating their views they forced the truth upon a doubting world, with the result that puerperal fever became a rare disease. To Holmes, the anatomist, belongs the credit of having first called the attention of the world of science to a great truth, a fact sometimes overlooked because of his greater reputation in the field of literature.

DISCOVERY OF SURGICAL ANESTHESIA (1842–1846)

It was only three years after Holmes's discovery that the first public demonstration of the use of ether as an anesthetic in surgery was made at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston. October 16, 1846, William Thomas Green Morton (1819–1868) administered the ether while John Collins Warren (1778–1856), sixty-eight years of age—a son of Dr. John Warren,—operated for the removal of a small tumor of the neck. This beginning of a revolution in the art of surgery is an interesting story. Laughing gas (nitrous oxide) had long been used to deaden pain, particularly in the removal of teeth. Ether had been employed as an inhalation to relieve the pain of the late stages of consumption as long ago as 1795; while Sir Michael Faraday, English physicist, had called attention to the anesthetic properties of ether in 1818.

The drug had been employed by Dr. Crawford Williamson Long (1815–1878) in Jefferson County, Georgia, in 1842, to remove a tumor of the neck. It is a curious coincidence that both of the first instances of the use of ether in surgery should have been for the removal of tumors of the neck. The medical world knew nothing of Long's employment of ether. He abandoned its use because he thought that the insensibility produced was too brief and ether anesthesia was impracticable. He lived far from medical centers and he published nothing concerning his experiences until long afterwards, when Morton's practical demonstration in public had aroused the world. Controversy subsequently arose as to priority in the use of ether as an anesthetic. The recorded facts support the following statement.

The Test of Etherization (1846)

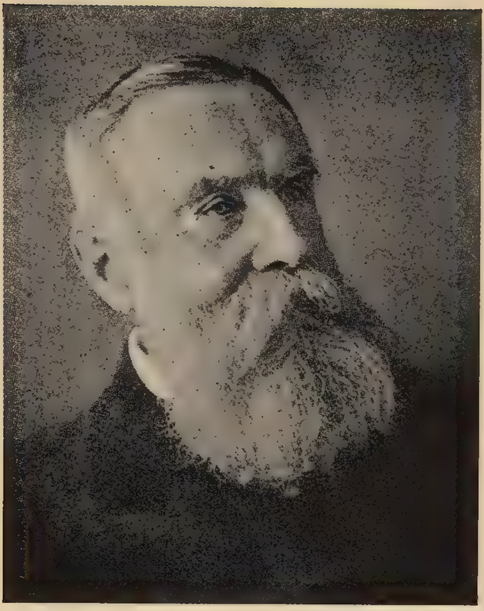
Dr. Morton was a dentist who had studied medicine and held an M.D. degree. In order to fit artificial teeth it was necessary to remove the roots of decayed teeth—a painful process. Laughing gas produced a brief period of anesthesia and called for unduly rapid operating. Therefore Morton got some ether from the chemist Dr. Charles T. Jackson (1805–1880), learned from him how to use it, tried the drug on animals and on himself, extracted teeth from several patients, and then made application to the senior surgeon at the Massachusetts General Hospital for an opportunity to put it to the test in the public amphitheater.

The eventful day arrived. Morton was late, as his inhaler, just invented, was not finished on time. When he came into the operating room he brought with him a man named Frost, who had had a tooth removed while under the influence of ether. Dr. Warren pointed to him and said to the patient, a young man, Gilbert Abbott by name, "Are you afraid? There is a man who has breathed it and can testify to its success." "No," said Abbott, "I feel confident, and will do precisely as you tell me." The operation lasted about five minutes and the patient suffered no pain, as he testified later. Dr. Henry J. Bigelow, newly appointed surgeon to the hospital, who was present with many of the staff, said: "I have seen something today which will go round the world."

By assistance to Morton and by writing, Bigelow aided much to make etherization successful and to let the world of medicine know about it. The following day Dr. George Hayward (1791–1863), another surgeon to the hospital, removed a large tumor from a woman's shoulder, Dr. Morton giving the ether. There was no pain. Surgical anesthesia was an accomplished fact and in future the human race could be relieved of countless disabilities which previously had been made impossible by the suffering caused by the knife. Morton was justly accorded a niche in the Hall of Fame in 1920; for he found experimentally and independently the properties of ether, and demonstrated to the public how it could be used successfully in surgery.

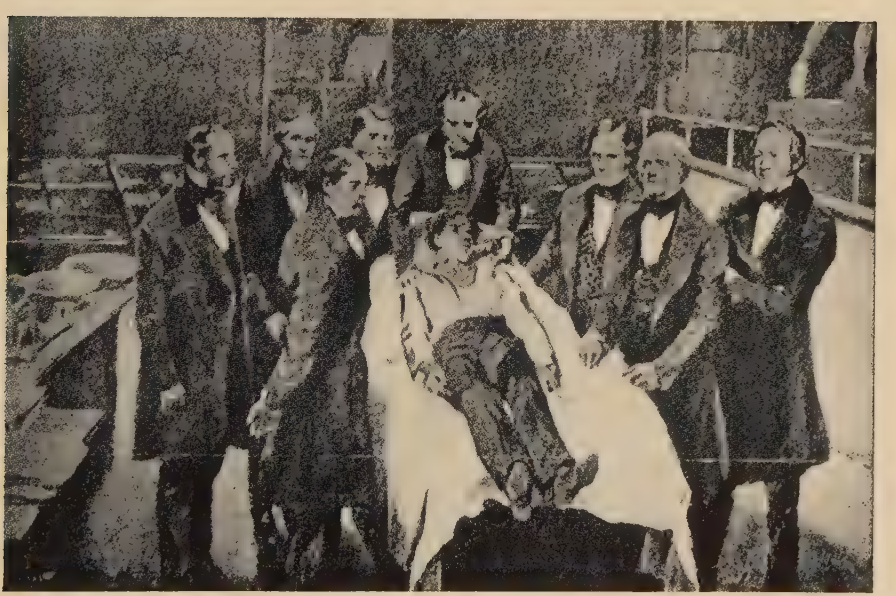
Appendicitis (1886)

An event which redounds to the credit of Massachusetts was the first description of inflammation of the vermiform appendix, that very common disease which had been called previously "perityphlitis" and "inflammation of the bowels." In 1886 Reginald Heber Fitz (1843–1913) of Chelsea and Boston, who had been professor of pathological anatomy at Harvard since 1878, presented an article on "Perforating Inflammation of the Vermiform Appendix" at a meeting of the Association of American Physicians. It gave a clear picture of the clinical course and diagnostic signs of the disease as well as the morbid changes which take place. Fitz advised an immediate operation to remove the appendix as the only



From a photograph Courtesy of the Author

HENRY J. BIGELOW, M. D.



Courtesy of the Author

THE FIRST PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION OF SURGICAL ANAESTHESIA,
BOSTON, OCTOBER 16, 1846

rational means of saving life. In his paper he analyzed nearly 500 cases which he had studied, showing that the old-fashioned treatment with large doses of opium and waiting was fraught with danger. Medical practice was ready for a new method of treatment. Abdominal surgery, under the ægis of asepsis, was just coming into being. Since the steam sterilizer had been introduced by Von Bergmann of Berlin, all instruments, towels, and dressings could be sterilized. Hence, although the rubber glove was yet to come, the abdomen might be opened with comparative safety, whereas in the past, if that cavity was invaded by the surgeon, the results were apt to be fatal. In this same year (1886) Alfred Worcester of Waltham did the first appendectomy on a girl with an abscess in the groin who was growing worse all the time and had been refused operation at one of the large metropolitan hospitals. Worcester opened the abcess, removed the appendix, and the girl recovered. Having a chronic appendicitis himself he persuaded a bold surgeon, John Wheelock Elliot (1852–1925), to operate on him and take out his appendix; soon he succeeded in having the same operation performed on several of his patients who needed it. The campaign for early operation was on its way to general adoption by the surgeons of America, although a long time intervened before old prejudices had been overcome.

Boston Medical Library (1875–1930)

Dr. James Read Chadwick (1844–1905) returned to Boston in 1873 after study abroad, and soon developed a plan for a library of medicine, where those who wished to keep abreast of the times could consult the medical literature of the world. The previous year the small library of the Massachusetts Medical Society—1686 volumes—had been presented to the Boston Public Library. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch (1808–1892), founder of the first State board of health in the country, felt dissatisfied with this disposal of the books. In 1875 he collaborated with Chadwick and organized the Boston Medical Library Association, with rooms at 5 Hamilton Place. Dr. O. W. Holmes was the first president; Dr. Chadwick, librarian; and Dr. Edwin Howard Brigham (1841–1926), assistant librarian, in charge.

At first the library had a small membership and not many books. Chadwick was librarian until his death; always travelling about with his "want book." Irrepressible, never resting, he obtained additional gifts and purchases from a large number of sources, thus promoting the growth of the library until it became a medical center for New England, and the fourth largest medical library in the country. From 1878 until 1901, the library was housed in a made-over residence at 19 Boylston Place, the rooms being shared with the chief medical societies in Greater Boston.

On moving to a new fireproof building at 8 The Fenway, in 1901, the medical books of the Boston Public Library and of the Boston Athenaeum were turned over to it. Today the library, with its beautiful Holmes Hall reading room, houses over 151,000 volumes and 100,000 pamphlets, besides duplicates. It has a remarkable collection of medical medals, and many portraits of the medical worthies of the past, besides halls for medical meetings. It is badly crowded for room and must soon obtain larger quarters. The membership is about 900. Dr. John Woodford Farlow was the librarian from 1905 to 1928 and James F. Ballard assistant librarian, in charge since Dr. Brigham's retirement in 1909, is now director. The library is open to the public.

Medical Examiner System (1877–1930)

Since earliest times there have been coroners both in England and America, petty lay officials whose duty it is to investigate all sudden deaths in a given community, to hold inquests and to report to the court having jurisdiction. As a rule they are without any scientific training and (in this state at least) had been political appointees and often notoriously corrupt. In the year 1877, after agitation by the state medical society, a bill was passed by the Legislature abolishing the coroners and providing in their place "medical examiners," men skilled in medicine and in pathology, to function in each county. The examiners are appointed by the governor with the consent of the Council for terms of seven years. This change in the law was brought about largely by the endeavors of Dr. Frank Winthrop Draper (1843–1909), an army officer of Wayland and Boston, later the professor of legal medicine at Harvard.

He was appointed the first medical examiner for the southern district of Suffolk county—the largest district—and served until incapacitated by illness, having investigated during his term of service over 8000 deaths and performed 3000 autopsies. His experience was summarized in a treatise for the use of future students of the subject, entitled: *A Text Book of Legal Medicine* (1905). Draper was one of the prominent medical experts of his time and was often in court, having a reputation for fairness and impartiality that recommended him to the attorneys on both sides of a case at trial. He set an example which has been followed by competent officials through the succeeding fifty years.

The system has been adopted by all the New England states, except one, and by New York. In thickly settled communities the medical examiner is provided with an automobile, with a camera and instruments of precision, ready at a moment's notice to hasten anywhere in his district. The courts at their inquests rely on him for the results of his careful scientific examinations and deductions. He determines whether a given death was due to criminal intent or was from natural causes or accident. The question of ascertaining who caused the death is the function of the law.

STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH (1847–1930)

We have seen that the legislature passed a law in 1797 authorizing the appointment of local boards of health in cities and towns of the Commonwealth. It was not until 1847 that a committee was appointed by that body to make a sanitary survey of the state. This was done at the instigation of Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch, who in that year asked the American Statistical Association and the Massachusetts Medical Society to approve such a survey. A committee of three members presented a report of 500 pages in 1850, signed by Lemuel Shattuck as chairman, and detailing a complete plan for a board of health. Sanitary experts have designated the report as a remarkable document which has been the basis of all sanitary legislation since.

Nothing was done by the Legislature about the recommendations of this report until June 21, 1869, when the act creating the first State Board of Health was passed and signed by Governor Claflin. In 1862 Dr. Bowditch had delivered the annual discourse before the Massachusetts Medical Society with the topic: "Topographical Distribution and Local Origin of Consumption in Massachusetts." This brought him into prominence in connection with public health. He kept up his agitation for the State to take an active interest in the physical welfare of its citizens. Finally the act was passed and he became chairman of the new board of seven members. This board originated and put through the Legislature many measures affecting public health.

After ten years it was combined with the State Board of Lunacy and Charity, as a political measure, and against Bowditch's strenuous opposition. He resigned. In 1886 the Board of Health again became a separate body under the chairmanship of Dr. Henry Pickering Walcott of Cambridge, who was also chairman of the Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Board. From this time until 1914, when the State Department of Public Health was organized, with a Commissioner of Health and an Advisory Council, the state board accomplished much in the way of water purification, and in establishing an antitoxin laboratory under the auspices of Dr. Theobald Smith. Dr. Charles Harrington (1856–1908), as secretary of the board, succeeded in obtaining clean milk for the State and secured a law providing for state inspectors of health in the different districts of the Commonwealth. Since the establishment of the Department it has had three commissioners, the present commissioner being Dr. George Hoyt Bigelow of Boston, a graduate of Harvard and a doctor of public health, with a further training in the clinics of Cornell University in New York City. The Department maintains the following divisions, besides caring for the tuberculosis sanatoria: Administration, Communicable Diseases, Sanitary Engineering, Water and Sewage Laboratories, Food and Drugs, Biologic Laboratories and Hygiene.

Tuberculosis Sanatoria (1891–1930)

One of the greatest advances of medicine during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was Koch's discovery of the tubercle bacillus in 1882. The finding of this characteristic bacterium in the tissues of the body and in the sputa from the lungs, in phthisis, or consumption as it used to be called, revolutionized the treatment of that great curse to humanity, tuberculosis. The laboratories of Massachusetts soon confirmed Koch's work, and his methods of staining the bacillus for study under the microscope were adopted. In this state, Vincent Yardley Bowditch, son of Henry I. Bowditch, organized a body of charitably disposed persons into a board of managers of the Sharon Sanatorium for the treatment of hopeful incipient cases of tuberculosis. The doors of the sanatorium were thrown open in February, 1891; the original number of beds was eight; at present, it is forty-five. Dr. Alfred Worcester of Waltham became interested in the Sharon Sanatorium and, joining with Dr. William J. Gallivan (1865–1921) of South Boston, succeeded in getting through the legislature a bill for the founding of a State tuberculosis sanatorium. Not only that but Worcester was successful in changing the character of the new institution from a "consumptive home" for advanced hopeless cases, as at first planned by the legislators, to a hospital where patients in the early stages of the disease might have their tuberculosis arrested.

This first state sanatorium for tuberculosis in the United States was opened at Rutland in 1898. It has now 370 beds, and a record of much accomplished in the way of arrested cases of the great white plague. Since the opening of the Rutland Sanatorium four other sanatoria have been built in this State, including the state Infirmary at Tewksbury. One of them is now devoted exclusively to the care of cases of non-pulmonary tuberculosis, and another to the treatment of tuberclosis in children. Other States have followed the lead of Massachusetts in founding State sanatoria.

Recently there has been a marked increase in the study of tuberculosis in childhood, that is, in the earliest detection of the disease. Knowledge of heliotherapy—treatment by the sun's rays—has led to its adoption as a potent method of treatment in all non-pulmonary forms, such as tuberculous disease of the bones and joints. The ultra-violet ray lamp has been much in use. The profession has come to realize that surgery plays an important rôle in the treatment of tuberculosis of the lungs. Space permits the mention of only a few names of those who have been prominent in the fight against the dread disease in this State: H. I. Bowditch, A. T. Cabot, V. Y. Bowditch, C. S. Millet, E. O. Otis, A. K. Stone, and J. B. Hawes, 2d.

STATE DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL DISEASES (1848–1930)

The Department of Mental Diseases succeeded the State Board of Insanity in 1916. It consists of a commissioner and four associates, the commissioner and one associate being physicians. It has charge of the insane, the feeble-minded and the sane epileptics. Two unique features of this department in Massachusetts are the Psychopathic Hospital, founded in 1912, where persons of questionable sanity are sent for observation; and the highly developed care of the feeble-minded.

The story of Massachusetts efforts to better the condition of that large class in every community, the feeble-minded, centers round the name of Walter Elmore Fernald (1869–1924), a native of Kittery, Maine, who built a school for the feeble-minded at Waltham, developed it so that it was a model which attracted medical visitors from all over the world, and preached a constant crusade up and down the state, advocating more intelligent attention to the needs of these unfortunates. Following an appropriation by the legislature in 1848, a school for feeble-minded children had been opened in South Boston under the auspices of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe (1801–1876), the man who first trained the blind in the Commonwealth.

For the next forty years, the school was carried on in a desultory fashion without a resident superintendent. Dr. Fernald became superintendent in 1887 and spent the next four years constructing the new buildings in the Waverley section of the township of Waltham. Beginning with about 400 charges, the school now houses 1600 inmates, and is provided with an out-patient department and a farm where all of the milk and vegetables used in the school are produced. He studied the problem of the feeble-minded with painstaking care; instructed physicians in the diagnosis between true mental disease and deficiency; and brought out the latent qualities of the deficient in his handicraft shops, which were the wonder of all beholders. He never rested and when an attack of pneumonia removed him from his field of labor, the legislature gave his name to the school he had made.

Diseases of Children (1888–1930)

Massachusetts has led in the study and teaching of pediatrics since Dr. Thomas Morgan Rotch (1849–1914) was appointed assistant professor in this department in Harvard Medical School in 1888, the first in the country to hold such an appointment. He became a full professor in 1893, filling the chair until his death. Rotch took up the problem of milk analysis and how to obtain pure cow's milk for the feeding of infants; he established a model farm in Needham and a laboratory in Boston, where milk adapted to the needs of any particular baby was put up by prescription, having regard to its different ingredients of casein, fats, salts, and water. By patient persistence through a series of years he succeeded in improving the milk supply of the State and put infant feeding on a scientific and rational basis. His good work was continued by his successor in the chair of diseases of children, Dr. John Lovett Morse, one of the most widely known clinicians in the United States.

Boston was the first city either in this country or abroad to require, through its Health Department, a system of daily medical inspection of the children in its public schools. This inspection was begun in a small way in 1890 and officially in 1894. It was made compulsory in all the cities of the Commonwealth in 1906. Measurements of school children were made by Dr. Henry Pickering Bowditch, the psysiologist, in 1877. This is the initial work of the sort in America; and a second study was made by Dr. William Townsend Porter, professor of comparative physiology at Harvard. Much attention has been devoted in this state to the nutrition and development of children, notably the nutritional clinics for delicate children, established by Dr. William Patten Robie Emerson, and copied throughout the country.

The Boston Board of Health established a Division of Child

Hygiene in 1911. Although this city was not the first to create health centers, which serve as local mediums for the dissemination of the principles of preventive medicine, Boston now has health units that are more complete than those elsewhere. The first tentative center was in Blossom Street, organized in 1915. Since then, centers have been opened in the North End, in East Boston, in South Boston, in Roxbury and in Charlestown.

CHILD DENTISTRY

The Forsyth Dental Infirmary for Children was the first charitable dispensary for the care of children's teeth in the world, and is still unique. Founded in 1910 by four brothers who provided an endowment of over two million dollars, it occupies a handsome marble building on the Fenway in Boston. In the well-lighted main dental room, 64 dentists are working at as many chairs every day, to care for the teeth of the children of Greater Boston, appointments being made in advance for different schools and institutions. A training school to educate young women for dental public health work is maintained in affiliation with the Tufts College Dental School, which is near by.

ORTHOPEDICS (1844–1930)

Orthopedics is a branch of surgery that has to do with the treatment of chronic diseases of the joints and the correction of bony deformities. In that field Massachusetts has been a leader. Dr. Henry J. Bigelow published as long ago as 1844 a monograph on orthopedics, that was accounted the best exposition of French orthopedic surgery of the day. Buckminster Brown (1819-1891) was the first in this country to devote himself exclusively to the practice of orthopedics. Being humpbacked he had a constant reminder in his own person of the handicaps experienced by the victims of Pott's disease of the vertebrae, and was the more ready to assist others to obviate them. He and his father, John Ball Brown (1784–1862), published in 1850 reports of cases treated at the Boston Orthopedic Institution. Buckminster Brown opened the first ward in a public hospital for the treatment of orthopedic cases in the House of Good Samaritan; at his death he left a sum of money to establish a professorship of orthopedic surgery.

Edward Hickling Bradford (1848–1926) was made clinical instructor in orthopedic surgery in 1880; he succeeded Brown in care of the orthopedic ward at the Good Samaritan; he trained himself in surgery as visiting surgeon at the Boston City Hospital; and became surgeon-in-chief at the Children's Hospital, founded in 1869. In 1894, Bradford organized the School for Crippled and Deformed Children in Boston, a private day school which transports its pupils from different parts of the city in busses, the forerunner of similar schools in other communities. He fomented its activities until his death and also served as chairman of the trustees of the Massachusetts State School for Crippled Children at Canton, now called the Massachusetts Hospital School—a home with 400 beds—from its founding in 1907 until he died. In conjunction with Robert Williamson Lovett, who died two years before him, Bradford issued a standard textbook on orthopedic surgery in 1890 that went through five editions.

Lovett, who succeeded him as professor of orthopedic surgery at Harvard, originated and promoted the Peabody Home for Crippled Children, now in a new building at Oak Hill, Newton. He early developed an interest in the victims of infantile paralysis, investigated epidemics of that disease in Vermont and New York, and became chairman of the Harvard Infantile Paralysis Commission in 1916.

Another important Massachusetts orthopedist is Joel Ernest Goldthwait, who described sacro-iliac sub-luxation—too great freedom of motion in the joints connecting the spine with the hip bones—and the disabilities which go with it. During the World War, Goldthwait showed how to correct faulty posture and minor defects of the feet in the soldiers of the American army, thus returning to the ranks countless men who had been incapacitated. His unusual executive abilities had full play, and on retiring from the service he was given the rank of Brigadier General in the Reserve Corps. Many students of orthopedics have gone out from Massachusetts to different parts of the country to practice their specialty.

DIABETES (1916–1930)

The treatment of diabetes mellitus has received able exposition in Massachusetts by Elliott Proctor Joslin, Professor of Clinical Medicine in the Harvard Medical School. This chronic disease, which has been known since the fifth century A. D., is characterized by the inability of the body to use sugar, due to changes in the pancreas. As all starchy foods are absorbed into the blood as sugar, after being digested, this means that the sugar in the blood of diabetics is in excess of normal and is excreted by the kidneys. The pancreas, which lies under the stomach, has two functions. It secretes digestive juices, which are poured into the intestine through a duct, and it makes a product that is absorbed directly into the blood. This product, "insulin"—from *insula,* an island, because it comes from cells that are grouped in islands in the pancreas—controls the amount of sugar in the circulating blood. Dr. F. G. Banting of Toronto made the discovery in 1921 that an absence of this insulin caused diabetes. Therefore he made an extract of the islands of the pancreas of the pig and ox and injected it under the skin of a diabetic, with the result that the blood sugar was reduced to normal and the sugar disappeared from the urine. Before he had made this discovery, Dr. Joslin and Dr. Frederick M. Allen, a research worker in Harvard Medical School, had worked out a system of careful dietary and hygienic control of diabetics that lengthened the lives of patients nearly six years.

Today both diet and insulin are used in severe cases, while diet alone will control the moderate ones. Joslin's book, entitled *The Treatment of Diabetes Mellitus,* appeared first in 1916. Four editions have followed and also a little book, *A Diebetic Manual,* helpful both to the profession and to those afflicted with the disease. Joslin has talked about this malady at numerous medical meetings, and has reached many laymen by broadcasting over the radio. He is regarded throughout the country as one of the foremost authorities on diabetes.

CANCER (1889–1930)

The control of cancer has been for a long time an object of the medical profession in Massachusetts, especially since statistics have shown a distinct increase in the disease among the population. A survey of the situation reported by Dr. Herbert L. Lombard of the Massachusetts Department of Public Health showed that the average cancer patient comes to a physician for advice eight months after noticing the first symptoms. Notwithstanding that the cause of cancer is still shrouded in mystery, every effort has been made to discover it. The profession tells the public what the symptoms are, and urges them to seek early advice and to combat the spread of the disease by prompt resort to surgery, the X-ray and radium. Delay in treatment means only one thing—death.

The Cancer Commission of Harvard University was founded by Caroline Brewer Croft in 1889, Dr. J. Collins Warren (1842-1927) instigating the organization and serving as its first chairman. The work of the commission was facilitated by the opening in 1912 of the Collis P. Huntington Memorial Hospital for Cancer Research with laboratories and twenty-two beds.

The contributions to the literature of cancer by the members of the staff of this hospital now number more than two hundred. Through the hospital, the state conducts a free service of tissue diagnosis for the profession. The Palmer Memorial Hospital for the treatment of cancer was opened not long ago. It has every facility for treatment and an able staff. The State Department of Public Health, under the leadership of Commissioner George H. Bigelow, has recently taken a forward step in coping with cancer in this Commonwealth. Under his stimulus, the Legislature passed a bill in 1926 authorizing cancer clinics throughout the State and the conversion of the disused dipsomaniac hospital at Pondville, Norfolk County, into an up-to-date hospital of ninety beds, with every facility for the treatment of cancer.

Cancer clinics have been established in various large cities throughout the Commonwealth, and have been well attended. They cooperate with the hospital at Pondville. The Department aims to educate the public by these clinics and by furnishing speakers for public meetings as well as by radio broadcasts. The periodic health examinations, that have been advocated by the State medical society, have done something toward the early discovery of cancer.

Medical Social Service (1905–1930)

The story of the development of social service work at the Massachusetts General Hospital by Dr. Richard Clarke Cabot in conjunction with Miss Ida M. Cannon, beginning in 1905, is of special interest to the student of medical progress. Cabot was at that time a visiting physician to out-patients at the hospital and instructor in medicine at Harvard. His book *Clinical Examination of the Blood* had become a standard. He called attention to the well-known fact that in an out-patient department of a hospital the treatment given the patients by the busy physicians in charge left a serious gap. For instance, patients were advised to take a vacation, to get a new job, to obtain a truss, but were quite unable to follow directions because of poverty or their circumstances of life. In other words the hospital issued directions but did not see that they were carried out.

Cabot therefore organized a social service department, made up largely of voluntary workers, to do these necessary things. From October, 1905, to October, 1906, 684 new patients and 857 former patients were cared for and visited by the new department. Persons who were interested in charities contributed two thirds of the funds needed to carry on the undertaking during this first year, while Cabot paid the remaining third from his own pocket. The success was immediate. The medical profession of the country awoke to the inadequacy of the treatment of hospital patients in the past. The social service plan was copied by hospitals in New York and elsewhere, so that it now is a part of the regular equipment of a hospital. Cabot's book on *Social Service and the Art of Healing* appeared in 1909.

Hospital Efficiency (1914–1930)

Connected with social service is hospital standardization, introduced by Dr. Ernest Amory Codman of Boston. This was a crusade to force hospitals to do something more for their patients than to treat them while within their doors. They were urged to search out the results of their treatment and to record them. This task could be accomplished only through a fearless puritanical truth-speaker, who would call the attention of the profession, as well as the public, to the sloppy manner in which hospitals were being managed.

Each hospital had been a law unto itself; to the trustees it was a question largely of the *per diem* charges; no one cared what became of the patients after they had been discharged, or tried to discover whether the attempts at making them well had proved successful. Hence there was no check for the advantage of future sufferers, and faulty methods were perpetuated. The system needed a cleaning up—an effort to place the care of the sick on a rational and business-like basis. Codman published his first paper, "The Product of a Hospital," in the monthly magazine, *Surgery, Gynecology and Obstetrics,* in April 1914; having earlier put on record the results which had been obtained in the surgical service of Francis B. Harrington at the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1900–1901.

Codman wrote other articles on hospital efficiency, including case reports of the first five years of his own private hospital, 1911 –1916, in which he made a frank statement as to the good and bad issues of his surgery. He wrote that "money spent on hospitals is for the cure of the patient." Under his guidance the matter of registering the subsequent course and health of hospital patients was taken up by the American College of Surgeons, which devoted a session to its consideration in 1923. The following year he read a paper on "The Factors which Indicate the Professional Efficiency of a Hospital" at the annual Congress on Medical Education, Medical Licensure, Public Health and Hospitals, of the American Medical Association, at Chicago.

At the present time the hospitals of the country are registered by the national association and by the College of Surgeons in their publications, according to the minimum requirements of hospital standardization. The movement thus started by Codman has done an immense amount of good and has turned the medical profession into a path of greater honesty and straightfordwardness in the care of the sick.

Liver Diet in Pernicious Anemia

A recent and a notable advance in the treatment of pernicious anemia, a disease heretofore incurable, was introduced in 1926 by Dr. George Richards Minot and Dr. William Parry Murphy, working in the clinics of the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital and the laboratories of the Collis P. Huntington Memorial Hospital. This disease, characterized by a continued reduction in the number of red corpuscles in the blood, has been observed to progress over a brief number of years, interrupted by remissions, to a fatal termination. The anemia is usually of a severe type, due to the inability of the body to develop new mature red cells. The liver, which is known to have important offices in the economy besides secreting bile, appears to have importance in the diet of carnivorous animals, for hunters tell us that when a stag is killed by wolves or dogs the abdomen of the dead animal is first torn open and the liver devoured.

Minot and Murphy, working with the diets which seemed to be most efficacious in the treatment of pernicious anemia, with a knowledge of the rôle played by food in curing patients afflicted with certain diseases having much in common with this blood disease, tried a diet rich in mammalian liver and containing also liberal amounts of muscle meat, green vegetables and fruit, but with little fat. Their first investigations showed that 105 cases treated on such a diet—the liver being raw, cooked in one of twenty different ways, or administered as a liver extract in fluid or powder form—showed a marked increase in the number of red corpuscles, more than had been observed following any previous form of treatment. The symptoms, excepting those caused by degeneration of the spinal cord, were much alleviated. Those who have followed this diet for from one to two years have remained in good health. The results have been confirmed by others. The treatment is now in use all over the civilized world.

SOME PROMINENT DOCTORS

Mention should be made of the pioneer ovariotomists of Massachusetts, those who relieved women of immense tumors before the days when asepsis made operations safe. The best known were Walter Burnham and Gilman Kimball of Lowell and John Homans of Boston. Walter Burnham (1808-1883), a graduate of the University of Vermont in 1829, removed his first ovarian tumor in 1851, and in the next thirty-one years performed the operation about three hundred times with a mortality of 25 per cent.

Gilman Kimball (1804–1892) a graduate of Dartmouth, began to operate in 1855, at a time when the profession thought him too daring. He relieved many women from long suffering even though his mortality was much higher than today—it is now about 2 per cent. John Homans (1836–1903), an army surgeon, operating in the beginning of the aseptic period, did 500 operations on ovarian and uterine tumors between the years 1872 and 1900, besides giving instruction to a large number of the rising surgeons of his time.

Henry Jacob Bigelow (1818-1890), the leading surgeon of New England during his lifetime,—he who was present at the first etherization,—was a picturesque member of the Boston profession. He was a son of the eminent Jacob Bigelow (1787-1879), physician, botanist and originator of Mount Auburn cemetery. Henry went abroad to study medicine when he had received his M.D. from Harvard, and returning with a thousand dollars worth of instruments, drove rapidly through the streets of staid Boston in a gaily decked carriage, the horses caparisoned in the latest European harnesses. He established a private dispensary, and challenged attention by his distinguished looking figure and manner of holding himself. He dominated medicine both at the Massachusetts General Hospital, where he was visiting surgeon, and at Harvard Medical School as professor of surgery from 1849 to 1882.

Bigelow's retirement was due to one of a group of clashes between the professional schools of Harvard University and the new president, Charles William Eliot, who took office in 1869. Eliot ruled that, being president of the University, he was head of each component faculty. He favored new and progressive policies, and Dr. Bigelow had to go, but he had made several important medical discoveries. He had discovered the so-called Y-ligament of the capsule of the hip joint, and had showed how it controlled the reduction of dislocations of this joint; he devised a method of crushing stone in the bladder and of removing the fragments, all at one sitting. He was a clever inventor, a brilliant operator and a good teacher.

Another important teacher of surgery in the latter part of the nineteenth century was the successor to Bigelow, David Williams Cheever (1831–1915), surgeon to the Boston City Hospital. The opposite of Bigelow in temperament, of puritanical aspect and behavior, he was possessed of rare surgical sagacity, was a bold operator and a teacher beloved by his pupils. He was sententious; he used the right word in the right place.

In more recent time, Maurice Howe Richardson (1851–1912) was perhaps Boston's most active surgeon. A native of Athol, he went to Harvard College and Harvard Medical School, graduating from the latter in 1877. He spent many years in the dissecting room of the school as demonstrator of anatomy, and then as surgeon at the Massachusetts General Hospital. Early in his career he opened a man's stomach and extracted a set of false teeth from his gullet, the man making a good recovery. The newspapers got hold of this unusual surgical feat and Richardson was a marked man. Soon after Fitz's paper on appendicitis, Richardson began to operate for this disease; by 1898, his cases numbered 757. He wrote much, especially on abdominal surgery. He was a hard worker, and his genial personality and charitable temper made him welcome at many social functions.

Charles Sedgwick Minot (1852–1914) made investigations in the laboratories of Harvard and wrote a textbook on embryology that gave him an international reputation. Henry Pickering Bowditch (1840–1911), professor of physiology, established at Harvard Medical School in 1871 the first laboratory in America for the teaching of that subject. He championed the cause of medical research and proved the tirelessness of nerve structure. Walter Bradford Cannon, successor to Bowditch in the chair of physiology, has shown that the ductless glands take possession of the body under the influence of fear and anger. Theobald Smith, Professor of Comparative Pathology (1896–1915), worked out the distinction between the tubercle bacillus of animals and of man, and by brilliant methods of research discovered the cause of Texas fever among cattle, a discovery which added millions to the wealth of the Southwest. Otto Folin, medical chemist, has furnished many important articles on urine analysis and blood analysis. James Gregory Mumford (1863-1914), surgeon, wrote on medical subjects and the history of medicine for the public. Harvey Cushing has done much to advance the surgery of the brain. His *Life of Sir William Osler*, which was issued from the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1925, has been one of the outstanding biographies of the time.

This list might be increased by the names and achievements of scores of men and an increasing number of women, who have extended the bounds of medical knowledge, have worked out remedies by the severe processes of laboratory and clinical tests, and have perfected medical and surgical technique. The medical profession of Massachusetts may claim that it has given to the world the discovery of the cause of puerperal fever, the supreme blessing of surgical anesthesia, the discovery of appendicitis and its proper treatment. The physicians of the Commonwealth brought about the establishment of the first State Board of Health and the first sanatorium for the care of tuberculosis in the United States, not to mention the medical examiner system in place of incompetent coroners. Moreover they were pioneers in social service and hospital standardization, they improved the established treatment of diabetes and made a previously fatal disease, pernicious anemia, curable by the liver diet. During three centuries it has been the glory of the profession that it has been ever ready to learn new methods, to develop fresh lines of investigation and above all to perceive, through the agency of an adequate medical library, and to apply the discoveries from all over the medical world. Massachusetts medicine has been progressive, it has been national and it has been world-wide.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE MASSACHUSETTS MILITIA
(1889–1930)

By Frederic Gilbert Bauer
Colonel, Judge Advocate General's Reserve Corps

Colonial Militia (1630–1775)

The militia of Massachusetts is as old as the Colony itself. The first settlers were familiar with the militia system as it existed in England under the county lieutenants; and when they settled here the necessities of self-preservation at once obliged them to provide a similar system, based on the liability of every man to render military service in defense of the state. By a long series of colonial, provincial and State statutes, every man within certain ages was obliged (unless exempt by law) to be enrolled in the militia company within whose territorial jurisdiction he lived; to provide himself with the arms, equipment and ammunition prescribed by law; and to report for drill on the prescribed training days—which in 1631 were every Saturday, but as time went on became less and less frequent.

A fair sample of these laws is the Act of November 22, 1693, which fixes the age for liability to military service at from 16 to 60 inclusive, and orders that every infantryman shall provide himself with "a well fixt firelock musket . . . or other good firearms to the satisfaction of the commission officers of the company, a snapsack, a coller with twelve bandeleers or cartouch-box, one pound of good powder, twenty bullets fit for his gun, and twelve flints, a good sword or cutlace, a worm and priming wire fit for his gun." Troopers were bound to provide their own horses and horse equipment in addition; and each town must provide guns for those too poor to provide their own, and "a barrel of powder, two hundred weight of bullets and three hundred flints for every sixty listed soldiers." Each company was obliged to drill "four days annually and no more"; and regimental drills outside of Boston were limited to once in three years. Officers were elected; as may be supposed, social and political prominence rather than military knowledge or experience were the usual passports to promotion.

Limited Service of Colonial Militia

It was not to be expected that such a body of men with no common tie except residence in a given district, ununiformed, with no continuous training and with but little training of any kind, under officers who were usually without military experience and who were dependent upon the votes of those under them for military preferment, should constitute an efficient military force. In practice the territorial companies were seldom called out for active duty; but were used rather as a reservoir from which the number of men needed for any particular service was obtained as occasion required, either by volunteering or by impressment (the equivalent of a draft). An excellent example of how this system worked out in practice is shown by the "French and Indian War Rolls" in the Archives of the Commonwealth.

Occasionally, however, these territorial companies were called out, as at the occupation of Dorchester Heights, March 4, 1776, and during the British blockade of the coast in 1814. On the former occasion their qualities in battle were not put to the test; and on the latter the few companies which were in actual conflict with the enemy in most instances gave anything but a good account of themselves.

Volunteer Companies (1700–1783)

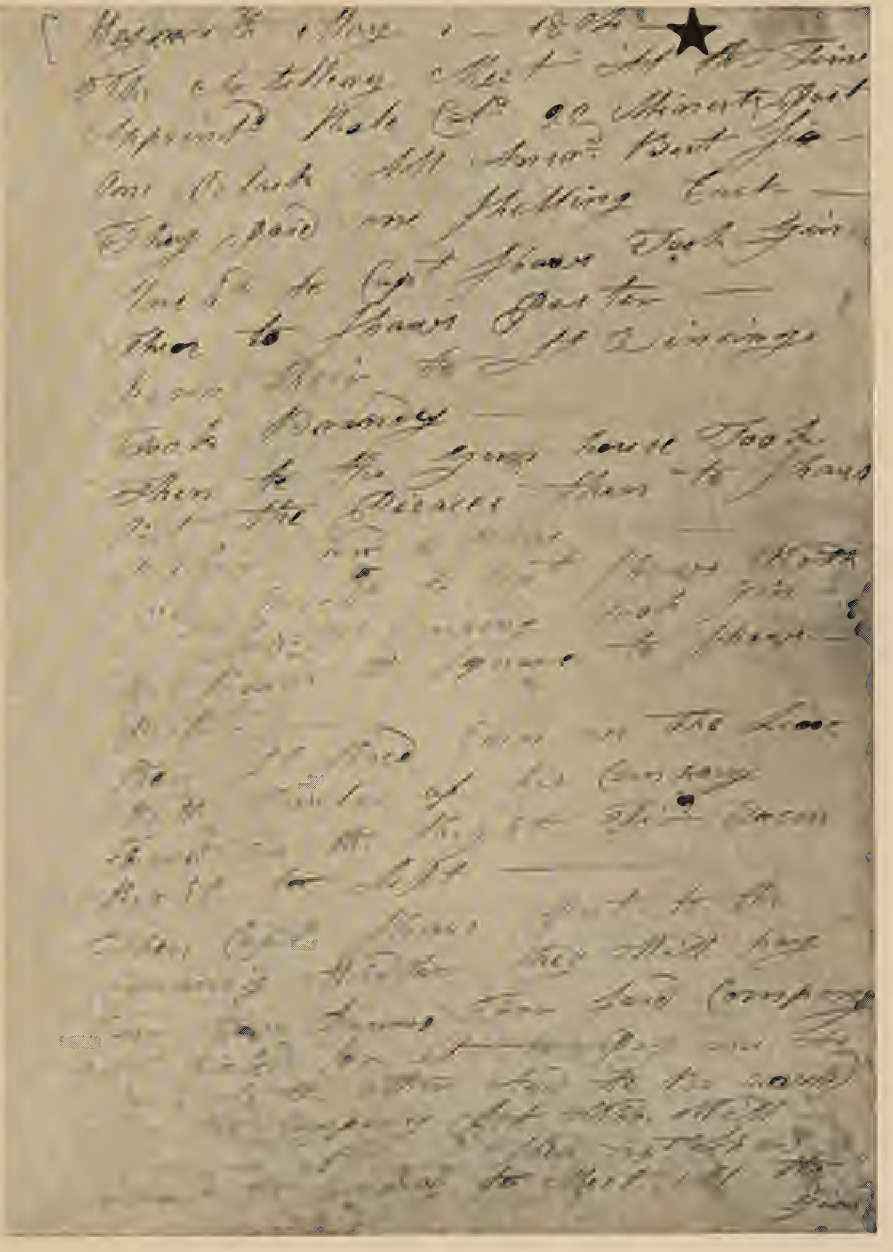
The inadequacy of this system as the sole reliance for defense was recognized from the start; and as there were then no regular troops in the colonies, men formed volunteer companies which met at stated intervals for drill. These companies, in later times at least, provided themselves with uniforms, and usually had a high *esprit de corps*. Although their social features were often predominant, they provided their members with some military instruction of real value, and were the only school where such instruction could be obtained. Some of these companies still exist, and have made a creditable record in more than one of our wars.

Since members of these companies were exempt from duty in the territorial company within whose district they lived, the volunteer or "chartered" companies, as they were sometimes called, constituted a *corps d'élite* in the general body of militia. When we read the strictures of Washington and others of that period upon the "militia," we must understand their remarks as applying to the ununiformed local organizations which were called out or drafted upon from time to time to meet emergencies, and were nearly always flung into battle without preparation or even adequate organization. Washington himself would have been the last to apply these strictures to such well-equipped, uniformed and trained companies as Captain Morris's Philadelphia troop of cavalry, which rendered such efficient service in the Trenton and Princeton campaign; and yet this organization also was "militia."

That these trained volunteer companies were even then regarded as the backbone of the American military system is shown by the fact that the scheme of defense drawn up just after the Revolution by General von Steuben (a copy of which is in the Library of Congress), which embodies the essential features of the National Defense Act of 1920, provides for a consolidated military force including one "legion" (roughly corresponding to our division) composed of regular troops, the other being just such militia organizations.

Adoption of the Volunteer System (1815–1865)

The inefficiency of the territorial companies was clearly shown, not only in Massachusetts but throughout the country, in the War of 1812. Eventually, by Chapter 92 of the Acts of 1840 the farce was abolished, and it was expressly enacted that, though all citizens should be liable to draft in time of war or emergency, "the active militia of this Commonwealth shall consist and be composed of volunteers or companies raised at large." Thenceforth these volunteer companies have formed the sole organized military force of the Commonwealth. They gave a good account of themselves in the Civil War, particularly in 1861, when few other States had any trained, organized and equipped troops to offer the national government; and they continued performing their duty quietly



Courtesy of the Author

Facsimile of Militia Record of May 1, 1804

and without substantial financial reward until the period of which this chapter more particularly treats.

Reduction of Force (1865–1889)

The number of militia companies had been gradually reduced since the Civil War, and in his inaugural address of 1876 Governor Alexander H. Rice recommended that the expense of maintaining the militia be cut down. Accordingly, by Chapter 204 of the Acts of that year, the legislature reduced the force to 60 companies of infantry, 3 of cavalry, 3 of artillery, and 2 of cadets, the reduction to be accomplished by disbanding those which after inspection were found to rate lowest in efficiency.

As a result 26 companies of infantry, 2 of artillery, and 2 of cavalry were disbanded. The infantry companies which survived the test were organized in 3 regiments of 8 companies, and 3 of 12 companies; and all the troops except the cadets were grouped into two mixed brigades. This was the organization of the militia in 1889, except that there had been added to each brigade a signal corps by Chapter 230 of the Acts of 1884, and an ambulance corps by Chapter 236 of the Acts of 1885. Also by Chapter 411 of the Acts of 1887 the number of infantry companies had been increased to 72, thereby making all the regiments consist of 12 companies.

Characteristics of the Period (1889–1930)

The history of the militia from 1889 to 1930 naturally divides itself into three well-defined periods. (1) From 1889 to the War with Spain is the period of the development of the militia as a State force, dependent almost entirely upon its own initiative and resources. (2) From the close of the Spanish War in 1899 to our entry into the World War in 1917 is the period of gradual federalization of the militia. (3) The period from the return of the troops in 1919 to the present time is the history of the federalized National Guard as a component of the "one army" of the United States, the creation of which was one of the most beneficial military results of our World War experience.

Most States by 1889 had given up the title "militia" for their citizen soldiery, because of its association with the old territorial companies and the ridicule which the old militia had earned for itself in the War of 1812. Instead they adopted the term "National Guard." Massachusetts, however, resolutely retained the historic title "Massachusetts Volunteer Militia" until compelled to adopt the new title under the provisions of the National Defense Acts of 1916 and 1920.

Organization of 1889

The Massachusetts Volunteer Militia (or "M. V. M.," as it was popularly called) was in 1889 organized as follows:

First Brigade

First Regiment of Infantry, located chiefly in Boston and adjoining cities, with one battalion in the southern part of the State;

Second Regiment of Infantry, located in the four western counties;

Sixth Regiment of Infantry, located in Middlesex and eastern Worcester Counties. In this regiment was the only colored company in the militia, located in Boston;

Troop F of Cavalry, located in Chelmsford and adjoining towns;

Battery B of Field Artillery, located in Worcester;

Signal and Hospital Corps, located in Boston.

Second Brigade

Fifth Regiment of Infantry, located chiefly in the manufacturing centers of Middlesex County, with three companies south of Boston;

Eighth Regiment of Infantry, located entirely in Essex County, except for one company in Somerville;

Ninth Regiment of Infantry, with seven companies in Boston and the rest scattered north and west of Boston;

First Battalion of Field Artillery, consisting of Battery A of Boston and Battery C of Lawrence;

First Battalion of Cavalry, consisting of Troop A (National Lancers) of Boston and Troop D (Roxbury Horse Guards) of Roxbury;

Signal and Hospital Corps located in Boston.

The total authorized strength of the militia was 390 officers and 5468 enlisted men. The only important changes in organization during this period were the transfer of the First Battalion of Field Artillery (except Battery A) from the Second Brigade to the First in 1891, thus leaving Battery A as an unattached battery, and the consolidation of the two brigade ambulance corps into a single independent command in 1894.

Apathy on Preparedness (1865–1889)

Although the organized militia of the States was the only organized force on which the national government could call in an emergency needing more than the Regular Army, the relations of the War Department with the militia were of the slenderest sort, being limited to apportioning among the States an annual appropriation and detailing officers to inspect and report upon the condition of the militia. After the Civil War—as after each of our wars—the false prophets of peace predicted that there would be no more wars and that the veterans of that war furnished an adequate reserve, so that there was no need of spending money on the militia. Governor Rice's inaugural address of 1876, mentioned above, was a sample of the prevailing sentiment.

Improvement in the State Service (1889–1898)

By 1889, however, the reaction against this had begun. Labor troubles throughout the country had shown the need for troops; the veterans of 1861 to 1865 had already passed beyond the age for service in the ranks; and the more progressive States, Massachusetts among them, were beginning to realize the necessity of making their militia forces something more than parade organizations.

The adjutant-general's reports of this period contain many suggestions for improving the field efficiency of the troops. So far as organization is concerned, the M. V. M. was in one respect ahead of the Regular Army, in that our infantry regiments had for many years been organized into battalions of four companies, each commanded by a major, whereas the Regular Army did not attain this organization until the Spanish War. The First Regiment of Infantry had begun to take up heavy artillery work, later to become its specialty.

Formerly the cities and towns where companies were located had provided armories, some of them of little value for drill purposes. Chapter 384 of the Acts of 1888, however, had provided that the State should gradually furnish adequate armory facilities for the entire force. The first three armories to be built under this new law, the South Armory in Boston and the armories at Lowell and Worcester, were even then under construction, and were occupied in 1890.

The Acts of 1888 had authorized the formation of a four-company brigade of naval militia (the first to be organized by any State), and this too was organized in 1890; and was later increased to eight companies.

Training of the Militia (1889–1898)

Under the law each command performed five days' camp duty, usually at the State Camp Ground at Framingham, the encampment of the First Brigade coming ordinarily in June and that of the Second Brigade in July. The First Corps of Cadets, of Boston, however, owned its own camp ground at Hingham, where the corps performed its camp duty. The Second Corps of Cadets held its camp at Centennial Grove, Essex, until 1897, when this corps, too, bought its own camp ground at Boxford, and thereafter held its camp there. The First Regiment of Infantry devoted more and more of its time to heavy artillery work and, beginning in 1892, held its camps at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor. In the same year the legislature provided funds to install dummy seacoast guns in the South Armory, Boston, for drill purposes. In 1897 the regiment was definitely changed from infantry to heavy artillery. The newly organized Naval Brigade performed its camp duty at first on the U. S. Receiving Ship *Wabash* at the Charlestown Navy Yard, and later on vessels of the Navy in and about Boston Harbor. The limitations of the brigade camps at Framingham greatly restricted their value; the companies were fed by caterers in mess sheds; the limit of five days meant only three full days of military instruction, and the size and character of the field restricted the scope of the drills which could be held. Inspecting officers and even the adjutant-general recommended that each regiment hold a separate camp; that rations be issued as in the field; that the State own horses for the mounted troops; that the tour of camp duty be lengthened to seven days; that the arsenal be moved from Framingham to Boston, the Framingham field sold, and the proceeds used to buy a large tract of unimproved land suitable for field training. None of these suggestions bore fruit until after the War of 1898 with Spain.

Drills and Parades (1889–1898)

In addition to the five days' camp duty, each command was obliged by law to hold an "annual drill" or "parade for instruction," as it was called—a survival of the old-time "training day" or "muster." These were usually held in the autumn and consisted of a street parade, a sham battle or riot drill, and evening parade. Sometimes these were held in connection with a local celebration, as in 1892, when the Fifth Infantry held its annual drill in connection with the celebration of the 250th anniversary of Woburn.

The limited value of a one-day assembly of scattered companies for military instruction was beginning to be appreciated, and accordingly in this period the custom began of combining the annual drill with the camp duty, so as to make a six-day instead of a five-day camp. Occasionally, too, commands went outside the State to participate in military celebrations, as at the Centennial Celebration of Washington's inauguration, at New York City in 1889. By a time-honored custom dating from the formation of the troop in 1836, the National Lancers (Troop A, First Battalion of Cavalry) annually escorted the governor to Harvard Commencement, their red coats and lances being as much a feature of the occasion as the academic caps and gowns.

Gradual Improvement (1890–1898)

In spite of the inertia of this military system, some definite steps in advance were taken during these years. The installation of dummy guns at the South Armory has already been mentioned. An obsolete vessel was obtained from the Navy Department as an armory for the Naval Brigade, and from time to time was replaced by one of newer type. Schools of instruction for officers were begun; although of the most elementary character, they did something to stimulate professional knowledge. In 1896 the Field Artillery took two of their guns to Fort Warren and held target practice at a range of 1,012 yards. Commanding officers made their drills more and more in the nature of battle practice and less for the entertainment of the spectators. A medal for long service in the militia was instituted and the first awards were made February 29, 1892.

Occasionally there was a taste of real service, as when the local companies were called out by a precept of the civil authority for the Lynn Fire in 1889 and for a cyclone in Lawrence in 1890, on which occasions they as a whole acquitted themselves with credit to themselves and the Commonwealth. Although they had much to learn in order to be in condition to take the field in campaign, they were doing conscientious and creditable work with limited facilities, and in so far as they had opportunity were fitting themselves for the time when their country would need their services. As a Regular Army inspector said of them in 1889, they were "a worthy exponent of that military spirit which has been conspicuous in the Bay State from the earliest days of the Revolution."

Massachusetts in Call for the War with Spain (1898–1899)

Just as in January, 1861, Governor Andrew had taken steps to have the militia in readiness for the call of the federal government, which far-sighted men could see was coming, so in January, 1898, Governor Wolcott took measures to put the force in readiness for field service in case the Cuban situation should lead to war. The President's first call for troops (dated April 23, 1898) was transmitted by telegraph on April 25, and asked Massachusetts for four regiments of infantry and four companies of heavy artillery. It stated that it "is the wish of the President that the regiments of the National Guard of State militia shall be used as far as their numbers will permit, for the reason that they are armed, equipped and drilled." Whatever apathy the militia had been obliged to labor against in the past, when it was preparing itself for just such an emergency, there was no apathy now. In each town and city the companies were given an ovation on their departure for the mobilization camp, and the regiments from the eastern part of the State were reviewed by the governor as they passed through Boston.

The four infantry regiments designated to fill the quota were the Second, Col. Embury P. Clark; the Sixth, Col. Charles F. Woodward; the Eighth, Col. William A. Pew, Jr.; and the Ninth, Col. Fred B. Bogan. These assembled on the Framingham camp ground, which was named "Camp Dewey," on May 3 to 6, respectively; and after the required physical examinations, which resulted in the exclusion of some officers as well as of enlisted men, were duly mustered into the service of the United States under their State designations with the words "United States Volunteers" added.

SECOND INFANTRY SERVICE (1898)

The Second was the first regiment to leave the State, going by rail to Lakeland, Fla., and thence to Tampa, where it joined the expeditionary force to Cuba, being attached to the Second Cavalry Brigade. It took part in the engagements at Siboney and San Juan Hill, and was the only Massachusetts command to suffer casualties in action, losing 1 officer and 4 men killed and 4 other men who died of wounds. Like all the other Massachusetts commands, it was armed with the old Springfield rifle, shooting black powder; which, though superior in stopping power, was inferior in range to the Spanish Mauser. Hence the American troops were obliged to advance under a fire which they could not return effectively; and when they did open fire, the smoke of their guns revealed their location to the enemy. The regiment suffered heavily from disease, due to improper food and living conditions in Cuba. It was mustered out November 3, 1898. In 1921 a tablet commemorating the service of the regiment in the War with Spain was erected in the Springfield Armory.

NINTH INFANTRY SERVICE (1898)

The Sixth and Ninth Regiments were ordered to Camp Alger, near Dunn Loring, Va., from which the Ninth was ordered to Cuba, where it spent eighteen days in the trenches. Its losses from disease were the heaviest of any Massachusetts command, inasmuch as 4 officers, including the colonel and two majors, and 123 men died during its term of service. It was mustered out November 26, 1898.

SIXTH INFANTRY SERVICE (1898)

As the Sixth was the regiment which nearly forty years earlier was attacked in Baltimore by a mob on its way to Washington, the mayor of Baltimore obtained permission from the War Department for the regiment to detrain and march through the city over a route which followed as nearly as possible the memorable march of April 19, 1861. The route was lined with enthusiastic spectators and decorated with flags and bunting. As the regiment left Mount Royal Station escorted by the mayor, flowers were strewn in its path; and on entraining, a luncheon and souvenirs were given it. It embarked at Charleston, S. C., on the *Yale* for Cuba, General Miles and staff being on the same vessel; but instead of landing in Cuba, the regiment on July 21 sailed from Siboney to Porto Rico, where it was in action and formed part of the army of occupation. While there its colonel and lieutenant colonel resigned, and Lieut. Col. Edmund Rice (a Regular Army officer who had commanded the 19th Mass. Infantry in the Civil War, and had won the medal of honor), was appointed colonel, the adjutant, Butler Ames, being promoted to lieutenant colonel. The regiment was mustered out January 21, 1899.

EIGHTH INFANTRY SERVICE (1898)

The Eighth Regiment left Framingham on May 16 for Camp Thomas, Chickamauga Park, Ga., whence it went successively to Lexington, Ky., and Americus, Ga. The great scourge of the mobilization camps of 1898 was typhoid fever, caused by lack of knowledge of and failure to observe the rules of sanitation. In this respect the Eighth had an enviable record, the sanitary rules being so strictly enforced that the Inspector General of the Army called its camp at Americus "a model," and said, "These same soldiers had a perfect camp also at Lexington, Ky." Though the regiment had no battle experience, it went to Matanzas, Cuba, in January, 1899, and held that city for nearly three months, its camp being located near Fort San Severino. It was mustered out on April 28, 1899.

First Regiment of Heavy Artillery (1898)

The call for heavy artillery was later changed so as to include the entire First Regiment, which on the night of April 25 assembled in its armories under the command of Col. Charles Pfaff, and on the following day went to Fort Warren. The fear that the Spanish fleet would attack our coast ran high in eastern Massachusetts; and the regiment was called out by the governor even before it was known that the United States would accept it in its entirety. It is said to have been the first militia regiment to respond to the call, and the first volunteer regiment to be mustered. It remained at Fort Warren until early in June, using the voting booths of the city of Boston for barracks. Then it was broken up—one battalion remaining at Fort Warren; Batteries G and I going to Fort Rodman, New Bedford; Battery A, to Nahant; Battery B, to Plum Island, off Newburyport, and later to Fort Constitution, N. H.; Batteries C and D with the regimental headquarters, to Fort Pickering, Salem; Battery H, to Fort Sewall, Marblehead; and Battery K, to Stage Fort, Gloucester.

The posts north of Boston were antiquated, with no armament of value, and most of them were in an advanced stage of decay. The entire serviceable armament of the five posts consisted of 16 Driggs-Schroeder rapid-fire guns, from one to six-pounders, and eight three-inch muzzle-loading field guns of the type of 1862, brought there by the militia batteries of field artillery that had been ordered to guard duty on the coast in the early days of the war. The regiment remained on duty until September, when it was returned to Boston and, on November 14, 1898, was mustered out.

Fifth Infantry (1898–1899)

By a second call issued May 25, the President asked for 75,000 additional volunteers, and the Fifth Infantry, Col. Jophanus H. Whitney, was accordingly mustered into service as a part of the Commonwealth's quota. It unfortunately saw no foreign service, performing its duty at Camp Meade, Middletown, Pa., and at Greenville, S. C. It was mustered out March 31, 1899.

Service of Other Organizations (1898)

The Naval Brigade furnished men for the regular Navy, for signal service along the coast, and furnished officers and crews for the U. S. S. *Prairie, Lehigh, Catskill, Inca,* and *Governor Russell,* old-type and converted vessels used for coast defense.

In addition to the militia organizations, the Tenth Volunteer Signal Company was composed of Massachusetts officers and men. It was sent to Cuba, but was not permitted to land there, though there was ample work for it to do. A detachment of it saw service in Porto Rico.

The commanding general of the Second Brigade, Brig. Gen. William A. Bancroft, was appointed to the same rank in the U. S. Volunteers, commanding the Second Brigade, Second Division, Seventh Army Corps.

The quota of Massachusetts was 4,554 under the first call and 2,834 under the second; a total of 7,388. How many men actually served can not be told exactly, for the work of arranging and indexing the records is still in progress, but the records now available show nearly 12,000 in the Army and Volunteers, about 2,000 in the Navy, and 473 in the Marine Corps. Many of the returned volunteers and some who had not been in the service during the period of hostilities with Spain enlisted in the volunteer regiments formed for service in the Philippine Insurrection. The records now available show 2,184 Massachusetts men as having served in the Army, 2,911 in the Navy, and 1,779 in the Marine Corps.

The militia organizations not mustered into federal service were called out by the governor to guard the coast during the weeks when a visit from the Spanish fleet was regarded as a possibility. To take the place of the organizations in federal service, 34 companies of provisional militia were mustered in, although only a few of them were armed and equipped. After the return of the volunteer organizations which they replaced, these companies were disbanded.

Return of Battle Flags (1899)

On October 14, 1899, in connection with the reception to Admiral Dewey, the entire militia was mobilized in Boston, and the colors of the various Massachusetts organizations which had served in the War with Spain and the flags of the naval vessels manned by the Massachusetts Naval Brigade were formally turned over to the custody of the Commonwealth at an impressive ceremony on Boston Common.

Readjustment (1899–1906)

After the War with Spain, as after each of our wars, the militia went through a period of readjustment. Several companies were disbanded for inefficiency, and new ones formed in other towns to replace them. Particularly was this true of the Eighth Regiment, which in the years following the war lost seven companies by disbandment, most of them being replaced by companies in southern Middlesex County, so that within less than ten years the headquarters and six companies were located outside of Essex County, the old home of the regiment.

The pendency or imminence of war always awakens the people to repair their neglect of military preparation in years gone by. Accordingly, in 1898 a law lengthened the tour of camp duty from five days to seven, a reform which had been agitated in vain for several years. By combining the annual drill with the camp duty a full week in camp was possible—the commands, until 1910, making and breaking camp on Saturday. Then the custom of going to camp on Sunday was inaugurated. Regimental instead of brigade camps had also been agitated for many years, and a few commands had held them previously; now the entire militia held them in 1906, for the first time, at Framingham.

Field Maneuvres (1905–1913)

More and more the days in camp were devoted to field exercises, and several times the troops participated in grand maneuvers. In 1904 the infantry and artillery of the Second Brigade took part in the national joint maneuvers at Manassas, Va.

In 1905 the entire State volunteer militia, except the heavy artillery and naval brigade, with a small detachment of the Regular Army, all under command of Lieut. Gen. Nelson A. Miles (then serving as federal inspector-instructor of the militia), encamped near Westfield, Mass. Although the tactical problems were of the simplest sort, the camp was beneficial for those who took part in it, because it gave them a taste of something more like real service than the old camps at Framingham. This was the first time in more than a generation that so large a body of troops had been in camp together in the State.

In 1908 the Second, Sixth and Eighth Regiments and the First Corps of Cadets took part in the joint maneuvers at White Plains, N. Y.

The climax of field training was reached in 1908, when the entire volunteer militia (except the naval brigade) was mobilized in southeastern Massachusetts as a division under command of Brig. Gen. William A. Pew, Jr. Its mission was to check the advance of a constructive invading army consisting of regular troops and militia of other States, until the main army, supposed to be mobilizing at Albany, N. Y., could complete its concentration and come to the support of the division. The maneuvers excited much interest, not only among the members of the militia but among the civilians of the State, and were widely reported in the press. Although the weather conditions were adverse, the militia demonstrated its zeal and readiness for field service.

In 1911 the two brigades engaged in field problems against each other in Essex County, culminating in a problem battle near Newburyport. In 1913, after five days of stationary camps at various places in Bristol, Plymouth and Barnstable Counties, the two brigades maneuvered against each other near Middleboro. One of the most valuable results of this camp was a series of moving pictures illustrating the work of the various arms, which were extensively used in the years following to popularize the work of the militia and stimulate recruiting.

FIRING PRACTICE (1905–1915)

Even before the Spanish War the heavy artillery had held target practice at Fort Warren, and on occasion the field artillery had also gone there for the same purpose. In the years after that war, the heavy artillery command (which in 1905 had been detached from the First Brigade and had its name changed to coast artillery) continued to hold its camps at various seacoast forts, where it could fire with projectiles (except in 1909, when it was used as infantry in the maneuvers).

Battery A of the field artillery inaugurated the custom, later followed by the other batteries, of holding its camp at Barnstable, where it was possible to get a satisfactory range without danger to the inhabitants, a good field camp site, and ground for maneuvering the batteries. As the State owned no animals, much time was lost in training green horses. In 1915, the novel plan was first tried of sending the personnel of the battalion to Tobyhanna, Pa., where they had the use of the *matériel* and trained horses of Regular Army batteries. In 1912, the Eighth Infantry for the first time held service firing with ball ammunition against fixed and disappearing targets, the former being a line of balloons so anchored as to represent the heads of men over the edge of intrenchments. The firing was by battalion under simulated battle conditions, and furnished such excellent training in fire discipline that the problems were repeated the following year for the infantry officers of the entire militia at their school of instruction.

Joint Maneuvres (1912–1915)

In the summer of 1912, the other infantry regiments took part in the joint maneuvers in Connecticut, the close contact with the New York City brigade of National Guard being of value by enabling them to compare their own standards with those of a command from another progressive State. During the later years of this period, the cavalry held joint camps with that of Rhode Island and Connecticut under command of the federal inspector-instructor, which were productive of much good.

Just as before the Spanish War the five-day camps had been criticised as inadequate for training, so now the inadequacy of a camp of only one week was beginning to be appreciated.

In later years the coast artillery and naval brigade several times extended their tours to from ten to fourteen days. In 1915, the Eighth Infantry did the same, by having the extra days count as a practice march under federal pay.

Mounted Training (1903–1914)

The mounted troops had always suffered from lack of horses and of an armory where mounted work could be done. The first organization to try to meet these deficiencies was Battery A, Field Artillery, which bought horses with its own money and held regular mounted drills at a civilian riding ring. In 1914 a statute was passed providing for the State's maintaining horses belonging to mounted organizations; and finally, in 1915, a mounted armory at Brighton of sufficient capacity to house all the mounted organizations in and about Boston, having stables and two riding rings, was completed and occupied. In the meantime Battery C, of Lawrence, had had an addition to its armory constructed in Methuen, where it had stables and varied ground for mounted drill. The Eighth Infantry, which was the first regiment to organize the mounted scout detachment then existing in infantry regiments of the Regular Army, tried a successful experiment by putting its mounted men each month into week-end camps of instruction at South Weymouth. These camps, made under most rigorous weather conditions and with the minimum of baggage, were valuable in showing how mounted field instruction could be carried on under adverse conditions and without an expensive plant. They were favorably commented upon by the Federal inspector-instructor. As one officer said, "The men did everything they would have to do in war except get hit by bullets."

Rationing Troops (1899–1914)

In the Spanish War our troops were handicapped by the fact that they had always been fed by caterers and had had no experience in handling the army ration in the field. In 1899 the Commissary-General began to supply the food to the organizations, and shortly afterward a straight ration issue, as in the Regular Army, was established, and the commands were required to prepare it by means of their own cooks. In 1914, a field bakery was provided so that the troops could bake their own bread in the field.

INSTRUCTION SCHOOLS (1910–1914)

Theoretical instruction was also continually improved. The school of instruction for officers, instituted before the War with Spain, was put on a permanent basis, regular correspondence courses were conducted, and finally a definite graded course was established, under which successful competitors could be exempted from examination for promotion to the grade for which the course prepared. A field camp of instruction for officers, lasting three days, was first held in 1910. Several times the officers of the auxiliary arms were sent to the Army service schools of their branch for corresponding short periods of instruction.

In order to educate enlisted men for commissions, the training school was established in 1913. It held sessions at an armory from Saturday noon to Sunday night once each month, with assigned correspondence work in between the sessions; and it held a special tour of camp duty in the summer. It was conducted on a cadet basis and trained a considerable number of young men for promotion. A similar school was shortly afterward established for the Naval Brigade. In the establishment of these schools, as in so many other military reforms, Massachusetts was the pioneer among the States. The policy of building State armories was continued, until at the close of the period practically all commands were housed in them.

FIRE AND STRIKE DUTY (1908–1912)

During this period also occurred some of the most important tours of duty in aid of the civil authorities. At the time of the Chelsea Fire, on April 12, 1908, companies in and near Boston were called out and remained on duty until April 20.

A serious textile strike in the city of Lawrence began on January 15, 1912. At first only the two companies of infantry and battery of artillery located in the city were called; but after serious riots had taken place, the number was increased to 21 companies of infantry and 2 troops of cavalry, which number was gradually reduced as law and order was restored. The troops were on duty 52 days in all.

On June 26, 1914, occurred a fire which destroyed a large part of the City of Salem. The infantry officers were all at the Officers' School at West Newbury, and as the companies were called out they assembled and moved to Salem under their sergeants in a manner which showed a high degree of training and discipline. There were 24 companies on duty, and in his annual report the adjutant-general said: "This tour of duty was, in my opinion, as efficient a tour as was ever performed by the militia of Massachusetts." The troops were on duty until July 7, and not only policed the burned district, but at the beginning administered the relief work.

Relations with the Federal Government (1903–1914)

The chief characteristic of this period, however, was the development of closer relations with the federal government. The so-called "Dick Act," passed by Congress January 21, 1903, together with later statutes passed to supplement it, provided for increased federal appropriations for the organized militia; the federal government undertook to equip the troops completely for the field. The government encouraged the attendance of officers and men of the militia at service schools of the Regular Army under federal compensation. It provided for the participation of the Army and militia in joint maneuvers paid for from federal funds. It assigned officers and noncommissioned officers of the Army to duty as inspectors and instructors of the militia.

To obtain its allotment of federal funds, the militia of a State had to meet certain standards of efficiency. It must perform at least five days' camp duty and hold at least twenty-four drills a year. Since Massachusetts already exceeded these minimum requirements, the federal law imposed no hardship and was advantageous to the State both financially and in the line of active cooperation.

Federal Restrictions (1908–1915)

In one respect the administration of the law did produce some antagonism, though less here than in most States. The law of May 27, 1908, provided that, "On and after January twenty-first, nineteen hundred and ten, the organization, armament, and discipline of the organized militia . . . shall be the same as that which is now or may hereafter be prescribed for the Regular Army of the United States, subject in time of peace to such general exceptions as may be authorized by the Secretary of War."

The law also provided that organizations which had existed since May 8, 1792, "shall be allowed to retain their accustomed privileges, subject, nevertheless to all duties required by law in like manner as the other militia." Under these words the Division of Militia Affairs in the War Department tried to force on the militia not the organization prescribed by law, which actually existed in the Regular Army, but the organization laid down in the Field Service Regulations as the ideal in time of war—an ideal which the Regular Army did not try to reach and which the law did not allow it to reach.

The division also refused to recognize a headquarters for any organization which was not complete according to this standard. Thus the First Brigade went out of existence because it had only two regiments, instead of the three then prescribed as the ideal in regulations, and Massachusetts was left with one brigade and two unattached regiments. The cavalry squadron would also have lost its headquarters and the three troops become unattached, had not the fourth troop needed to complete the squadron been formed in 1910, in spite of the fact that there was a single troop of cavalry at Peterboro, N. H., and single regiments of infantry in Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, which could have been used to fill the vacancies, had the militia been called into federal service. Even the privileges of the two corps of cadets secured to them by the express words of the law were attacked, but unsuccessfully.

Effects of Federal Supervision (1903–1914)

The law did accomplish good, even in Massachusetts, by breaking up the old mixed brigades and making the cavalry and artillery independent commands, where their own particular needs were not overlooked in a unit predominantly infantry. It led to the formation of permanent staff departments, from which officers were detailed to organizations, instead of having such officers mere appointees of the brigade or regimental commander with no coordinating head in departmental matters. It led to the formation in each infantry regiment, in 1915, of a machine gun company, a supply company, and a headquarters company.

In another respect the Division of Militia Affairs did a valuable work. The characteristic of the organized militia all over the country was that it had an excess of infantry and a deficiency of all the auxiliary arms. For State purposes, infantry and a small amount of cavalry were the only arms needed except in very rare instances, such as Shays's Rebellion of 1786. On account of the far greater expense of maintaining the auxiliary arms, there was a general feeling that the federal government ought to contribute most of this expense, if it desired them maintained.

Although prior to the National Defense Act of 1916 the federal government could not prescribe what kind of troops a State should maintain, its persuasion did induce Massachusetts and other States to provide their proportion of the auxiliary arms needed for complete divisions. In Massachusetts, beside organizing the special units in the infantry regiments and increasing the cavalry squadron to four troops, the signal company, which had been formed in 1905 by consolidating the two brigade signal corps, was increased to a two-company field battalion; the ambulance or hospital corps, as it had been variously called, was divided into an ambulance company and a field hospital; and most important of all, the Second Corps of Cadets, voluntarily changed from infantry to field artillery, surrendered their ancient privilege of not being attached to any unit smaller than a division, and became the second battalion of the First Regiment of Field Artillery.

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE ACT OF 1916

June 3, 1916, the National Defense Act was passed by Congress. This marked the culmination of the federalization of the militia. The War Department was given the right to prescribe what units and branches of the service each State should maintain and to unite the organizations of different

States, so as to have tactically complete divisions, and provided a certain amount of federal pay for each member of the National Guard (as it was now called), in return for which he took an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and to obey the orders of the President. Under the Constitution the militia can only be used "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions," and so is not available as an expeditionary force. For this reason the militia organizations in the War with Spain had to enter the service not as militia, but as volunteers.

The National Defense Act meets this situation by providing that when so authorized the President may draft the National Guard into the Army of the United States, and that persons so drafted "shall, from the date of their draft, stand discharged from the militia, and shall from said date be subject to such laws and regulations for the government of the Army of the United States as may be applicable to the Volunteer Army." The law also required a minimum of 48 drills and 15 days' field duty of each National Guard organization. The Naval Militia Act of August 29, 1916, provided similar federal aid and control for the naval militia.

Under the provisions of the National Defense Act, Massachusetts organized a second field hospital and second ambulance company in 1916, and at the beginning of the next year an additional company was added to the signal battalion and the Second Regiment of Field Artillery organized. The First Corps of Cadets also changed into a regiment of engineers. The Naval Brigade had also been gradually increased so that by the end of 1916 it included 10 deck divisions, 3 engineer divisions, a company of marines (the first of its kind to be organized in the entire United States), and aeronautical detachments.

Massachusetts on the Mexican Frontier (1916)

June 18, 1916, the President called out the National Guard and organized militia of the country for duty on the Mexican border, and Massachusetts sent its entire land forces except the coast artillery and Sixth Infantry. Inasmuch as only fifteen days had elapsed since the passage of the National Defense Act, the Massachusetts militia had not been able to reorganize as "National Guard" under that act. Great confusion resulted at the mobilization camp at Framingham, some of which was due to shortsightedness on the part of the War Department, and some to the fact that the militia was unprepared for the situation.

The period of border service was spent in drills and field exercises with the Regular Army, and during it the officers and men became accustomed to Regular Army methods and administration, so that the later mobilization of 1917 was accomplished without confusion. They also returned from the border with horses and a large amount of equipment which they had not had before. After the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany, the troops devoted all their energies to preparing for the call for foreign service, which all thinking men could see was coming; and in doing this their border experience was a great aid.

Tenure of Office Controversy (1914)

Although under a system of electing officers the militia had always had its internal politics, it had been generally free from partisan civilian politics. The adjutant-general, the administrative head of the militia, though the personal appointee of the governor, had in practice been retained in office under successive governors of the same party, and in one notable instance under a governor of the opposite party. Governor Walsh, a man of no military experience, on taking office determined to oust the then adjutant-general, though of the same political party as himself, and induced the legislature to repeal the law passed in 1912 which had given the adjutant-general a five-year tenure of office. The suspense and unrest which this incident directly and indirectly caused was a positive set-back to the development of the militia in efficiency, and to conditions which resulted from it may be attributed much of the confusion when the Mexican Border call came.

The Massachusetts State Guard (1917–1919)

August 5, 1917, the President drafted into the Army of the United States the entire National Guard, except some half dozen departmental officers; so that from then on Massachusetts had no National Guard. The history of the National Guard organizations in federal service will be told in a later chapter of this volume and will not be touched upon here.

In anticipation of this draft, the legislature provided in 1917 for the organization of a local force known as the Massachusetts State Guard. A novel but wise provision of the law not only made the members soldiers, but gave them the powers of deputy sheriffs and constables in criminal matters throughout the Commonwealth. When fully organized, the force consisted of 11 regiments of infantry, a troop of cavalry, a medical department, and the First Motor Corps, a battalion equipped with automobiles and largely recruited from former members of the First Corps of Cadets; a total of about 725 officers and 10,800 men. They were formed into a division under Maj. Gen. Butler Ames, who had been promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Sixth Massachusetts Infantry in the Spanish War. Companies and detachments of the State Guard performed duty in guarding the barred zones on the Boston waterfront for 17 days in December, 1917. They were used also at a riot in Easthampton for 14 days; and at an explosion in Franklin. The guard also rendered valuable aid after the explosion in Halifax Harbor in December, 1917, and during the influenza epidemic in the fall of 1918. In 1918 the organizations performed five days of camp duty and in 1919 seven days.

State Guard in the Police Strike (1919)

Its best known and most important duty was in connection with the Boston Police Strike in 1919. In May of that year the Guard had been reduced to two brigades of three regiments each, the troop of cavalry, and the First Motor Corps; a total of 536 officers and 6,225 men. The police left their posts on the afternoon of Tuesday, September 9. The cavalry troop and the First Motor Corps, which were holding their regular drills that evening, were held at their armories until 11:00 P.M. and then dismissed, since all seemed quiet.

Rioting began almost immediately thereafter, and continued through the night. Early the next morning the mayor of Boston issued his precept, ordering out the commands located in the city; and before night the governor had ordered out the remaining regiments. Hence by 2:30 A. M. of Thursday, September 11, the entire State Guard was on duty in Boston, having mobilized, entrained, and reached the city in less than fifteen hours. The companies were recruited to 100 men, and additional units were accepted. On October 8 the relief of the troops began, and was completed on December 21, after a tour of duty of 102 days, the longest ever performed in support of the civil authorities since the days of Shays's Rebellion. The understanding that the troops would fire on rioters had an immediate effect, and disorders ceased at once. Indeed all the tours of duty of the State Guard were so performed that in his annual report for 1920 the adjutant-general said: "All will go down in history as fine examples of what a loyal citizen soldiery can do when a crisis arises in the community."

Post-Bellum Organization (1919–1930)

The services of Massachusetts organizations in the World War are elsewhere described in this volume. By the middle of 1919 the former members of the National Guard were returning from overseas, and the question of reorganizing it demanded consideration. At first there was considerable uncertainty, because it was generally expected that Congress would establish some form of universal training, and the future organization of the Army had not been decided. The new National Defense Act, passed by Congress in June, 1920, disappointed the advocates of universal training and merely broadened and strengthened the basic ideas of the National Defense Act of 1916.

Under this law and the military policy formulated by the War Department in accordance therewith, there was to be one Army of the United States, consisting of the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the Organized Reserves. Only a skeleton organization of the last is to exist in time of peace; but the two first are to be kept constantly recruited to peace strength; and at least one division of each is to be located in each of the nine corps areas into which the country is divided.

Unfortunately, the wave of economy which swept the country shortly after the act was passed has prevented the plan in its entirety ever being put into effect, and the National

Courtesy of the Author

26th Tank Company on the March

Courtesy of the Author

37 m m Gun in Action

The New National Guard, 1930

Guard as well as the Regular Army has suffered from a shortage of appropriations by Congress. The Militia Bureau of the War Department is presided over by a National Guard officer. It is understood that all policies affecting the National Guard are to be prepared by committees consisting of an equal number of Regular Army and National Guard officers. A National Guard organization may be divided between different States, so that one State may have the headquarters and some of the units of an organization and the remaining units be in a neighboring State. Since the National Guard usually encamps by divisions, these detached units have an opportunity to get accustomed to the organization of which they will form a part in time of war, so that a cause of friction under the old Dick Act is removed.

PERPETUATION OF ORGANIZATIONS (1920–1930)

Under this law, the names of the World War organizations were to be perpetuated and assigned to the States from which a majority of their members had come. Massachusetts was allotted one field artillery brigade, consisting of the 101st and 102nd Field Artillery Regiments; one infantry brigade, consisting of the 101st and 104th Infantry Regiments; the 101st Regiment of Engineers; and certain corps, Army and auxiliary troops. Later the State was allotted a complete division, which was designated as the Twenty-Sixth, in recognition of the fact that Massachusetts had furnished more men than any other State to the "Yankee Division" in the World War.

Federal economy delayed the organization of the full number of units, but in 1930 the division was complete, save for one or two minor company units. This is the first time Massachusetts has had a complete tactical division since the reorganization of 1876. In addition to the 26th Division, the State has a complete harbor-defense regiment of coast artillery; a full regiment of cavalry; a battalion of colored infantry; and the First Corps of Cadets, which has organized itself into a battalion of anti-aircraft artillery, which in time of war will be expanded into a full regiment. The Naval Militia has not been reestablished, for the federal government has taken over the entire Naval Reserve system.

The organization of these National Guard units has been gradual, and at first there was some shifting of companies from infantry to artillery, and vice versa; but by the end of 1920, 73 units had been federally recognized—125 by the end of 1921, and 134 by the end of 1922. A board of officers, presided over by the adjutant-general, had recommended a form of reorganization which would have preserved not only the World War organizations but also the historic Massachusetts regiments which saw service in the Civil and Spanish Wars. In some cases, such as the coast artillery and the First Corps of Cadets, the continuity of the organization has been preserved. In other cases, company organizations, some of which go back to the War of 1812 and even to the Revolution, have been continued; but the connection of the regimental unit with any one of the pre-war regiments rests on a slight basis. This is unfortunate, for Massachusetts had reason to be proud of its historic regiments, all but one of which dated back to the Civil War.

The Service in 1930

The tours of camp duty of the division, which now last 15 days, are held ordinarily at Camp Devens, although the Air Service has usually performed its tour at Mitchel Field, N. Y. The shortage of horses has made it necessary to take only one regiment of field artillery to camp with the division, the other performing its tour separately. The coast and anti-aircraft artillery performs its tour at coast forts, and the cavalry is united with that of the other New England States in a joint camp at Quonset Point, R. I. The Training School has been re-established, and is doing good work.

The formation of a highly efficient body of State Police has relieved the National Guard of aiding the civil authorities, save in some unusual emergency; and since 1919 there have been but four such occasions worthy of note: an explosion in Springfield in 1923; floods in the western part of the State in 1927; a strike in New Bedford in 1928; and a fire in Fall River the same year.

Although the numbers of the National Guard are about double what they were at the beginning of 1916, no deterioration in quality is visible. Most of the officers are World War veterans, and the requirements of the War Department exact a high standard both physically and professionally. The tours of camp duty show that, when the new National Guard is called upon to go to war, it will prove itself worthy of its heritage from the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia of 1861, 1898, and 1917.

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CHAPTER XX

MASSACHUSETTS IN THE WORLD WAR (1914–1919)

By John H. Sherburne

Attitude of Massachusetts (1914–1915)

The outbreak of the great European war came upon the people of Massachusetts as a complete and shocking surprise. No one had any warning of the coming storm; hundreds of Massachusetts travellers were caught by it in Europe and repatriated with difficulty. The economic and social ties between Europe and the eastern seaboard States, especially Massachusetts, were strong. Trade with foreign countries had prospered and a part of the prosperity of Massachusetts was involved therein; its citizens watched the course of events in Europe with deep sentimental interest and with some alarm for their trade and business futures. The sympathy of the people went out strongly to France and the great majority of Massachusetts people were overwhelmingly in favor of the allied powers. The invasion of Belgium and the violation of its neutrality was strongly condemned, and the tales of German atrocities intensified hostility against a ruthless and militaristic Germany. The invasion of France was watched step by step with great interest. Crowds assembled in front of the newspaper bulletins, and special editions of the papers were eagerly read. When the tide of invasion was checked at the Marne and the invader thrown back, there was almost universal relief. It was generally believed that the war would soon be over, from exhaustion of resources if not from decisive victory.

The war did not affect the physical or economic life of the State. The Boston stock exchange, following the New York stock exchange, closed on the outbreak of the war, but soon reopened; and business and industrial life continued as before. Foreign trade was interrupted; but it was soon found that foreign competition, which had been feared by the industries of Massachusetts under the lower tariff schedule enacted by the first Congress in the Wilson administration, was also stopped. Then war orders from the belligerents for cloth, leather, munitions and nearly every other product manufactured in this State began to flow in, with resulting material prosperity to the community.

Interest in the Allies (1915–1916)

A considerable number of Massachusetts men, led by strength of conviction or by love of adventure, joined the Allies, enlisting with the Canadian forces, in the Foreign Legion, or with the allied hospital and ambulance service. To most people, however, the war, as a fact touching their daily life or future, seemed remote. Although the sympathy of Massachusetts, except the small part of the population of Teutonic derivation, was strongly with the Allies, the community settled down to a comfortable and profitable neutrality and watched the tragedy unroll. There was some talk of a duty to intervene when Belgium was invaded; and when the Lusitania was sunk in May, 1915, a great wave of indignation swept over the State and the whole country, which might well have brought this nation into the war had the national administration so decided.

Under the surface, while intervention seemed remote, lay a sense of community of interest with the Allies, growing stronger as the war progressed. Ties of blood and language could not be forgotten; and the old friendship and affection for France for its aid in the Revolution was remembered and revived, particularly in Massachusetts which is so rich in memories of our French ally. Intelligent and liberty-loving Americans came to feel more and more that our ideals and interests were at one with the French and the British, who were fighting the age-old battle against tyranny and military oligarchy; and that the safety of the world and the freedom of its people were dependent on the success of the Allies. Few felt any doubt as to the ultimate outcome, after the German failure of immediate victory; and few were idealistic enough to counsel that this country should intervene on sentimental grounds. But the seed was being sown.

Then, during the summer and fall of 1916, the eyes of the people were turned toward a possible conflict with Mexico, along whose frontier all of the small military force of this country was for a time mobilized. In November, came the presidential election; President Wilson was reelected upon the campaign slogan, "He kept us out of war." To the American people it seemed that the issue of peace was settled.

Severance of Relations with Germany
(January–April, 1917)

The sudden turn of events early in 1917 was therefore entirely unexpected by the American people. On February 1, Germany notified our government of its decision to sink without warning all ships, neutral or belligerent, encountered in North Atlantic waters adjacent to Europe. February 3, President Wilson severed diplomatic relations with Germany. Sentiment in the country was divided at the start, but Massachusetts was almost unanimous in approval of the President's action. Senator Lodge, in Washington, made an eloquent speech supporting the President. The Massachusetts Legislature (February 9) went on record unanimously to the same effect; and the press of the State without exception denounced the German action in no uncertain terms.

At the outset it seemed as if Germany must recede; but, as the days passed, news of unrestricted sinking of neutral ships continued, and it became obvious that Germany had decided to take the risk of drawing the United States into the war, believing either that America would not fight, or that our participation would be so slow and ineffective that the war would be over before we could become an important factor.

The issue of peace or war was not completely decided for two months. Meanwhile, as a Boston paper put it, "The administration was talking about peace, thinking about war, doing nothing intelligent to promote the one and nothing adequate to prepare against the other." Debates and arguments succeeded each other in Washington. February 26, the steamer *Laconia* was sunk without warning; and the President asked for and received power to use armed forces to protect American merchantmen. A Senate filibuster (by "six wilful men") denied him further power. Worse than that, it caused the

ilure of all of the deficiency appropriations which were de-
gned to make possible the replacement of Army equipment
orn out in the service on the Mexican Border.

DECLARATION OF WAR (1917)

President Wilson was reinaugurated March 4, 1917, and in
is address spoke of armed neutrality "which may mean war."
was not till April 2, after a month of inactivity and mark-
g time by the administration, that Congress was reassembled
nd the President delivered a great message requesting a dec-
ration of war. The intercepted Zimmerman note in which
ermany proposed an alliance with Mexico, the detention of
nited States consuls in Germany, the insults to the American
ag in Belgium, and the unrestricted sinking of ships, all
erved to fan the flame of popular resentment.

The delay of the administration, while exasperating, per-
aps had the effect of unifying and crystallizing the sentiment
f the whole country, and its acceptance of the necessity and
istice of intervention. After a great speech by Senator Lodge
nd with the support of every Massachusetts Congressman,
ar was declared April 5, 1917; an appropriation of $3,400,-
00,000 was voted, and an army of one million men was
thorized.

PREPARATIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS (FEBRUARY–MARCH, 1917)

The administration in Washington had at last spoken.
hat of Massachusetts? February 9, six days after the rup-
re of relations and two months before the declaration of
ar, Governor McCall, at the immediate suggestion of James
Storrow and of Charles F. Weed, named a committee of
e hundred citizens to be known as the Massachusetts Com-
ittee on Public Safety and sent out a call for a meeting of
is committee to be held February 14. In his opening ad-
ress at this meeting, Governor McCall cleared the issue: "I
d not appoint the committee with the idea that war was
obable. I am expressing no opinion upon that point, but I
ink we will all agree that war is at least possible; and as it
possible, it behooves us to do what we can to get the Com-

monwealth of Massachusetts where it may, as it always has in time of national crises, respond very quickly to any call from the Nation." The committee was organized by the election of James J. Storrow as chairman, C. F. Weed as vice-chairman. It designated an executive committee with broad powers: Henry B. Endicott, Walton A. Green, Benjamin Joy, James J. Phelan, A. C. Ratshesky, and Adjutant-General Pearson ex-officio. February 15, Henry B. Endicott of Dedham was elected executive chairman and manager; and thereafter and until the close of the war he rendered a service which entitles him to rank high upon the rolls of the great and patriotic citizens of this State.

The Committee on Public Safety so organized was the first established in the United States, and the example was in large measure followed in many parts of the country. The first activity of the committee was to make a general study of the whole situation. Subcommittees were promptly organized to conduct an industrial survey of the State's resources; to advise with the legislature; to aid and cooperate with the military authorities in recruiting and equipping the National Guard, so that it might be ready to respond to the call when it should come; and to provide for the organization and equipment of a substitute force to take the place of the National Guard when it should have gone into Federal service. As a preliminary to its work, the Finance Committee, under the chairmanship of William A. Gaston, raised by public subscription a fund of over a hundred thousand dollars to be expended solely within the discretion of the Executive Committee.

Preliminary Arming and Equipping of State Troops (1916–1917)

The Committee on Public Safety decided that its first duty was to assist in equipping the military organizations of the State. Prior to 1917, the military establishment of the country had been small in numbers and was run on the basis of almost parsimonious economy. During the fall of 1916, the Regular Army was increased from 125,000 to 200,000 men. Almost all of the armed forces of the United States were assembled on the Mexican border for four months in 1916. As a result, all of the government surplus stock of military equipment had been exhausted; no uniforms or shoes or camp equipment or ordnance were available for new troops. The War Department submitted deficiency estimates to replace this equipment, but the appropriation was lost in the Senate filibuster, and President Wilson declined to exercise his power to execute contracts pending the reassembling of Congress. The surplus supplies on hand in Massachusetts had been exhausted in refitting the men who returned from Texas, and there was no equipment anywhere in sight for the new regiment of field artillery then forming, or for an increase of strength to raise the National Guard from peace to war footing. March 16, Adjutant-General Pearson resigned and Brigadier General E. Leroy Sweetser, the senior National Guard officer, was requested by Governor McCall to take over the duties of adjutant-general.

Wallace B. Donham and Benjamin Joy were sent to Washington by the Committee on Public Safety to assist the efforts being made by the State to obtain supplies from the Federal Government. The question of equipment was solved, so far as this State was concerned, by an arrangement with the War Department whereby the Federal authorities would order the necessary equipment conforming to Army standards, provided the State would agree to reimburse the government. On March 19, Governor McCall asked the legislature to appropriate the sum of a million dollars; and a resolve passed both branches, was engrossed and signed by the governor in the record-breaking time of two hours and twenty-five minutes, authorizing the credit of $1,000,000 as requested, $750,000 to be used for the purchase of equipment for the National Guard raised to war strength. The State was not called upon to pay this money, for by an act of April 5 Congress provided sufficient funds; but the equipment ordered was delivered, and the troops of Massachusetts were thus made ready for service.

Recruiting and Guard Duty (February–June, 1917)

Some companies of the National Guard had been called into Federal service as early as February 20 for guard duty at bridges, tunnels and other important points. The Second and Ninth Infantry on March 25, and next day the Sixth Infantry were called into Federal service to do guard duty, most of which was at or near home stations. The status of the remaining troops did not change; and the organizations recruited and trained assiduously in their armories, making ready to respond to the call to arms which was expected at any moment.

In March, 1917, the Guard showed a strength of 9,171 men. Recruiting began with a rush to add the 6,000 or more men needed to fill its regiments to full war strength, and the men necessary were speedily obtained; but the War Department refused to allow National Guard organizations to be raised to war strength until the Regular Army had recruited itself. Hence the Guard was forced to establish waiting lists in each organization of men who trained without pay and without equipment, wearing a special button, authorized by act of legislature, bearing the legend "Ready and Willing."

As soon as the War Department authorized the increase to war strength, the men already on the rolls were mustered in; and by the thirtieth of June the strength of the Massachusetts National Guard was 502 officers and 15,749 enlisted men.

Governor McCall Offers State Troops (April, 18, 1917)

So far did the equipment and enlistment of the Massachusetts military forces progress, that on April 18 Governor McCall in person went to Washington, with a military adviser, and formally and officially tendered to the Secretary of War the National Guard of the State at war strength and completely equipped for immediate field service. He further offered to raise the additional organizations necessary to complete an infantry division. Secretary Baker declined the offer, saying frankly that he could not accept it without calling out the troops of other States and that he had no supplies to give them. He made the same answer when the governor requested that Massachusetts troops be mobilized and called into service, saying that in that case he would have to arm the troops of other States with broomsticks, a process which would give aid and comfort to the enemy.

THE STATE GUARD (1917–1919)

When it became evident that the existing State forces were to go into Federal service, the necessity of making provision for another force to take its place was apparent. The Committee on Public Safety prepared and filed in the legislature a bill providing for the organization of a force to be known as the Home Guard. The legislature enacted the law on April 5. Acting under its provisions, the governor appointed a board of which Butler Ames, a former West Pointer and an ex-Congressman, was appointed chairman. This board at once organized and began to raise the new force from men who were exempt from the draft; or who, because of age or other reason, were unable to serve in the active forces. The Guard consisted of three brigades of 11 regiments, and when the National Guard was ordered into Federal service on July 25, the Home Guard (or, as it was later called, the State Guard) was a force of 9,000 men ready to take its place.

This State Guard was equipped by the State at a cost of $357,000. It performed five days of camp duty during 1918, and units were called into active duty in several temporary emergencies. It was commanded by Butler Ames, holding the State rank of major general. This force continued in existence until the reorganization of the National Guard in 1919–1920, and was the force which was mobilized in Boston at the time of the Boston police strike in September, 1919.

ACTIVITIES OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC SAFETY (1917)

The Committee on Public Safety was active in every direction where information, coordination of effort, or active assistance were necessary better to prepare the State. John H. Stevens, George H. Lyman, and J. Frank O'Hare were added to the Executive Committee. This committee established effective machinery for coordinating the work of the various charitable and aid societies, so as to prevent waste and duplication of effort. It organized the press and supervised publicity. A special committee was formed to investigate and counteract German propaganda.

An example of its efficiency was the organization of the New England Sawmill Unit. The British reported a pressing need for timber for military purposes, while no adequately organized lumbering units existed to cut the timber which was available in England and Scotland. On April 16, a suggestion was received from England that it would welcome our help in this respect; and William A. Gaston, James J. Storrow, and James J. Phelan, acting for the committee, raised within a month $130,000, procured 350 men, and purchased 10 portable sawmills. The whole organization set sail, June 15, 1917, constructed and operated a modern lumbering plant in Scotland, and astonished the British by their efficiency and their record of output. The sawmill units were a free gift from the people of New England to the British government. Lord Lovat, in charge of British lumber interests, said: "It was the best sporting event which has come to my attention during the war."

The Commonwealth Defense Act (1917)

The legislative department of the committee, under the chairmanship of W. Rodman Peabody, after study of legal and legislative precedents produced a piece of legislation, the Commonwealth Defense Act (May 25, 1917), which is without precedent in the history of the State and was the first law of its kind enacted by any State in the Union. This act placed almost supreme military powers, for the duration of the war, in the hands of the governor. It gave him the right of seizure of property and broad powers over the production, use and distribution of food. It authorized courts to refuse bail in cases menacing the public safety, authorized the suspension of certain laws relating to labor and to the appointment of civil officers, and in other respects greatly extended the power of the executive civil officers. Drastic as it was and contrary to the precedents of State constitutional legislation, the law was accepted by all sane and patriotic people as a necessary war emergency measure. The Federal legal authorities endorsed it, form and substance, and recommended it to other States as an excellent example of legislation, a recommendation that was widely followed. As soon as it went into effect, the governor delegated much of his authority to the Committee on Public Safety. Thus during the first three months of a status of war, Massachusetts did its utmost to prepare itself for the great task ahead. Its machinery was set up, its men were ready and waiting; and Massachusetts, true to the traditions of other wars, was again in the vanguard of the nation.

Federal Preparations for War (April–July 1917)

But the war was not a war of the States or of any one of them. If Massachusetts alone had been fighting it, her troops might have been in France and in the battle line many months before they were dispatched. Upon the Federal government devolved the responsibility of carrying out the great undertaking. After the President signed the declaration of war (April 6), the various Federal agencies began to move; but at the start it was hard to tell in what direction. The nation was facing the greatest problem of organization in its history, and found no precedents to guide it.

The Council of National Defense, consisting of six Cabinet officers and certain advisory members from industry, finance and labor, had been constituted in 1916, and at once entered into action. The council organized the Munitions Board for the manufacture and purchase of military supplies; and later the War Industries Board, which oversaw the whole industrial situation. The Federal Shipping Board began to plan for the construction of a vast flotilla of cargo ships, its activities being somewhat delayed by lengthy arguments as to the respective merits of ships of wood, of concrete, or of steel.

The administration and operation of the railroads of the country were taken over by the government. The Federal Reserve Board was given large financial powers. Many Massachusetts manufacturers, engineers and professional men were called to service with one or other of these boards, and gave devotedly of their time and skill to building up the vast machine, which functioned efficiently as the months progressed.

The Navy, with problems of personnel and supply much simpler than those of the Army, mobilized immediately. Admiral Sims with his staff sailed for England, followed by the American destroyer squadrons. The Naval Reserve was at once called to duty. In Massachusetts orders came to the Naval Militia, a part of the organized volunteer militia of the State, on the evening of April 6. Next day, at 11 A. M.

the Naval Brigade marched into the Charlestown Navy Yard. Its whole force, consisting of 85 officers and 912 men, was immediately enrolled in the U. S. Navy and assigned at once to the battleships Kearsarge and Nebraska, serving with credit during the war.

The first local act of war was the confiscation of interned enemy ships. On the morning of April 6, the six German ships which had been lying in Boston harbor since 1914 were seized—three of them, the Kronprinzessin Cecilie, the Amerika, and the Cincinnati, being of large tonnage. After the damages inflicted by the German crews had been repaired, these ships, renamed the Mt. Vernon, America and Covington, were put into transport service and carried thousands of our troops to France in 1918.

Raising the American Army (1917–1918)

When war was declared, although authorization was granted for the raising of an army of one million men, it is doubtful whether the administration in Washington contemplated sending a great army of combat troops to France. Shortly after the declaration, an allied mission headed by Viviani, Prime Minister of France, and Balfour, representative of the British Ministry, came to this country and laid before the administration the exact situation of the Allies. The collapse of Russia was already becoming a probability; the Italians had not been successful; the man power of the French and of the British had been greatly depleted; and the courage and resistance of the peoples, especially the French, were falling very low. Without a strong and speedy reinforcement of combatant troops, the issue of the war was at least doubtful and the allied success in jeopardy. Marshal Joffre, who came with the mission, on April 30 urged the President to "send an army now." It has been considered probable by eminent authorities that had we been able to put an army of 500,000 men in the field immediately, the war would have ended in 1917; but equipment, supplies, system and plans were absolutely lacking.

The War Department in the early stages was in a condition of confusion and indecision. At first the administration was left to the officers of the Regular Army, men without business experience and often without business ability. Bernard M. Baruch, the chairman of the War Industries Board, describes the situation: "We had seven buying bureaus in the War Department alone. These, embarking overnight on a vast purchasing program, were competing all over the country with each other, with the Navy, Shipping Board, Allies, Red Cross, and a host of other agencies. Prices soared, scarcities developed everywhere, confusion, irritation, congestion and amazing inefficiency marked the situation at every aspect." Finally the business side of the War Department was taken over by the Council of National Defense and its subcommittees.

Officers' Training Schools (1917–1918)

It was foreseen that the million men authorized by Congress was only a part of the force that the United States would need if it were to be an effective factor on the battlefield. Trained officers to instruct the vast army of men coming from civil life without previous military knowledge were essential. There were not a third enough officers for even the army of a million. Hence after great delay training camps for officers were established at many points in the country, and a selected group of applicants were given a strenuous three months of training, being commissioned according to their merits from the grade of major down, but mostly as first and second lieutenants. A camp was located in Plattsburg, New York, and a quota of 2,500 men was fixed for New England, more than half of whom were Massachusetts men, college graduates and undergraduates, enlisted men from the National Guard, and others of special qualification. Many Massachusetts men who were outside the quota were sent to other training camps in various parts of the country. These camps opened on May 15. Harvard University and other institutions offered the use of their buildings and grounds for the accommodation of training schools.

Enactment of the Draft (1917–1918)

Although an army of a million men was authorized by Congress, the total enrollment in Regular Army and National

Guard by May 1st was less than 400,000 men. Recruiting for the Army was not easy, and few States had increased their State troops to war strength. It was obvious that to accomplish the vast augmentation of military forces which the situation made necessary there must be found some better and quicker method of increase beyond the voluntary offering of individual men.

The national government therefore decided to put into force the principle of universal service and to draft the man power of the nation. The liability of all male citizens to military service is a basic principle of Massachusetts and of the nation; but previous attempts at its application were not encouraging as precedents. The annual muster of all men between the ages of seventeen and forty-five, the so-called militia, had died out more than a hundred years before. A system of mild universal service in peace, although often urged by advocates of military preparedness, did not meet with approval by the people. The draft had been tried with very unsatisfactory results in the Civil War. Nevertheless, the crisis of 1917 demanded sacrifices and services from the whole country.

Hence a bill was presented to Congress and was enacted on May 18, 1917, adopting the principle of universal service and setting up the machinery for enrollment. Under this bill the President fixed June 5, 18 days after the bill had become law, for the registration of all men in the nation between the ages of twenty-one and thirty. In that short period a great administrative machine of extraordinary efficiency was created, under rules prescribed from Washington but administered by the local authorities in each State and county of the nation. In Massachusetts, the governor and all the local executives in counties, cities and towns gave their entire cooperation; and on the day appointed between dawn and dark 362,825 citizens of the Commonwealth registered, in accordance with the law and the President's proclamation.

The Draft System (1917–1918)

Thereafter local draft boards were constituted to work out and make operative the principle of selective service, and to pass upon the claims for exemption and on the physical fitness of the men registered. The governor appointed these local boards, calling into this service nearly a thousand public-spirited Massachusetts citizens of the highest calibre, who served without pay for the duration of the war. Theirs was the duty of deciding the always difficult and often heartrending question of who should go and who should be excused. The unselfish and patriotic devotion displayed by the local draft boards should not be passed by without adequate recognition.

Rules were prepared in Washington that fixed the classification of exemptions, dependency, essential occupation, enemy alienage, etc. Each case had to be considered individually, each man examined physically. During August, 1917, some of the local boards heard and decided as many as a hundred cases a day.

The men registered were listed numerically in each city, county or town. On July 20, 1917, in Washington were drawn by lot the registry numbers of the master list, which when applied to the local lists gave the number of each man to be called and the order of priority. The first call was for 687,000 men, and the quota from Massachusetts was 43,034. As a part of these quotas, the States were given credit for such citizens as were on the rolls of the National Guard or who had enlisted in the Regular Army since April 1. On this basis Massachusetts was credited with 22,448 volunteers, so that its net draft quota was but 20,586. This State was twelfth in the list of States in the proportionate number of voluntary enlistments. If credit had been given for the men then in the Officers' Training School and Naval Service, who were for some unknown reason not included in computing the statutory credit, the State would have been third or fourth in total voluntary enlistments.

Federal Organization in New England (1917–1919)

The Federal military administration of New England was for some time located in New York City. On May 1, New England was made a separate district, known as the Department of the Northeast; and Brigadier General Clarence R. Edwards came to Boston, took over the command of this district, and at once began to work out plans for its effective organization. It was finally decided to locate the New England cantonment at Ayer, to be called Camp Devens after General Charles Devens of Massachusetts, of Civil War fame. The camp, planned to house 45,000 men, was ready for the first draft in September of 1917, and thereafter was continually occupied to capacity until May of 1919. Here the Seventy-sixth Division and, later, the Twelfth Division were organized and trained; and many thousands of New England men passed through the camp on the way to France or to other stations. The camp consisted of wooden buildings, hastily but substantially built, with an elaborate steam-heating system installed to make possible its use during the winter.

The People Awakened (1917)

Meanwhile during May, June and July, 1917, while the Army was marking time until officers could be trained and cantonments built, the people of the State were awakening to the meaning of the war, in terms of money, men and personal sacrifice. May 12, Marshal Joffre visited Boston; and the great outpouring which witnessed the receptions to him and the parade which he led through the city, testified to the tremendous enthusiasm which the people felt toward our ally, France, and toward him personally.

Most of the educational institutions receiving men of military age established schools for officers, Harvard under the tutelage of five able French officers sent by the French government. Harvard also established a wireless school and a naval training school. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology and other institutions followed suit in making every effort to supply the deficiency of officer material.

Men of technical training and ability were drawn upon in large numbers as specialists and began to go overseas. The medical schools and hospitals organized medical units as will be noted in this chapter.

A regiment of railroad engineers, the Fourteenth, was organized from the railroad men of New England and sailed on July 26. The Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. enlisted thousands of workers and organized for the great service which they rendered both overseas and at home.

In June, 1917, began the first Liberty Bond campaign, to sell the $7,000,000 bond issue which had been authorized by Congress. Massachusetts raised its quota of funds and more; and it is interesting as showing the spirit which existed to note that the National Guard of Massachusetts, awaiting their mobilization, purchased $439,000 of these bonds, an average of $30 per man. A drive for Red Cross funds was also launched, and two and one-half millions were subscribed in Boston alone.

WOMEN'S WAR WORK (1917–1918)

June 15, a mass meeting of women was held in the State House, to which almost every women's organization in the Commonwealth sent a representative. There was organized the Massachusetts Division of the Women's Council of National Defense, Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer being chosen chairman, with subcommittees on child welfare, on agriculture, on women in industry, on social work. An organization was formed, subsidiary to the Women's Council at Washington, one member of which was Mrs. Stanley McCormick of Boston, to coordinate the activities and resources of the organized and unorganized women of the country, so that their power might be immediately utilized in time of need. This council was active throughout the war, and did extremely effective work within its sphere.

MOBILIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD (JULY–AUGUST, 1917)

July 25, 1917, came at last the call to the Massachusetts National Guard. Ready, willing, and equipped to go, the long wait had been hard upon the patience of the men. The delay was availed of by the regiments to prepare themselves in complete readiness for any duty, and the technical efficiency and morale of the units was high. The troops assembled in their various armories and proceeded at once to the mobilization points; most of the infantry going to the camp at Framingham, the units in the western part of the State to Westfield, the artillery regiments to Boxford. Although the status of the National Guard of the States was fixed by the Constitution of the United States, in previous wars some difficulty had been found in molding the State troops into a national army. In the Civil War, after the first duty of three months, the Army was made up of volunteers, either by organizations as a whole or by individuals supplemented by drafted men and substitutes. In the Spanish War, complete regimental organizations were accepted as volunteers.

Federal and State legislation had gradually been evolved, working out at last the original theory and plan of the Federal Constitution, whereby the President could call the State troops into Federal duty upon an emergency; and then, if he so chose, might draft them in their entirety into the national service, substituting thereby a single responsibility instead of their previous dual obligation to State and Nation, and making them a completely Federalized force.

Therefore the President called the troops into Federal service on July 25; and eleven days later, acting under this newly authorized power, he drafted the State troops of Massachusetts and of the other States into the Army of the United States. The National Guard of Massachusetts thereby went out of existence until its reorganization after the war. Five regiments of infantry, one of coast artillery, two of field artillery, a squadron of cavalry, a signal battalion, and a complete medical unit were so drafted—a total of 502 officers and 15,908 men, all passing the most rigid Army tests for physical fitness.

Tactical Reorganization (August, 1917)

The regiments thus nationalized continued their training, waiting for orders to form them into brigades and divisions, and expecting early foreign service. The war strength of a regiment of infantry under the War Department regulations published April 2, 1917, was 56 officers and 2,000 men. The five Massachusetts regiments had complied with these requirements. Suddenly, out of a clear sky, the War Department (August 13) issued a new table of organization, increasing the infantry regiment to 105 officers and 3,600 men. Then (August 17) came the War Department order providing for divisional organization, assigning the divisional numbers 1 to 25 to the Regular Army, 26 to 50 to the National Guard, and 76 and above to the national army to be raised from the

From photo by Jules Photo Service

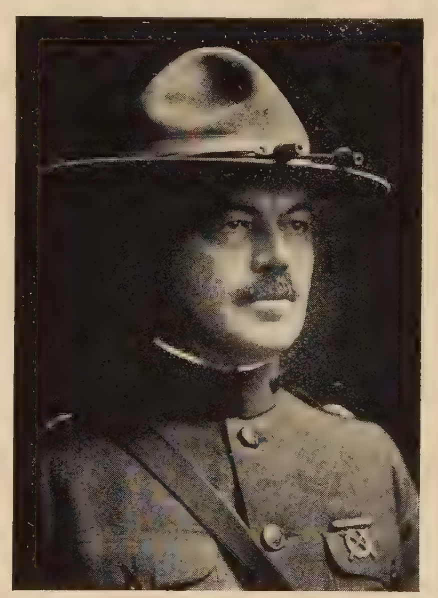
General Clarence R. Edwards

From a photo by Marceau, Boston

Brigadier General Charles H. Cole

From a photo by Marceau, Boston

Brigadier General John H. Sherburne



From a photo by Oppenheim

Brigadier General E. Leroy Sweetser

draft. Each division was to consist of four regiments of infantry, three of artillery, and one of engineers.

The Yankee Division (1917–1919)

The numeral 26 was assigned to New England, the division to be made up of the National Guard of the six New England States, Maj. Gen. Clarence R. Edwards being appointed to its command. General Edwards, as the commander of the Department of the Northeast since May, had been indefatigable in his help to the State troops; and his appointment was highly acceptable. He at once formed a staff of able Army and National Guard officers, and proceeded with great vigor to organize his division.

Time was of the essence. At that juncture campaigns of the Allies were failing, Russia was breaking down, American reinforcement was urgent; and there were as yet no troops ready to go into the fight. The reorganization of the Infantry to fit the new table of organization presented the great difficulty.

New England had raised eleven regiments of infantry, all recruited to what they had supposed was war strength. Of these only four could be taken. Maine and Connecticut were each called upon for one of these four, and the two Maine National Guard regiments were consolidated into the 103rd Regiment; the two Connecticut regiments into the 102nd. Two places were left for the five Massachusetts regiments. The two senior colonels with their regiments were picked as the nucleus of the new units. The Ninth Regiment, most of the Fifth Regiment, and 175 men from the Sixth became the 101st Infantry, commanded by Col. Edward L. Logan. The Second Regiment, the greater part of the Eighth Regiment, and 12 officers and 800 men from the Sixth Regiment became the 104th, commanded by Col. William C. Hayes, later by Col. George H. Shelton.

The three regiments, the Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth, which were not included in the Twenty-sixth Division, had all been in continuous existence since 1855; all had served in the Civil War, in the Spanish War, and recently on the Mexican border. The Sixth was the regiment that forced its way through Baltimore in April, 1861. The military necessity for the virtual destruction of these regiments was recognized: under the circumstances nothing else could have been done, for it would have taken too long to recruit the two new regiments to war strength. But it was hard upon the officers and men involved who had given years of service to build up the spirit and traditions of their units.

MILITARY UNITS (1917–1918)

Brig. Gen. Peter E. Traub, a regular, was assigned to the Fifty-first Brigade, consisting of the 101st and 102nd Infantry; and to Brig. Gen. Charles H. Cole, of Boston, who had given long service in the National Guard, was assigned the 52nd Brigade, the 103rd and 104th Infantry.

The artillery brigade of three regiments presented little difficulty. The First Massachusetts, Field Artillery, had been designated early in August as the New England representative in the 42nd Division—the so-called "Rainbow Division"—a composite division made up of selected regiments from all sections of the country, which it was supposed would be the first to go overseas. When it appeared that the new Twenty-sixth might be the first to go, this assignment was cancelled and the regiment became the 101st Field Artillery under Col. John H. Sherburne, a National Guard officer; the 2nd Mass. regiment, a new unit organized during the spring of 1917, became the 102nd Field Artillery, commanded by Col. Morris E. Locke, a regular; the 103rd was made up of batteries from other New England States and from the Coast Artillery. The engineer regiment, the 101st Engineers, was organized during the spring of 1917 from the First Corps Cadets of Boston, its colonel, George W. Bunnell, being a former West Pointer and an engineer in civil life. Massachusetts, therefore, furnished five of the eight regiments to the new division. A great many of the auxiliary troops, signal battalions, machine gun battalions, medical units, and trains were also Massachusetts units; and considerably more than half of the officers and men of the new division were Massachusetts citizens.

THE DIVISION IN FRANCE (1917)

No sooner had the new organization been completed than its opportunity came. Parts of the First Division had gone to France in June and July. No other regulars were ready. The Forty-second Division had not been able to assemble and equip as quickly as had been expected. The Twenty-sixth was ready. Its units were organized, and its men were equipped. The efforts of the military authorities, aided by Endicott and his committee and the foresight of the Massachusetts legislature in procuring supplies in April, 1917, were now fully justified; for the equipment so procured was the contributing factor in the readiness of the new division. Shipping was available, and on September 7 and 8, 1917, the 101st Infantry and the 101st Field Artillery embarked for France, followed during the next month by the other units of the division. By October 24, the whole division was in France, preceded only by the First Division, which was not even then complete. After training under French instruction in the art of warfare as it had developed since 1914, on February 5, 1918, the division entered the line of combat; and Battery A, 101st Field Artillery, of Boston, fired the first shot.

On the Field of Battle (February–November, 1918)

To relate the history of the division in detail is not possible here. From February, 1918, to the Armistice, the division remained in the line of combat. Its first sector was the Chemin des Dames, where the Division served under French command until March 18. Moving to the Woevre, it took over a wide front north of Toul. Here troops of Massachusetts (104th Infantry and 101st Artillery) successfully resisted the first attack in force upon American troops, at Apremont, April 10 to 12. For this action the colors of the 104th Infantry were decorated by the French. In July the division was sent to the Marne, near Chateau Thierry, taking position from Vaux to Belleau Woods, the nearest point to Paris, where it prepared to resist the third great German offensive, which was launched on July 15. The full force of the German attack did not fall upon the division, but it was heavily engaged.

In the great allied counter-offensive, July 18, the Aisne-Marne offensive or Battle of Chateau Thierry, the division on the first day took Belleau and Torcy; then, keeping step with the great drive, advanced against the best German troops a distance of twelve miles. The Infantry was relieved July 25, but the Artillery went on with the Forty-second and then with the Fourth American Division until August 4, advancing more than twenty-five miles.

The division suffered casualties of more than a fifth of its strength in these operations. After a short rest it was sent to Les Eparges, north of St. Mihiel, where (September 12) it took an important part in the offensive which reduced the St. Mihiel salient. The division was chosen to make the eastward thrust against the salient, and was so successful that it reached the meeting point, Vigneulles, some hours before the troops attacking from the south. After St. Mihiel, the Twenty-sixth Division held and consolidated the new line for a few weeks, and was active in many raids and demonstrations. It was then sent to Verdun, and (October 11) entered the line north of that city, where it remained on the offensive until the Armistice.

On October 22nd, General Edwards was detached from the division and sent back to Boston to command the Northeastern Department. His place was filled temporarily by Brig. Gen. Bamford, then by Maj. Gen. Harry C. Hale, who brought the division home. Several other popular officers were also relieved of their commands at this time, later to be exonerated and reinstated. The division suffered heavy casualties in these last operations and received no replacements. The effective strength of the 101st Infantry on October 27 was reported as 10 officers and 425 men, and other units were in a similar condition. Yet at 9:30 on the morning of the Armistice the division made the ordered attack and attained its objective.

The five Massachusetts regiments and the other units from the State maintained their identity throughout the war, served effectively and with honor, and lived up to the military traditions of Massachusetts in the past.

Seventy-Sixth Division (1918)

As the first trains of the Twenty-sixth Division passed by Camp Devens on their way to Hoboken and New York for embarkation, they passed the first trains of the draft troops assembling at Camp Devens. The draft had been conducted successfully, and thousands of men—more than 20,000 from Massachusetts—had thus been inducted into the service, reporting to the designated concentration camp during September. From the draft troops and from officers who had been trained at Plattsburg and who had been commissioned about the first of September was formed the Seventy-sixth Division. Of the organizations which composed this division, the 301st and 302nd infantry regiments, the 301st field artillery regiment, the 301st field signal battalion and the 302nd machine gun company were accredited to Massachusetts, the greater part of the enlisted men coming from this State.

The first units of the Seventy-sixth Division arrived in France on July 10, 1918, the last on August 8. Shortly after its arrival, the division was broken up, its officers and men being sent in large and small detachments as replacements to every division on the front. The only units to escape this fate were the 301st Field Signal Battalion, which was sent to the Sixth Corps intact, and the Field Artillery Brigade, some elements of which reached the line at Rupt en Woevre just before the Armistice. The 301st Field Artillery, the regiment credited to Massachusetts, was assigned as Army artillery but did not get into action.

OTHER MASSACHUSETTS ORGANIZATIONS (1918)

The officers and men of the Massachusetts National Guard not taken into the Twenty-sixth Division were assigned to a depot brigade under command of Brig. Gen. E. Leroy Sweetser and sent to Camp Green, North Carolina. The Fifth, Sixth and Eighth Regiments were retained as skeleton organizations and were converted into the Third, Fourth and Fifth Pioneer Regiments. All of these regiments were recruited to strength by National Army troops raised by the successive drafts, coming mostly from western States. The Third Pioneers was commanded by Col. Willis W. Stover of Everett; the Fourth, by Col. Holten B. Perkins of Boston; and the Fifth, by Col. W. H. Perry of Lynn. In the summer of 1918 the Third and Fourth Regiments went overseas, where they did effective service on the lines of communication.

The company of colored troops belonging to the Sixth Regiment was attached to the 372nd Regiment of the Ninety-third Division, and served gallantly with the French in the Argonne.

The Twelfth Division was organized from the draft at Camp Devens after the departure of the Seventy-sixth. It was ready for foreign service, but before it could be sent overseas the Armistice came.

The 55th Coast Artillery Regiment was organized as a regiment on December 1st, 1917; its colonel was James F. Howell, and more than half of its officers and men were members of the First Massachusetts Regiment of the National Guard. It was in action on the Aisne from August 9 to September 9, 1918, and in the Meuse-Argonne offensive from September 19 to the Armistice.

The Seventy-first Coast Artillery was organized from Boston in May of 1918 and went overseas July 30, 1918, but was not equipped in time to get into action.

Special Services (1917–1918)

The 14th Engineers, Colonel W. P. Wooten, specialists organized for the construction, operation and maintenance of railroads from the railroad men of this section, was among the first organizations to go overseas. It sailed on July 27, 1917, and served with great credit upon the British and, later, on the American fronts.

The 401st Telegraph Battalion, organized by the New England Telegraph Company in October, 1917, and commanded by Maj. L. W. Abbott, landed in France on March 20, 1918, and was assigned to the First American Army from August 15 to the Armistice. It is credited with battle participation in the St. Mihiel and in the Meuse-Argonne offensives.

The 317th Field Signal Battalion, recruited principally from Massachusetts, was called into service on November 5, 1917, at Camp Devens. It went overseas on July 9, 1918, and was attached to the Fifth Army Corps. The battalion is credited with the St. Mihiel offensive and the Meuse-Argonne, and was cited for exceptional devotion to duty. It returned from overseas on June 6, 1919. The colors of this organization were presented by the senate of Massachusetts.

Medical Service (1917-1918)

Base Hospital No. 5, made up of doctors and nurses from the Harvard Medical School and associated hospitals, sailed May 11, 1917, under command of Col. Harvey Cushing. It served until the end of the war upon the British front, and maintained a 2000-bed hospital. Base Hospital No. 6, from the Massachusetts General Hospital, under command of Col. Frederic A. Washburn, sailed on July 11, 1917, and established near Bordeaux a large hospital of more than 4000 beds, where it cared for thousands of American sick and wounded. Base Hospital No. 7, from the Boston City Hospital, Maj. John J. Dowling, was not mobilized until February, 1918. It sailed on July 8th, and established a hospital at Jouez-les-Tours. In these units were many of the leading physicians and surgeons of the State; the service they rendered was of the utmost importance.

The Citizen Soldier in the War

The exclusive direction of military organization and military operation was given, as it should have been, to the Regular Army. Starved in men and material as that organization had been for years, it was perhaps natural that it should make the most of its opportunity and that, at the beginning, the professional soldier did not have a proper perspective. A deliberate policy was adopted of destroying all State allegiance and particularly of uprooting the National Guard tradition and the dual system of military organization provided for in the American Constitution. It was hoped that universal military training, the long-cherished ideal and aim of the Regular Army, would follow the war and that State troops would be abolished.

Military necessity might have justified the breaking up of the Seventy-sixth Division, but many similar acts were not prompted by military necessity. Civilian officers and National Guard officers were placed in a position of inferiority, were obliged to wear a special insignia, and were outranked in their grades by any officer of the Regular Army, no matter how young or inexperienced or what the date of his commission was, holding temporary rank in such grade. Promotion also was the perquisite of the Regular Army regardless of the efficiency of the one promoted; civilian officers for the most part remained where they were, no matter how able they were as soldiers and leaders. It was almost impossible to obtain commissions for tried and able enlisted men within an organization, and the severe system of discipline imposed upon the men was not adapted to the American character and served rather to irritate than to inspire.

All of this caused dissatisfaction and bitterness, and probably, in the final analysis, lowered the military efficiency of the American Army. It fell particularly heavily upon the Twenty-sixth Division, which got the brunt of it. At the end of the war, those in authority recognized that a great mistake had been made. Every effort was made to undo what had been done, to give promotions, to reassemble organizations, and to send officers back to their regiments; but it was too late to wipe out the bitterness engendered.

The Service Record of Massachusetts

Only organizations officially credited to Massachusetts and whose battle flags are deposited in the State House have been mentioned here. The total number of Massachusetts men who served in the Army or Navy of the United Stated during the war was 198,929, of which number 83,220 were drafted, the remainder volunteering or being specially inducted. Less than a third of this number were attached to Massachusetts units. The Army administration paid little or no attention to the derivation of the great mass of men given to it as soldiers. If men were on hand in one camp and were needed elsewhere, they were transferred without regard to home ties or regimental numbers. A great many Massachusetts men, for instance, were transferred from Camp Devens to the Eighty-second Division from the Southern States, a draft division which had been drawn upon heavily to complete the National Guard division of that section. The necrology record shows that 200 men from Massachusetts were killed in the ranks of this division. To give an adequate story of the service of Massachusetts men in the military and naval forces would necessitate a history of every division and fleet. The records of those who died in service, classified by divisions, show one or more from Massachusetts in every division in the United States Army. The greatest number of casualties (1036) were naturally from the Twenty-sixth Division. Three hundred and ninety men died in the Second Division, and one hundred and eighty-nine in the First Division. The total number of deaths in service was 5,288, about a fourteenth of the total American losses.

State Relations With The National Government During The War (1917-1919)

As the great war machine of the nation began to gain headway in scope and efficiency, the local activities of the State as such fell more and more under Federal authority: the directing force being the Federal government, the State cooperating but subordinated to the national control. The Federal government took over control of the railroads and of all shipping, in New England as elsewhere. The War Industries Board, which had grown out of the Council of National Defense, became more and more powerful in its direction and supervision of essential industries necessary for the manufacture of war material. The whole nation gradually found itself and became united in the common aim. The States recognized that the task was a national one, and subordinated their State sovereignty and individuality in the great effort.

Nowhere was this more apparent than in Massachusetts. Of different partisan politics than those of the national administration, the Massachusetts Senators and Representatives in Congress—led by Senators Lodge and Weeks in the Senate, and by such men in the House as Augustus P. Gardner, until his resignation to accept a commission—were a unit in their support of national measures. In Massachusetts, Governor McCall gave without hesitation or reservation his full support to the national effort and delegated the great powers which had been granted to him by the legislature in ways best fitted to carry out the national will.

Newspapers throughout the land submitted to voluntary censorship of news, and there were few occasions where the spirit of the agreement was not accepted and lived up to.

The draft went on taking the young men from the community as long as the need existed and as the President called. Recruits would disappear into the great training camps; troop trains would arrive on the sidings at night and in the morning thousands of men would have vanished, gone to the port of embarkation or to an unknown destination. All was done secretly, in the hope, at least, that the enemy would not be informed. Little was told of the movements and battles of the American troops in France. Letters from individual soldiers were rigidly censored at the front to prevent such information from leaking out. Newspaper correspondents were not permitted to accompany the armies in the field, and only the barest details of American success were given out officially.

National Patriotism and Service

To Massachusetts the war was a crusade to end tyranny and militarism and to establish in the world the right of the self-determination of its peoples.

Day by day, built upon the patriotism of the people, a vast and most efficient organization was developed, reaching from Washington into every town and every home of the State. Children worked cheerfully in the fields to increase the crop yield. Women organized everywhere for the service they could give. Bankers gave their help to the great war-loan drives. Professional and business men closed their desks, joined the Army or Navy staffs or the many committees and agencies working out the industrial problem. The people who remained at home were keyed up to great and effectual effort. Subjected to much privation, they cheerfully submitted to every regulation which could in any way further the success of our armies. Altogether it was a most inspiring proof of the unity of the people of the State and of the nation, a demonstration of the basic soundness of our institutions and government.

Food Administration (1917-1919)

The question of food supply was early recognized to be of great moment. A disruption of production was caused by the military draft of so much of the manhood of the country and by the diversion of more into the manufacture of munitions and other war activities. Likewise a great drain upon the resources of the country, to supply the armies in the field and to supply the Allies, made conservation of resources most necessary.

One of the earliest studies in Massachusetts by the Committee on Public Safety was the question of food production and conservation, and in the spring of 1917 the committee urged the greatest possible production of agricultural products throughout the State. In May, 1917, the President asked Herbert Hoover to start a preliminary organization that would have as its principal function food conservation. Hoover in July, 1917, requested Henry B. Endicott to act as his representative in Massachusetts. August 10, 1917, Congress enacted the Food and Fuel Control Act; and Hoover was at once appointed Federal Food Administrator, appointing Endicott as Federal Administrator for Massachusetts. Governor McCall, under the powers given in the Commonwealth Defense Act, appointed him State Food Administrator with full powers, and a strong and effective organization was perfected.

The food situation in Massachusetts, due to the small wheat crop carried over from 1917, and also to remoteness from sources of supply and dependence on an overburdened transportation system, was more difficult than that of other parts of the country. Various classes of dealers and manufacturers of necessaries were put under license by presidential proclamation, to prevent hoarding or withholding vital supplies, to restrain profiteering, and to secure uniform distribution. Prices and profits were rigidly kept within reason. Substitutes were found for wheat flour, and their use was required. When in January, 1918, the shortage of wheat became alarming, it was prescribed that all wheat flours should be mixed with 50 per cent of substitute—corn, rye, or other grain flour. The sugar shortage required drastic rules and regulations and frequent prosecutions. "No-white-bread" weeks were recommended; meatless days were prescribed for restaurants and hotels. Hoarding was rigidly watched. The substitution of fish for meat was urged upon the people, and the fishing industry was helped to produce an adequate quantity of fish.

In a thousand ways, Endicott and his assistants worked for conservation and for the equal distribution at reasonable prices of all the necessary food components of daily life; and they received from the whole people a cooperation that was inspiring. The selfish disregard of the regulations and requests of the Food Administration shown by a few was much more than offset by the voluntary efforts of the great majority, who went well beyond the measures requested and brought about a total saving probably far greater than would have been possible by a mechanical rationing program. In this work Endicott was assisted by A. C. Ratshesky, James J. Phelan, Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer, Edmund W. Longley, John D. Willard, and many other competent men and women, who dropped their own business to serve the State.

Settlement of Labor Disputes (1917-1918)

In addition to his duties as food administrator, Endicott was called upon during 1917 and 1918 to act as arbitrator in the settlement of labor controversies. During the two years he settled about 150 strikes involving large numbers of employees and very vital industries. Approximately an equal number of smaller cases were referred to him for adjustment, both parties putting themselves unreservedly in his hands and agreeing to abide by his decision. In only two cases were attempts made to override his findings, and both of them failed.

Halifax Disaster (1917)

December 6, 1917, came an explosion of a munition ship, which devastated Halifax, Nova Scotia. The Committee on Public Safety was at once called together, and 60 of the 100 members were assembled within three hours after the first news had been received. At ten o'clock that same night, a train in charge of A. C. Ratshesky, carrying doctors, nurses, Red Cross workers, and a large shipment of supplies of all kinds, left the North Station. It battled with snow drifts and cold, but pushed through and arrived at 3 A. M. on December 8, being the first outside help to reach the stricken city.

Meanwhile funds had been raised amounting to nearly $700,000; and three days after the disaster the steamship *Calvin Austin* left Boston for Halifax, laden with supplies for temporary shelter, clothing, food, and bedding. Two days later (December 11), the *Northland* sailed with another cargo of necessary supplies. A hospital was installed, and temporary shelter was set up for the thousands of destitute and homeless people. This achievement gives a good example of the spirit and effectiveness of the Committee on Public Safety.

Influenza Epidemic (1918)

When the influenza scourge broke out in the State in September of 1918, the governor at once appointed Henry B. Endicott chairman of the emergency Health Committee. Emergency hospitals were established, nurses were obtained, doctors from outside of the State from communities not affected were procured to replace the many local doctors who had gone into military service. Dr. William A. Brooks, Surgeon-General, established a great hospital on Corey Hill in Boston with the assistance and backing of the Committee on Public Safety, and assistance was given to many local communities throughout the State. Theaters were closed, all large gatherings were discontinued, people were instructed in measures to be taken to limit the risk in so far as possible, and the whole State was put into the best possible condition for resistance. In spite of every effort, the number of deaths due to this epidemic in Massachusetts alone during the month of October, 1918, has been estimated as more than 10,000.

Fuel Administration (1917-1918)

Early in 1917, it became obvious that with the dislocation of traffic facilities and the long distance of New England from the source of supply, a shortage of coal was to be foreseen. Early in May, 1917, at the instance of James J. Storrow, Governor McCall called a conference of all the New England governors; and it was agreed to treat the New England situation as a single affair. Coal committees were appointed in each State, but under the central direction of the New England Committee, headed by Storrow. A subcommittee of the National Council of Defense tried to organize the fuel situation nationally. The first thing it did was to fix a maximum price, whereupon the coal which should have gone to New England promptly went to Canada, where a higher price could be obtained. Finally, in August, 1917, Dr. Harry A. Garfield was appointed Federal Fuel Administrator and Storrow was appointed by him the New England Fuel Administrator.

During the winter of 1917-1918 there was a serious soft-coal shortage in New England. The winter was of unusual severity. Boston harbor was frozen solid, and water shipment of coal was much impeded. Storrow finally secured priority of shipment by the railroads; and 500 cars of coal a day were authorized for New England, the distribution of this coal being in his hands and being used where necessary. Without this prompt and effective action, many factories would have been unable to continue; even the railroads and street railways were dependent upon the supply of coal so obtained. After the experience of 1917, Storrow was able to secure an adequate reserve supply during the summer of 1918, and although the use of coal was greatly conserved, no further bituminous shortage was experienced.

The anthracite situation was even worse than that which existed as to soft coal. Storrow, foreseeing the shortage, had done his best to obtain the normal shipment of anthracite in the summer and fall of 1917, and did get many thousand tons which otherwise never would have been received. Even so, the total supply was inadequate. Local fuel committees were appointed in every town. They took complete charge of the available supplies, and for the most part serious suffering was averted. In Boston, during several of the most severe cold spells, the retail dealers had on hand less than two days' supply. Tickets were issued to over 30,000 families calling for 100 pounds every two days; and by the careful regulation of distribution and by the use of soft coal wherever possible as a substitute, the winter passed without undue suffering.

During 1918, a shortage of labor in the anthracite mines made it impossible, in spite of every effort of the Fuel Administration, to obtain a normal reserve supply. Factories,

From a photograph by Leslie R. Jones Courtesy of the Boston Herald-Traveler

PARADE OF THE 26TH DIVISION, BOSTON, APRIL 25, 1919

apartment houses, office buildings and stores were forbidden to use anthracite for heating, and by careful regulation of distribution the supply was conserved for domestic use. Fortunately, the winter was mild. The fact that industry was enabled to continue and that the people were spared real suffering is due to the tireless efforts and great efficiency of Storrow and his assistants in the Fuel Administration.

The Return of the Troops (1918)

The conclusion of the Armistice on the battle front, November 11, 1918, had been preceded by the so-called "false Armistice" of November 8. Nevertheless, there was enough enthusiasm left and every city and town in the State was rocked to its foundations. As soon as possible war-time organizations wound up their business. The Committee on Public Safety and the Food Administration closed their affairs before the end of 1918. The Fuel Administration continued to function as occasion demanded.

Then came the return of the troops to Massachusetts. Each organization was met far down Boston Harbor by a fleet of boats representing the governor, the mayor, and civilian organizations, and was welcomed home with bands playing, whistles blowing, and flags flying, but above all with a deep and sincere appreciation and affection from all the people. This culminated in a great reception to the Twenty-sixth Division on its return in early April, 1919, and its final parade through the streets of Boston on April 25. The division was quartered at Camp Devens and was demobilized on April 30, 1919. On Flag Day, June 14, 1919, the colors of all the Massachusetts organizations were trooped in front of the State House, and in an impressive ceremony the battle flags of the various Massachusetts battalions and regiments were deposited with the battle flags of other wars in the Hall of Flags.

Losses and Gains

The war was over, victory won. Massachusetts had again given its share and more in the nation's war.

No Massachusetts men helped draft the Treaty of Versailles, but Senator Lodge was the leader of those who insisted that the treaty, with its covenant of the League of Nations, be not ratified except with reservations to keep our participation in the League of Nations within the limits prescribed by the Federal Constitution. The treaty failed of ratification; perhaps the victory won was barren, but a menace to the world had been destroyed.

Massachusetts paid the price that war exacts: five thousand of its young lives lost in battle; thousands more disabled, many permanently; financial loss and burdensome taxes. But against this price may be set down the renewed proof of the basic strength of Massachusetts. Its citizens may well be proud of its record. The laws and measures adopted for organizing the resources of the State should serve as precedents in other times of emergency. The service and self-sacrifice of all the people demonstrated the power to unite in a common cause. The valor and fighting excellence of the soldiers of Massachusetts stood high in the great test of the soldiers of the world. Above all, the spirit of idealism and of patriotism with which Massachusetts entered and prosecuted the war proved once more that the State still stood true to the principles upon which it was founded.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE FOURTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION (1914–1919)

BY AUGUSTUS P. LORING

Member of the Convention from Beverly

POLITICAL AWAKENING (1900–1915)

In Massachusetts the restrictions of personal liberty and property rights, necessary to adapt the laws to changes in conditions and political thought, were made to a large extent by the legislature in the exercise of the broad power given it in the original Constitution "to make all manner of reasonable laws and ordinances" not repugnant to it. As will be seen in the Chapters in this series on the original Constitution of 1780, and on the later changes of the Constitution, the spirit of the Commonwealth was against radical changes and also against a recasting and enlargement of power. The decisions of the courts expounded and applied the Constitution. The extensive statutory powers of the General Court sufficed for most needs.

Broad as these powers were, they were limited by constitutional provisions, whose limits the legislature might not pass. Social betterment laws, such as the minimum wage and compulsory workingmen's compensation, were held by the courts to be unconstitutional. Although economically helpless, the voter was politically supreme and made and administered the laws through his elected representatives. There was a widespread belief, more or less justified, that in many parts of the country these very representatives were controlled by the agents of the "Interests"; and that the affairs of state were administered by "invisible government," to the disadvantage of the people.

The Democrats and the Populists, led by Bryan, attempted to cure existing evils by new laws, or constitutional amendments. In several States where the legislatures were reluctant to carry out the people's will, the popular initiative and referendum (frequently abbreviated to the "I. & R.") enabled the people to amend the constitution, or to enact laws by direct popular vote and get what they wanted when they wanted it. While a great majority of the voters repudiated various socialistic schemes, the policies of restraint and regulation urged by Presidents Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson, looked in the same direction. The attempted consolidation of transportation by J. P. Morgan and his associates (described in another chapter of this volume) brought to the Bay State conditions found intolerable elsewhere.

Hence, those who were dissatisfied with existing conditions—Democrats, Progressives, Socialists and others—formed a Union for a Progressive Constitution and sought the adoption of the "I. & R." through a constitutional convention, since they believed that progressive amendments to the constitution were impossible under the existing provisions for its amendment requiring their adoption in two successive years by a majority of the Senate and two-thirds of the House before it could be submitted to the people. The wish for other amendments, which did not form part of the progressive program, such as the prohibition of the appropriation of public money in aid of sectarian institutions, biennial sessions of the legislature, the short ballot, and the general revision of the text of the Constitution and its Amendments, contributed to the desire for a convention by the general public. The press, with few exceptions, was favorable. The Democratic papers advocated it, and Hearst's *Boston American* clamored for it in editorials, articles and cartoons.

Convention Authorized (1913–1915)

The nation-wide Progressive movement culminated in the Roosevelt-Taft-Wilson campaign of 1912. The Massachusetts Progressives nominated Charles Sumner Bird for governor, on a platform providing for the calling of a State convention, but failed to elect him. The next year they withdrew sufficient strength from the Republicans to permit the Democrats to elect David I. Walsh governor. In his inaugural, January, 1914, he recommended the calling of a convention; but the bill was lost by a close vote.

Governor Walsh was reelected; but his recommendation for a convention was dismissed without discussion. In the next election the Republican leaders combined with the Progressives on a platform including a plank for a convention, and Samuel W. McCall, Republican, was elected governor.

The understanding was carried out April 3, 1916. The legislature passed a statute submitting the calling of a constitutional convention to the people, and providing the way in which it should be held if authorized. At the State election in November, 1916, the vote on the convention was: yes, 217,293; and no, 120,979. By the terms of the act the convention was to consist of 320 members, of whom 16 were to be elected at large; 4 by each of the sixteen congressional districts; and 240 by legislative districts. Delegates were to be chosen May 7, 1917; and ballots were to bear no party or political designation.

Election of Members (1917)

As the main object of the promoters of the Convention was the I. & R., they sent out a public "appeal to liberal voters" in December, signed by David I. Walsh, former Democratic governor; Charles Sumner Bird, former Progressive candidate for governor; Matthew Hale, chairman of the Progressive State Committee; Joseph Walker, former Speaker of the House; George W. Anderson, United States District Attorney; Edward A. Filene, merchant: Alvan T. Fuller, congressman-elect, and later governor; Richard F. Long, manufacturer; Harry P. Jennings, president of Boston Central Labor Union; George F. Mahoney, president, Local Electrical Workers; and F. Walter Mullen, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor.

Propaganda was carried on actively in the newspapers. Pressure was also put on all nominees to commit themselves in favor of the "I. & R." In all, about nine hundred candidates took out nomination papers for the 320 seats.

Composition of the Convention (1917)

When the Convention assembled in the House of Representatives in the State House at Boston, June 6, 1917, the official returns showed 319 members qualified. Classified by parties there were 172 Republicans, 97 Democrats, 5 Progressives, 3 Socialists, and 36 without party affiliations. Classified on a nonpolitical cleavage, 190 delegates were claimed in favor of the I. & R. The eventual vote on its adoption (including 10 of the 18 delegates-at-large) was 163 to 125. The strength of the Labor Party including the radicals was 97.

Among the delegates were three former governors: Bates, Brackett and Walsh. Morton, of Fall River, was a retired justice of the Supreme Judicial Court. Malone, Parker, and Pillsbury had been attorneys-general, and Boynton had been United States District Attorney. About two thirds of the members had had previous legislative or political experience.

Roughly grouped as to occupations, the membership of the four conventions was as follows:

	1780	1820	1853	1917
Lawyers and judges	31	85	77	157
Public officials	16	10	2	10
Clergymen	21	30	24	4
Merchants, business men, etc.	39	109	110	90
Farmers	122	164	124	5
Physicians	18	30	17	7
Mechanics	16	25	39	13
Hotel Keepers	7	6	0	2
Teachers and students	5	3	2	11
Miscellaneous	14	23	26	21
	289	485*	421	320*

* Of these, five never took their seats.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONVENTION (1917)

On June 6, 1917, 212 of the delegates assembled at the State House in the Chamber of the House of Representatives, and were duly sworn in by Governor McCall. James W. Kimball, clerk of the House, was elected clerk. For president the I. & R. men favored Sherman L. Whipple, delegate-at-large—a leading lawyer and prominent Democrat, and in favor of the I. & R., but without legislative experience.

By 176 to 137 the Convention chose John L. Bates—a Republican, a conservative, a lawyer, for several years Speaker of the House, and governor in the years 1903, 1904. President Bates showed impartiality and good judgment in his appointment of committees. His knowledge of parliamentary law and practice, and his firmness and skill in the exercise of his office as presiding officer contributed much to the success of the Convention.

The important Committee on Rules and Procedure included Luce, Pillsbury and Walker, all distinguished by wide experience and ability as presiding officers in the Senate and House. A few days later the convention completed its organization, including 24 standing committees appointed by the president.

Provision was made for stenographic reports. It was ordered that all proposals for amendments be filed by June 25, and that the standing committees to whom they were referred should report by July 16.

The rules adopted were substantially those of the House of Representatives, except that every report by a standing committee was automatically referred to the Convention sitting as a committee of the whole, where debate was practically unlimited. Thence report was made to the same body sitting in convention.

Materials and Proposals (1917)

A manual containing an annotated text and history of the Constitution was prepared in advance by a commission comprising Professor William B. Munroe of Harvard; Laurence B. Evans, a lawyer, lately professor at Tufts; and Roger Sherman Hoar, lawyer and writer. It contained information about previous conventions. They also prepared 36 valuable monographs on some questions to come before the Convention. Evans also served as technical adviser to the Convention, and rendered notable service as draftsman to the Committee on Form and Phraseology.

Three hundred and eight proposed amendments were filed, 180 of which were heard and reported on by July 17; but some matters were not reported until the session of 1918.

Seventy-two of the 308 proposals were disposed of in the first session of the Convention.

The debates on the main question, the I. & R., occupied the greater part of the time of the Convention, till its final adoption on November 29, too late to go on the ballot for

From the souvenir of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention

Courtesy of Miss Florence Bridgman

Committee on Rules and Procedure

that year. The important Anti-aid Amendment, and the Public Trading and Absent Voting Amendments to meet emergencies created by the World War, were adopted and submitted to the people at the November elections of that year (1917).

The Anti-aid Issue (1917)

The Eighteenth Amendment to the State Constitution (submitted to the people by the Convention of 1853, but not adopted until 1855) provided that no money raised by taxation for the support of public schools should ever be appropriated to any religious sect for the maintenance exclusively of its own schools. The prohibition went no farther than sectarian schools, and the legislature yearly granted large sums to nonsectarian schools and to hospitals and institutions other than schools, even though they were controlled by religious bodies.

The issue as to such grant was raised in 1900 when the legislature refused to give $10,000 to the Carney Hospital in South Boston, a Catholic institution. The desire to pass some measure that would "take religion out of politics" was undoubtedly one of the factors influencing the calling of a convention.

Anti-aid Propositions (1917)

Two narrower antisectarian propositions, prohibiting the support of any institutions or societies or schools where the tenets of any religious society were taught, were filed by George, of Haverhill, and Anderson, of Newton.

These proposals were referred to the Committee on the Bill of Rights, of which Pelletier, district attorney for Suffolk County and one of the leading Catholic laymen in the State, a member, said: "In politics all shades of opinion were represented . . . the different occupations and professions from minister to wage earner, were found. In religion, the Jew, the Catholic, members of the Protestant sect, all had their voice."

The Catholic hierarchy did not then object to the measure at the hearings before the Standing Committee.

ANTI-AID AMENDMENT VOTED (1917)

The Committee reported the Lomasney proposal (four dissenting). Anderson reported his narrower proposal, and an amendment to the report of the committee. He did this because Mgr. Roche, at a convention of the Catholic Federation held on the previous day, had denounced the proposed amendment, claiming that it would make the State and its schools atheistic, and intimating that the Catholic hierarchy was opposed to it. The debate began on Friday, July 9th. At the suggestion of Coleman of Boston, the Committee conferred over the week-end and called in some outsiders, including President Lowell of Harvard, and Episcopal Bishop William Lawrence.

July 13, Chairman Curtis presented as the committee's unanimous report an amended draft of the Lomasney proposal, which met with general approval. Efforts to except from the operation of the law the Institute of Technology, Worcester Polytechnic, and other engineering and technical schools in which the State supported scholarships were rejected. At this stage of the proceedings Cummings of Fall River, avowedly speaking only as a representative Catholic layman, made an eloquent and impassioned appeal to reject the unanimous report of the committee, and to submit no amendment to the people. He contended that the Catholic layman was now taxed to support schools which he could not conscientiously use, and that to open this matter to public discussion would scatter from Provincetown to Pittsfield brands of a fire that could not easily be extinguished.

The speech was received in silence. It was the first time that personal feeling or religious motives had been injected into the discussion. The position taken by Cummings was promptly disavowed by all the Catholics of the Committee on Bill of Rights. August 22 the proposal was passed to be engrossed, 275 yeas to 25 nays. Only 9 of the 94 Catholic delegates voted against it. August 30 the Convention submitted the amendment to the people.

STATUS OF UNIVERSITIES (1917)

The question was rediscussed October 3, on the motion of

Chairman Curtis to dismiss from the calendar a proposal reported by the Committee on Education to allow the legislature to make such provisions by taxation or otherwise "as will afford every one an opportunity for full mental, physical and moral development."

Cummings renewed the arguments which he had made previously, but Judge Morton, of Fall River, retired justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, the oldest and most venerated delegate, explained that the legislature had power to exempt from taxation such things as promoted the public welfare, subject to the constitutional provision that taxes shall remain proportional and reasonable, and Curtis's motion was adopted.

Ratification of the Anti-aid Amendment (1917)

As predicted by Cummings, a bitter religious contest followed. The Catholic hierarchy made an open and determined effort to defeat it at the polls. On the other side, the Minute Men and a special committee with Curtis, chairman, and Garland, secretary, held a ratification meeting in Ford Hall on the night before election. Appeals for and against were made from the pulpit by both Protestants and Catholics.

At the State election, November 6, 1917, the amendment was ratified and adopted by the people by 256,239 voting yes, against 130,357 voting no. Suffolk County, with its large Catholic constituency, cast a striking vote of yes, 50,113; no, 16,437.

Absent Voting Amendment (1917)

The absence from home in the military service of many voters brought to the fore the question of absentee voting. No serious opposition was made to an amendment authorizing the General Court to enable those absent from home to vote. The amendment was adopted by the Convention by a *viva voce* vote, and ratified by the people on November 6, 1917, by a vote of yes, 231,905; no, 76,709.

Public Trading Amendment (June, November, 1917)

The shortage of housing facilities, fuel and food, due to war conditions, caused an insistent demand for legislation that would secure to each person a fair share of those things at an equal and reasonable price. The national government had undertaken to regulate the sale of coal, sugar and other commodities in the exercise of its war powers.

Thirteen proposals to enable the State government to provide shelter and to trade in commodities and the necessaries of life, were filed and referred to the Committee on Public Affairs, of which George W. Anderson, of Brookline, was chairman.

What was commonly known as the Public Trading Amendment was reported by the committee, and passionately advocated by Anderson; it would enable the General Court to authorize the Commonwealth or its counties, cities and towns to take, buy, sell and manufacture the necessaries of life, and to own and operate markets, docks, coal yards, warehouses, slaughter houses and other facilities. Admittedly the proposed amendment would allow the State to engage in lines of business which seemed a long step towards state socialism.

Stirring radical speeches advocating the broad principles of State ownership and control of all commodities were made by Brooks Adams, of Quincy, a great-grandson of President John Adams, the writer of the Constitution of 1780, and by Arthur N. Harriman, President of the New Bedford Central Labor Union, an earnest and able labor delegate.

September 26, a new draft, substantially to the same effect as the committee's report, was read a second time. At this stage Lomasney reminded the Convention that the Constitution should consist of principles of government and not details of legislation, and moved a shorter and more general measure which conferred on the General Court the power to authorize the State and cities and towns to provide shelter and food for its inhabitants in times of war, emergency, or distress.

This form met with general approval. The Lomasney amendment was redrafted and adopted by 138 to 47. It was ratified and adopted by the people November 6, 1917, by a vote of 261,119 to 51,826, thus receiving the largest majority given to any of the amendments.

Proposals for the Initiative and Referendum
(June–July, 1917)

The I. & R. men met in caucus on the resumption of regular sessions of the Convention (June 12), and chose Walker floor leader, and Matthew Hale whip. The Committee on the subject began its hearings on the four proposals referred to it. The proposition was advocated by persons who had observed the working of the system in other States and by Hart, of Cambridge, who had studied it in Switzerland. President Lowell, of Harvard University, and Ex-Mayor Matthews, of Boston, were among those speaking in opposition.

July 23, eight of the committee of fifteen members (Cummings, the chairman, Walker, Whipple, Hale, Driscoll, Coleman, Sherburne and Harriman) agreed on reporting a resolution for the initiative and referendum. It provided for legislation and amendment of the Constitution by direct action of the people, and also for the reference of laws passed by the legislature to the people upon petition. Under it the legislature might pass laws immediately; but any amendment to the Constitution on the subject must be submitted at two sessions of the legislature. If it did not adopt the proposal, then the measure might be submitted to the people at the next State election. The minority of seven members of the committee (Choate, Parker, Powers, Lummus, Churchill, Youngman and Bailey) filed their dissent in a document drawn by Lummus and Churchill.

The Proponents of the I. & R. (1917)

General debate of the I. & R. began in Committee of the Whole, August 7; and continued, with few interruptions for consideration of other matters, until September 27, when the committee was discharged. The debate then shifted to the Convention, where it finally ended on November 28. The issue was debated on forty-five separate days. Fifty-seven speeches favored or opposed the measure, thirty-seven of which were much extended by questions and answers. At the outset no limit was put on the length of speeches, and the general discussion, covering about three weeks, was without time limit until near its close.

Walker, floor leader for the proponents, opened the debate in a statesmanlike speech, in which he set forth the susceptibility of the legislature to the sinister influence of invisible government. He maintained the right of the people to appeal from the decision of the legislature or the courts by passing laws or amending the Constitution by direct popular vote. He stated that 190 delegates were pledged to the passage of some form of an initiative and referendum, but that the measure as reported was susceptible of friendly amendment. Whipple, the late I. & R. candidate for president of the Convention, in an aggressive speech enlarged on the evils of great accumulations of wealth from unequal and discriminating legislation, and the subservience of the legislature to "the Interests." He pictured the inability of the courts to amend the Constitution by their decisions, and the unwillingness of the legislature to initiate wise reforms; and maintained that the I. & R. would be an aid to democracy in the attainment of social justice.

Opponents of the I. & R. (1917)

Choate, of Southboro, generally considered to be the leader of the State bar, opened the debate for the opposition. He stressed the inviolability of the social compact made in the cabin of the Mayflower, and argued that if the present measure were adopted you might as well have no constitution at all.

He denounced precommitment of 190 delegates. It was one of the sore spots of the Convention. Alluding to it later, Pillsbury insisted that the Convention "was disqualified from the outset to properly and impartially deal with the question, and that all argument against it was bound to fall on deaf ears of a pledged—for politeness, only, I will not say a packed—convention."

Referring to this condition of precommitment, Churchill, the leader of the opposition, who next took up their case, said he did so with almost a feeling of hopelessness—yet if any speech made any votes, or confirmed the wavering, it was his. He saw nothing in the situation in Massachusetts that required adoption of the measure here; and he defended the wisdom of the Forefathers, who considered the democracies of the past, and determined that a representative form of government was best and that the limitations placed on narrowness and selfishness of classes and factions by a written Constitution were wise and just.

Replication of Arguments for the I. & R. (1917)

Hale replied in an argument on the principles involved, remarkable for its thoroughness of preparation, citation of figures, and the dicta of former statesmen. Underhill, of Somerville, vindicated the legislature and its leadership in social legislation.

Harriman, of New Bedford, again set forth in fiery terms the unequal condition of labor before the law, which direct action alone could remedy. He was answered by Underhill, in behalf of the great mass of common people and independent labor who, he said, were opposed to all extreme and revolutionary measures. Coleman, of Boston, urged the adoption of the I. & R. to quiet the latent unrest, fraught with the possibility of violent explosion—a situation exemplified by apparently causeless strikes. Loring, of Beverly, president of the Plymouth Cordage Company, one of the companies alluded to, replied in an address which was received with unusual attention.

Relation of the I. & R. to the Constitutional Amendments

After three weeks of debate it became evident that some sort of an I. & R. measure would be adopted. The contest centered on application of the principles to constitutional amendments, without which the proponents insisted the Constitution would remain an unalterable crystallization of obsolete political conceptions.

Lummus, of Lynn, and Dellinger, of Wakefield, introduced amendments to exclude constitutional amendments from its operation. The *Boston American* (whose personal representative, Grenville S. MacFarland, maintained an office nearby for consultation with members) bitterly assailed them for this action, and offered prizes for the best caricatures of them. Luce protested, saying: "Influences outside of this chamber appear to have resorted to every device conceivable that might make it impossible for a self-respecting man to vote for this measure." Sullivan, of Salem, wished the Committee on Rules to take the necessary steps to protect members of the Convention from such scandalous attacks upon them, particularly referring to the issue of that date in which it stated "Slackers Give Foes Chance To Hit I. & R." Lomasney with his usual directness said: "I trust the Convention will restrain itself. What is the use of making fools of ourselves . . . The liberty of the press is sacred," in which view of the matter he was sustained by his favorite foe Pillsbury, and the motion was dismissed by general consent.

Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, visited the Convention, August 22, when the matter of constitutional amendment by means of the I. & R. was under discussion in the Committee of the Whole, and at the invitation of the president delivered a short address to the Convention to the effect that an easy way of amendment was the essence of a sound constitution, that the readjustment of it to meet changing conditions should be within reach of the people after adequate consideration and discussion. This statement made a marked impression on many delegates.

Loring Amendment to the I. & R.

It was now evident that unless a more feasible way than the existing method of amending the Constitution were suggested, the I. & R. would be adopted. On September 6, Loring, of Beverly, chairman of the Committee on Form and Phraseology, introduced a motion to substitute for the prepared I. & R. method of submitting constitutional amendments, a provision by which such amendments should be considered in joint convention of two successive legislatures. In that committee, interested parties habitually met on a nonpartisan basis to settle technicalities. This proposal, therefore, received careful consideration of both sides, and found ultimate approval.

The I. & R. Amendment Submitted (Oct., 1917)

September 7 it was voted to close the debate on the 12th by two set speeches for each side. Cummings and Walsh represented the proponents, and Luce and Parker the opponents. All four speeches were notable and important discussions of the subject, but at that stage could have no appreciable effect on the result. Voting began September 13. The first test vote, on the Dellinger "Amendment to Exclude the Constitution from the Operation of the Measure," was rejected 129 to 148. The Loring amendment was not then pressed to a vote.

September 27, the I. & R. with all the adopted amendments was reported to the Convention. October 9, Loring again moved his amendment, which was strongly supported by Quincy, and also by Walker, speaking for the majority of the Committee. Youngman, one of the minority of the committee, and Luce, conservative, then joined in its support, and it was adopted.

Although the restriction of constitutional amendments from the I. & R. had settled the most important controversy, and it was now generally conceded that the Convention would ultimately submit the main proposition to the people, the questions of matters excluded from the measure, and the practical details of its operation, remained to be settled.

Little objection was made when it was proposed to place in that category some changes in the Constitution which the Convention had already refused to adopt. In the form finally adopted, the following subjects were excluded from the operation of the initiative: measures relative to religion; the appointment, qualification, tenure or removal of judges; the reversal of judicial decisions; the powers, creation or abolition of courts; measures restricted to particular towns or localities; specific appropriations; the Anti-aid Amendment; propositions inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights; the right to compensation for property taken; the right of trial by jury; and any part of the Constitution which specifically excluded matters from the operation of the I. & R.

Final Form of the I. & R.

Many amendments were offered to perfect the measure; many others, meant to defeat it or make it unworkable. So many of these changes were proposed and adopted that

Walker finally complained that the bill was being written by its enemies and not by its friends. Finally, the measure became so involved that the Committee on Form and Phraseology on November 8 was given leave to absent itself from the sessions of the Convention, and to devote its time to the drafting of a proper measure embracing the provisions already adopted.

The committee consulted the leaders on both sides freely, and with the assistance of Evans, their technical adviser, presented a simplified measure (November 21) which met the approval of the Convention. Several days were devoted to voting on numerous verbal amendments and substitutions which, with the exception of two minor matters, were uniformly rejected. Finally, November 27, the measure was passed by the Convention to be engrossed by a recorded vote of 163 yeas, 125 nays. November 28 it was voted *viva voce* to submit the matter to the people, and the Convention adjourned to 1918.

Important Proposals Rejected in 1917

The conservative tendency of the Convention was shown by the character of some of the more advanced measures which it rejected, after careful consideration and full debate. Its rejection of proposals to amend the Declaration of Rights, and limitations on the powers of the court and judiciary have already been referred to. It also rejected proposals to allow jury verdicts in civil cases by less than unanimous juries, and to limit the power of less than a unanimous court to declare statutes unconstitutional. Resolutions providing for a public defender, the abolition of capital punishment, the right to challenge judge and jury, and other changes in judicial procedure were disposed of without serious controversy. Most labor matters were put over to the session of the following year.

Second Session of the Convention (1918)

Pursuant to vote, the Convention assembled Wednesday, June 12, 1918. The president briefly congratulated the members on the good feeling that bound them together. Four members of the Convention had died; ten of the younger members had enlisted and were serving in the Army or Navy; 306 active members of the Convention remained. Less popular interest was shown in the second session of the Convention. Many delegates had sought membership through their interest in the I. & R. and Anti-Aid Amendments; those matters being settled, they attended only on special occasions. An interim recess committee of distinguished members had reported that no new constitutional questions had been revealed by the war. The rules of the Convention and the Committee of the Whole were amended (by a close vote) so as to curtail the unlimited right to debate and to interrupt speakers, both of which privileges had been abused in the previous session.

A batch of proposals to establish a local I. & R. for cities and towns, for constitutional amendment by direct reference to the people, and other adjuncts of the I. & R. contest, were summarily set aside. Proposals for the election of judges and changes in their tenure of office, which was left-over business from the previous session, were debated at length; but all were rejected by decisive majorities. A proposal to allow the legislature instead of the courts to determine what laws fell within the police power was dismissed after a brilliant debate between Brooks Adams, for, and Pillsbury, against.

The distinguishing characteristic of the second session of the Convention was its conservatism. Though eighteen amendments were adopted, only five of them affected the existing personal or property rights of the individual.

Natural Resources Amendment (1918)

Four amendments extended the right of the State to affect private property.

(1) An amendment affirming its interest in the conservation, development and utilization of the agricultural, mineral, forest, water and other resources of the Commonwealth and authorizing the General Court to provide for taking them by right of eminent domain, was adopted on June 13, 1918, by a vote of 136 to 86. The principle involved was whether the State should assume the exploitation of its physical resources,

which heretofore had been left wholly to individual enterprise. This was in the same line as the Public Trading Amendment, which the people had adopted by a large majority.

(2) An amendment which affirmed that the preservation of ancient landmarks and property of historical or antiquarian interest is a public use, and authorized the Commonwealth and cities and towns to take them according to law and upon the payment of just compensation was in the line of the Public Trading and Public Resource Amendments; but went farther and allowed the State to take private property to satisfy the sentimental pleasure of the people. It was advocated by Clapp and other conservatives, and was adopted without a record vote.

Public Interest in Real Estate (1918)

In the same direction were the (3) Billboard and (4) Zoning Amendments, which did not purport to take the property of the individual, but only to regulate its use under the police power. They therefore provided no compensation to the owner for his loss or damage by their application to his premises.

(3) The Committee on Public Welfare (Governor Brackett, chairman) in 1917 reported unfavorably on twenty-five proposals to permit legislation in regulation of advertising in public ways or in sight of them. Parker, some years before, when attorney-general, had advised the legislature that it had this power; but the court held that the right of the public, under the police power, to interfere with the use of private property, was limited "to the protection of the public health, safety and morals, and to a limited extent, to the general welfare." This amendment extended the right to restrict the use of private land for esthetic reasons only.

Loring thought that such a regulation was a taking of property for which compensation should be paid; but Choate, admitting that it was a close question, thought that it was a matter of regulating a nuisance. On the point of desirability Adams, of Quincy, Radical, argued that the proposition was only another instance of the conflict of private interests with public rights, Gerry Brown, Labor, said it was sheer commercialism to oppose the measure. There was general agreement with these views, and the proposal was adopted without a record vote, August 13th; and it was ratified by the people by a vote of 193,925 to 84,127.

The question, whether the amendment is invalid under the provisions of the Federal Constitution prohibiting the taking of property without due process of law, was discussed in debate, is now being litigated, and at the time of writing has not yet been finally decided.

ZONING AMENDMENT (1918)

(4) After the "Bill Board Amendment" there was not much hesitation in extending the existing constitutional power of the General Court to legislate "for the good and welfare of the Commonwealth" so that "welfare" should include the regulation of smells, sights, sounds, and the zoning of buildings.

Zoning had been provided for by the legislature without constitutional provision in New York and Illinois; but in Massachusetts the General Court refused to pass such a law on account of the adverse dicta of the courts. The proposal was passed to be engrossed without record vote, August 13; and was ratified by the people by a vote of 161,214 to 83,095.

COMPULSORY VOTING AMENDMENT (1918)

The personal liberty of the citizen was restricted in a new way by the amendment which allowed the General Court to compel him to vote. The failure to vote by a large proportion of those entitled to vote was notorious. The importance to the State of a general exercise of the suffrage and its right to enforce it, just as it can enforce military service, was recognized. After a stormy passage in which the amendment was twice rejected and the rejection reconsidered, it was finally adopted by a vote of 148 to 96, largely through the effort of McAnarney, of Quincy. When submitted to the people, it was ratified by them 134,138 to 128,403; but in the decade since the Convention, the General Court passed no such law as was contemplated. No other amendments changing existing constitutional principles were adopted; while several important proposals of that kind were rejected, as will be noticed later.

Miscellaneous Proposals Adopted (1918)

Among minor amendments, the Fifty-seventh make women eligible for the office of notary public; the Fifty-eighth provides for the retirement and pensioning of judges; the Fifty-Ninth provides that corporate charters shall be subject to revocation.

Two amendments regulating the financial policy of the State were adopted. One of them forbids the loaning of the Commonwealth's credit to individuals or privately owned corporations, but authorizes it to borrow money to repel invasions, suppress insurrection, or aid the United States. The other provides for a budget system.

The Committee on the Executive (Quincy, chairman) reported eight proposals for amending the organization of the executive department and powers of the governor. The first of these provided that this department should include all functions and officers not included in the legislative and judicial departments, and that the governor should be the only elective officer, all the others being appointed by him. The measure was usually referred to as the "Short Ballot," and had the support of the leaders of the Convention; but a large majority of the delegates clung to the principle of local self-government and the democratic principle of elective officers, and the measure was rejected by 59 yeas to 115 nays.

A similar fate met the proposal that in the law department the attorney-general only should be elected, and the district attorneys should be appointed by him, although ably advocated by Pillsbury (himself a distinguished ex-attorney-general), by Bartlett, of Newburyport, and by Adams, of Quincy, a persistent advocate of strong government.

However, five amendments were adopted, regulating the executive and strengthening the power of the governor. The most important of them required the 206 commissions established by the legislature and exercising executive functions to be consolidated into not more than 20 departments under the control of the governor. Two amendments regulated the militia and made the governor commander-in-chief.

The budget amendment requires the governor to submit a budget to the legislature and allows him to veto particular terms in appropriation bills. Another amendment allows him to return a bill to the legislature for further consideration, before taking final action on it. Another amendment provides for succession in his office.

Biennial Elections Amendment (1918)

The proposals for biennial elections and sessions of the General Court excited more general interest, both inside and outside of the Convention, than any other measures except the I. & R. and Anti-Aid Amendments. Massachusetts was the only one of the forty-eight States which elected its officers and legislature annually; although in twenty-two States officers elected for longer terms might be recalled. A proposal for such an amendment was submitted by the legislature to the people in 1896, and was rejected by them. Nevertheless, the platform of all three parties contained resolutions favoring biennial elections. It was claimed on the floor that Bird, Progressive leader, had forced the resolution on the Republicans. Churchill made the opening and principal speech in favor of the amendment, and was followed by animated—not to say acrimonious—debate. Driscoll, of Boston, reported that Union Labor was opposed to it.

The objectors contended that frequent appeals to the electorate were the fundamental principle of democracy and prevented the representatives of the people from assuming too much power, otherwise they might forget their responsibility to their constituents and come under the influence of "the Interests." The proponents were equally confident that the people got tired of frequent voting and neglected the duty; they felt that there was less continuity of purpose where those elected to office were continually changing, and less honest regard for duty where reelection was an always impending peril.

The objectors asserted that less frequent elections favored "the Interests," who were on the job all the time, while the people acted only when there was an election; to which the proponents retorted that "the Interests" controlled the elections. It was argued, also, that biennial elections would save the Commonwealth half a million dollars a year; which, it was pointed out, amounted to only about twenty cents per capita.

An amendment for the recall of officers was swept aside. An amendment, and an independent proposal for biennial sessions of the General Court were both emphatically rejected. The amendment for biennial elections only was submitted to the people on call of the yeas and nays by a vote of 132 to 104, and was adopted in the subsequent election by 142,868 to 108,588.

REGULATION OF THE GENERAL COURT (1918)

It had become a practice of the legislature to appoint numerous recess committees, each member of which usually received one thousand dollars for services, often requiring but little time, and in the estimation of the public of little value. The practice had assumed the proportions of a public scandal. Therefore, what afterwards became the Sixty-Fifth Amendment was adopted by the Convention, forbidding the appointment of members to offices created during their terms, except as to committees to examine a general revision of the statutes, when submitted to the General Court.

In Massachusetts a bill cannot be "pigeon-holed," inasmuch as committees are required to report on every bill referred to them. Much of the time at the beginning of sessions of the legislature is therefore given to committee hearings. To enable the committees to give their uninterrupted attention to these hearings, a resolution was adopted (which became the Fifty-Second Amendment), permitting the General Court to adjourn its general session within sixty days from the beginning of its session, for not more than thirty days.

PROPOSALS ON LABOR AND LABOR DISPUTES (1918)

All measures affecting labor and labor disputes were rejected by the Convention. A proposal that the injunction or interference of the courts in labor disputes should be prohibited was reported unfavorably by a majority of the Committees on Labor and Judicial Proceedings sitting jointly (four members dissenting). Nine members of the committee filed an additional report, suggesting that the Convention consider some means of settling labor disputes, such as compulsory arbitration, which was a subject not otherwise before them. Later, Bodfish, of Barnstable, moved the amendment; but it was defeated after two days' debate. On July 19, 1918, the resolution to regulate the injunction in labor disputes was rejected (196 to 97), the figure "97" marking the largest number of votes cast in favor of any strictly labor measure.

Proposals on Hours of Labor and Minimum Wage (1918)

The Committee on Labor (Lowell, chairman) reported an amendment empowering the General Court to regulate and restrict the hours of labor; which, on the motion of Walker, of Brookline, was amended by adding to it "and to establish a minimum wage." The most effective supporter of the majority was Dutch, of Winchester, a member of a State commission then existing, which had power to establish a minimum wage for women and minors in some industries, but lacked effective means of enforcing its decrees.

A motion of Bodfish, the blind member from Barnstable, to substitute compulsory arbitration was lost; and the measure was passed to be engrossed, July 31, by 100 to 38. Two weeks later, there was a complete reversal of position when Driscoll, of Boston, reported that union labor was opposed to the proposition. Although Lowell made an eloquent appeal to allow the public to rule, rather than leave capital and labor to fight it out between them, the Convention (68 to 120) refused to submit the amendment to the people.

That the public had very much on its mind matters of social welfare was shown by the filing of 24 proposals concerning it. The one resulting proposal came from the Committee on Social Welfare, which reported, practically unanimously, an article of amendment empowering the General Court to establish systems of social insurance, including pensions for old age or physical disability, health and unemployment insurance, and compulsory workmen's compensation. The only dissenter, Bodfish, concurred in the general principle, but moved a shorter and broader measure. Although the labor men concurred in this view, the whole proposition was rejected 28 to 100.

TAXATION (1918)

The taxation system of the Commonwealth had been much under discussion for several years, and two exceptions to the general provision that taxes must be equal and proportioned had recently been inserted in the Constitution. The Forty-First Amendment empowered the General Court to prescribe special methods of taxation on wild and forest lands. The Forty-Fourth Amendment empowered the General Court to tax income, and to exempt the property from which it was derived.

The general purpose of the 17 proposals before the Convention was to allow the classification of property for the purposes of taxation, and to eliminate wholly the word "proportional" from the Constitution. The Committee on Taxation (Chairman Cox, of Boston, and Charles Francis Adams, of Concord, dissenting) reported a measure which would have accomplished this purpose. Somewhat amended, the proposal was favored by Walker, Creamer and other Progressives, and by Trefry, of Marblehead, who was then tax commissioner, and by the single-taxers, who wished all taxes assessed on land, by the manufacturers, who wished to exempt machinery from taxation, and in general by any group who wished to shift their burden to some others. The usual accusation of tax dodging was made by Lomasney and others against those desiring a change.

The proposal went to its third reading (June 27) by a roll-call vote, 129 to 87; but finally the Convention decided to adhere to the view of the fathers expressed in an opinion by Chief Justice Bigelow, that the "rule of proportion was based on the obvious and just principle that the benefit which each person derives from government has direct relation to the amount of property which he possesses and enjoys under its sanction and protection." The proposal was rejected, July 31 (107 to 121).

Proposals on Administrative Legislation (1918)

The principal reason for advocating biennial sessions of the General Court was the large number of statutes enacted yearly, most of which were special legislation; such as, extending the life of a corporation to permit it to wind up its affairs, or allowing a town to sell part of its cemetery. As Luce pointed out, any one of these acts was necessary to right a wrong, and the remedy was, not to curtail sittings of the legislature, but to allow it to delegate its powers to pass private acts to some administrative board, whose decrees should have the force of law until revoked. This was no more nor less than the power to make executive ordinances, which is vested in executives in many countries.

The Committee on State Administration and on the Executive, sitting jointly, unanimously reported such a measure; but although advocated by most of the best minds of the Convention, the proposition was too much of an innovation and departure from the cardinal provision of the existing Constitution that the executive should never exercise the powers of the legislative department. It was rejected, 55 to 94.

The Convention was Representative (1917–1918)

That the Convention fairly represented the people is shown by their adoption of all the amendments submitted to them. In the eleven years since the Convention adjourned, the people have not adopted any amendment which the Convention rejected. Nearly six sevenths of those voting for governor in 1917 also voted either for or against the three amendments submitted in November of that year. In 1918 the vote on the I. & R., though the largest cast on any amendment, was only a little over three fourths of the vote cast for governor. The difference is probably due to the fact that in 1917 only three propositions were on the ballot (one relating to a religious controversy) as compared with nineteen amendments submitted in 1918.

Preelection Agitation (1917–1918)

The only real contest in 1917 was on the ratification of the Anti-aid Amendment. In 1918 the "Union to Defeat all

Amendments," in the newspapers and circulars, recommended voters to vote "no" on all amendments: because so many voters were absent in France, because the convention was inferior in character to the average legislature, and because some of the measures submitted were objectionable. These circulars had no perceptible effect on the election. Men in the billboard business made a little campaign of their own by posters, mostly in opposition to all the amendments.

Ratification of the I. & R. (Nov., 1917)

The great contest in the ratification elections was carried on by I. & R. committees, organized some for and some against, which had the support either in person or money of many of the most prominent citizens of the State. Churchill, of Amherst, was chairman of the committee in opposition, and Judge Morton was a member.

Thirty individuals, mostly bankers or business men, contributed $1,000 or $500 each. The total fund raised was $88,418.55, the largest ever reported in a State campaign. The number of persons employed by the committee, including members of the Convention and of the legislature, was very large. They argued against ratification in public meetings, joint debates and private interviews. They issued an able and well-edited pamphlet, aiming to prove that the I. & R. proposal was not needed in Massachusetts, or was objectionable.

The committee in favor of the I. & R. was headed by Walker, and was made up of sixty prominent men, many of whom already had been active in promoting the measure, either inside or outside of the Convention. The total fund raised by them was $3,003.40, contributed mostly in moderate-sized amounts. Their chief expenses seem to have been for rent, printing, and postage.

The I. & R. Amendment was ratified by the close vote of 170,646 (especially strong in Boston) to 162,103. Although the vote was the largest on any amendment submitted that year, the majority of 8,543 was the smallest given for any amendment.

REARRANGEMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION (1918–1919)

Although the Constitution had been specifically amended forty-four times before the calling of the Convention, it had never received connected revision. Its text, one third of which was obsolete or repealed, had become so confused that it was difficult to ascertain its legal bearing.

Having adopted such specific amendments as it desired, the Convention on August 20, 1918, just before the adjournment of the second session, provided for a special committee of nineteen to "rearrange" the Constitution and its amendments, including those which should be adopted in November. Report was to be made to a special session to be held in the summer of 1919 for the sole purpose of acting on such report. As it afterwards turned out, the word "rearrange," used in the order instead of "revise," was unfortunate; but Washburn, of Middleboro, who proposed the order, was following a late precedent in Maine, and was anxious to retain the construction of the various provisions, words and phrases of the Constitution that had been heretofore given them.

The work of preparing the draft of the rearranged Constitution was entrusted to a subcommittee consisting of Judge Morton, chairman, Hart, clerk, and Pillsbury, Parker and Loring. The committee began its work immediately after the adoption of the nineteen amendments in November. Judge Morton undertook the rearrangement of the Constitution, and Hart, assisted by Laurence Evans, technical adviser of the Convention, took charge of the clerical work, printing, and making the numerous cross references and editing the various documents. He also submitted a redraft of the whole Constitution and all the amendments, which was not adopted by the Committee, as being a "rewritten" and not a "rearranged" Constitution and therefore not in compliance with the order of the Convention.

The work was carefully passed upon by the members of the subcommittee separately and together in several conferences. May, 1919, they reported the Morton draft to the General Committee, who, after changing the enacting clause and making some minor changes, submitted it with their report to the Convention. The enacting clause reported by the subcommittee followed the ordinary form used when a revision of the statutes is made, repealed the existing Constitution and reenacted it in its revised form.

Article 156 (1919)

Parker and Dresser argued that by expressly repealing the existing provisions of the Constitution and reenacting them differently arranged, their established construction would be lost. To avoid such a result, an enacting clause was adopted, which Samuel Hoar afterwards wittily characterized as a "suicide clause."

It was the interpretation of this clause that led the Supreme Judicial Court to determine that the Rearrangement is not the Constitution but something in the nature of a digest of it—of no legal effect whatever. Walker of the General Committee expressed apprehension that such might be the effect of the new draft; but Morton and Pillsbury, being the only two members of the subcommittee present at the time, and Garland, of the General Committee, were positive that the new draft merely established a rule of interpretation for the document and did not weaken the effect of the clause, and so it was unanimously adopted. The clause is as follows:

"Art. 156. Upon the ratification and adoption by the people of this rearrangement of the existing constitution and the amendments thereto, the constitution shall be deemed and taken to be so rearranged and shall appear in such rearranged form in all future publications thereof. Such rearrangement shall not be deemed or taken to change the meaning or effect of any part of the constitution or its amendments as theretofore existing or operative."

This clause, with other new matter necessary to supply omissions or straighten out conflicting provisions in the Constitution and the Amendments, was noted in the committee's report to the Convention.

The Rearrangement Adopted by the Convention (Nov., 1919)

The Convention assembled on August 12, 1919, and immediately took up the adoption of the Rearrangement under a suspension of the rules. It voted to insert a provision regulating probate proceedings, which Judge Morton thought had been erroneously omitted. Thereafter, during the debate on adoption of the draft, Bryant, of Milton, not speaking to the motion, stated that he was puzzled by Article 156, and wished to know where a person would go to find the provisions of the Constitution; to whom Parker of the subcommittee replied that the Rearrangement was not a substituted Constitution, but merely a rearrangement of the Constitution and, if any matter was omitted from it it would still exist in the cardinal law of the Commonwealth. The incident passed without further comment, and is not noted in the Journal.

The Convention voted unanimously to adopt the Rearranged Constitution and submit it to the people, who ratified and adopted it at the State election on November 4, 1919, by a vote of 263,350, yes, to 64,978, no—an unprecedented majority of 198,381 votes in its favor.

Rearrangement of the Constitution Set Aside (1920)

Under the Constitution of the Commonwealth the Governor and Council may require the opinions of the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court upon important questions of law, and upon solemn occasions. The question was raised whether the "Treasurer and Receiver-general," as he was entitled under the Constitution of 1780, should sign by that title, or simply as "Treasurer," as entitled by the Rearrangement. At a meeting of the Governor and the Council, December 31, 1919, an order was adopted requesting the opinion of the justices on the question whether the "Rearrangement of the Constitution" is the "Constitution or Form of Government for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." That question was answered negatively by the court.

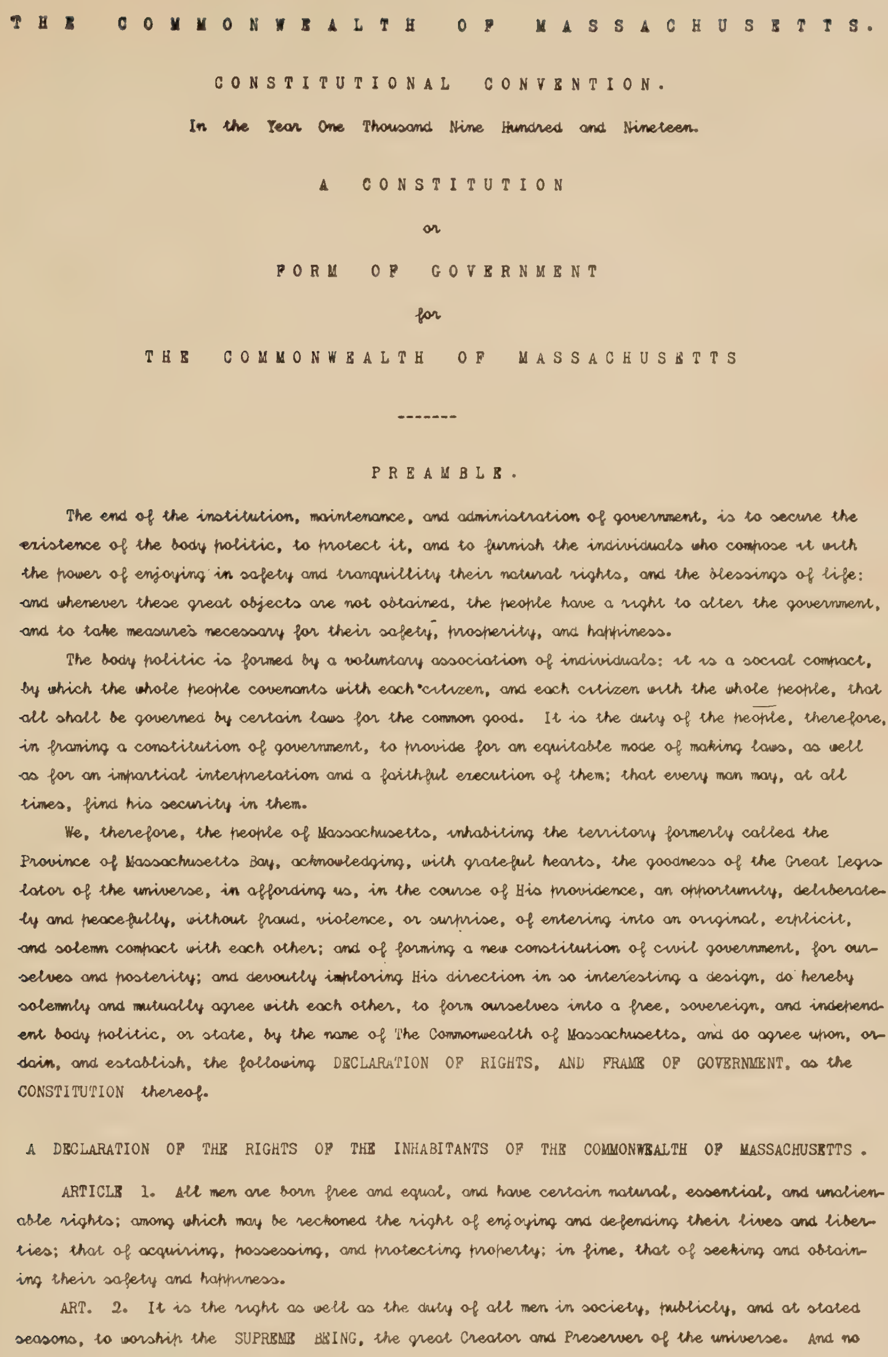
The justices based their opinion on the construction of Clause 157 (earlier Clause 156) given by Parker in his colloquy with Bryant. They declared that the words "rearrangement" and "rearranged" do not express revision, codification, or the establishment of something new; and they draw the inference that neither the committee nor the Convention had the intention of changing "in the remotest particular the meaning, scope, or effect of the then existing Constitution and its Amendments." They were also of the opinion that "the approval and ratification of the Rearrangement of the Constitution by the majority voting on the subject at the last election do not affect the question of whether it is the Constitution or not."

The opinion of the justices came as a great surprise to most persons; and Loring, who was then serving in the State senate, brought the matter of adopting the Rearrangement as the Constitution before a joint session of the General Court, with the approval of a large number of members of the Convention. Although Ex-Governor McCall, who recommended the call of the Convention to revise the Constitution, and Ex-Governor Bates, president of it, and Judge Morton, Pillsbury, and others appeared before the committee in favor of the amendment, and a preliminary caucus indicated favorable action, the proposal was rejected by a nearly unanimous vote of the General Court.

Rearrangement Held Not to Be the Constitution

Although advisory opinions of the justices have great weight and are very seldom reversed, yet they are not strictly decisions of the court on the matters involved, nor a precedent when the question arises in litigation between parties. Therefore, to get an authoritative decision in the matter, two petitions were filed (one by Loring, who was then chairman of the Commission to publish the General Laws, and the other by Bates, Morton, Pillsbury, and others) asking the Supreme Judicial Court to order the commission to print the Rearrangement in future publications of the laws as the Constitution of the Commonwealth; and these were argued in April, 1921.

Chief Justice Rugg, delivering the opinion of the court, says: "The reasoning, and in the main the words of the advisory opinion are adopted as the ground for this judgment." The Court decided that the Constitution of 1780 and its Amendments, and not the Rearrangement, are the fundamental law. De Courcy and Crosby, J. J., dissenting, found in the records of the Convention a constant purpose



THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

In the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Nineteen.

A CONSTITUTION
or
FORM OF GOVERNMENT
for
THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

PREAMBLE.

The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their natural rights, and the blessings of life: and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity, and happiness.

The body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals: it is a social compact, by which the whole people covenants with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good. It is the duty of the people, therefore, in framing a constitution of government, to provide for an equitable mode of making laws, as well as for an impartial interpretation and a faithful execution of them; that every man may, at all times, find his security in them.

We, therefore, the people of Massachusetts, inhabiting the territory formerly called the Province of Massachusetts Bay, acknowledging, with grateful hearts, the goodness of the Great Legislator of the universe, in affording us, in the course of His providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peacefully, without fraud, violence, or surprise, of entering into an original, explicit, and solemn compact with each other; and of forming a new constitution of civil government, for ourselves and posterity; and devoutly imploring His direction in so interesting a design, do hereby solemnly and mutually agree with each other, to form ourselves into a free, sovereign, and independent body politic, or state, by the name of The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and do agree upon, ordain, and establish, the following DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, AND FRAME OF GOVERNMENT, as the CONSTITUTION thereof.

A DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

ARTICLE 1. All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.

ART. 2. It is the right as well as the duty of all men in society, publicly, and at stated seasons, to worship the SUPREME BEING, the great Creator and Preserver of the universe. And no

From the Original Document

FIRST PAGE OF THE REARRANGED CONSTITUTION

to review the Constitution to be shown by the recorded acts of the legislature, people and Convention. They find that the document itself has the form and effect of a complete constitution, and that there is nothing in Clause 157 to render nugatory the dominant purpose of the legislature, the Convention and the people. Judge Crosby concluded his opinion as follows: "To hold that the committee in the performance of their duty, after many months of deliberation reported the Rearrangement, and that the Convention after making certain amendments thereto adopted it, and the people ratified it by an overwhelming vote with no intention that it should be of any validity whatever, is a conclusion that I am unable to reach."

The *Boston Transcript,* the day following the handing down of the decision, in an editorial entitled "The Constitution Back to Methusaleh," deplored that the Constitution of 1919, "which probably represents the highest wisdom and the sincerest effort of the best minds of the State, and also the deliberate wish of the people," is set aside by the court by "a decision which questions neither the supremacy of the will or purpose of the people."

Last Effort at Rearrangement

Since those closest to the question still believed that it was the will of the people to have a revised Constitution, a petition to have the "Rearranged Constitution again submitted to the people with a decisive enacting clause" was filed in the General Court. Among the petitioners were the leading members of the Convention, two judges of the United States Circuit Court, and one judge of the United States District Court, both United States Senators, the president of Harvard College, the deans of the Harvard and Boston University Law Schools, the officers of the Bar Association and labor organizations.

Nevertheless the attorney-general gave his opinion to the General Court that the Constitution could not be revised under the provisions for specific amendments provided for in it. Thus the great effort to provide Massachusetts with an understandable and properly arranged Constitution, free from contradictory provisions and obsolete matter, finally was wrecked.

Men of the Convention

The foregoing account of the Constitutional Convention is devoted to measures; the members of the Convention grouped and regrouped themselves about the succession of specific propositions. Nevertheless, all decisions were made by a preponderance of votes, each representing an individual decision. For party lines and party combinations had little influence on the floor or in committee rooms. While, as has been shown in this account of the Convention, there were some combinations to protect group interests, notably the I. & R. and labor matters, the general motives were personal. Trading votes and combinations of "the Interests" were not the deciding forces in the Convention.

There is space in this chapter to make only brief mention of a few of the delegates who were most prominent or exercised the most influence. The sixteen delegates-at-large naturally came to the Convention with the greatest prestige. They were Charles Francis Adams, George W. Anderson, John L. Bates, Charles F. Choate, Jr., George W. Coleman, Louis A. Coolidge, John W. Cummings, Edwin U. Curtis, Daniel R. Donovan, Matthew Hale, James T. Moriarty, Joseph C. Pelletier, Josiah Quincy, Joseph Walker, David I. Walsh, and Sherman L. Whipple.

The eleven delegates who spoke most frequently, placed in the order of the number of words used by them, were Underhill; Lomasney; Luce; George; Anderson, of Newton; Hart; Washburn, of Worcester; Bennett; Edwin U. Curtis; Sawyer; and E. Gerry Brown.

Out of the 316 members who actually took their seats, a few died or were invalided during the Convention. About fifty members were really not much interested, and seldom attended. The larger part of the two hundred and fifty or so active members, took part in the debates, many making set speeches on one or many questions.

There is space to characterize only a few of the delegates, who will be mentioned as nearly as may be in the order of their prominence in the Convention. The conspicuous services of John L. Bates, the president of the Convention, have already been noticed. Some of them, such as Walsh, Whipple and Choate, were much better known as leaders in other walks of life than as members of the Convention, although they played an important part there, as indicated in the foregoing narrative.

JUSTICE MORTON

Special mention is due to the venerable James M. Morton, of Fall River, former justice of the Supreme Judicial Court. He was the oldest delegate, and was regarded with universal love and respect. He was diligent in the performance of his duties, and in constant attendance on the sessions of the Convention.

On questions of law, such as the proposed measures for verdicts by less than an unanimous jury, his statements were usually accepted as final. His masterly ability and industry and thought on the Rearrangement of the Constitution went for nought through his acceptance of the enacting clause pressed by Parker. When the effect of the Rearrangement was submitted to the Court, he filed a brief in support of its claim to be the Constitution.

EDWIN U. CURTIS

The first important debate was on the Anti-aid Amendment, in which Curtis, Lomasney and Anderson of Newton, were the leaders. Curtis, the chairman of the Committee on Bill of Rights, to whom the anti-sectarian proposals were referred, was a delegate-at-large (Republican) from Boston. He had been city clerk, mayor of Boston, Assistant Treasurer of the United States, and collector of customs. Later he was police commissioner for Boston during the police strike of 1916.

In his advocacy of the anti-aid proposition, he bore the burden of the debate in favor of the amendment, and gained the respect and confidence of the Convention. In the public-trading debate he favored restricting the public's participation in business to times of emergency. He supported the amendment restricting granting of credit to the State, voted "no" on the I. & R., and opposed changes in the system of taxation.

MARTIN M. LOMASNEY

Lomasney, whom Anderson, of Newton, characterized as "a man whose heart is as big as his head is clear," established an influence in the Convention second to none, by his honesty, practical common sense, and plain but vigorous English. He was born of Irish parents in Boston. His business was real estate, and he was a politician by occupation, having served six terms as alderman, two terms in the senate, and eleven in the house. He was popularly known as "the Mahatma of Ward 5." He was a Catholic and a member of the Committee on Bill of Rights, and filed the broad proposal which afterwards became the Anti-aid Amendment. He made no long addresses, but pungent short speeches on nearly every subject. The adoption of his general measure, in place of the elaborate, detailed amendment proposed by the committee in the public-trading matter, was a great personal triumph. When Anderson, of Brookline, spoke of the presumption of Lomasney's "utterances," Lomasney replied: "The gentlemen of this body who have served with us know who is the 'turkey cock' that goes swinging through the chamber. I do not think there is any of that in me. I have no swelled head." On another occasion he referred to Pillsbury as "that old fox," which greatly amused the latter. His general attitude was conservative. He cast his influence against any amendment of the tax laws and against biennial elections, but voted in favor of the initiative and referendum.

FREDERICK LINCOLN ANDERSON

Rev. Frederick Lincoln Anderson, professor at the Newton Theological Seminary, was elected a delegate to the Convention on the anti-sectarian issue. His speeches in support of the measure were learned, comprehensive, earnest and effective. He participated effectively in the debate on many other proposals, generally on the Progressive side, and voted "yes" on the initiative and referendum, compulsory voting, and biennial sessions of the legislature.

JOHN W. CUMMINGS

John W. Cummings, Independent, came to the Convention

From a photorgaph by Notman, Boston

MARTIN M. LOMASNEY

with the highest vote of any delegate-at-large, with a high reputation as mayor of Fall River, and as practically dean of the bar in southern Massachusetts. He had been a Butler Democrat, and had a national reputation for effective oratory. In the Convention he was chairman of the important Committee on the Initiative and Referendum. His interjection of religion into the discussion of the Anti-aid Amendment seriously impaired the leadership to which his ability and eloquence entitled him. He was an earnest advocate of the I. & R., and he was one of the champions chosen to close the debate in favor of the proposition in the committee of the whole. On his motion, the courts and judiciary were excluded from the operation of the I. & R.

JOSEPH WALKER

Joseph Walker (Republican), of Brookline, delegate-at-large, Committee on the I. & R., was a member of the bar, but had devoted much of his time to politics and had served in the House for eight years, three of them as Speaker.

He was a Progressive with Bird, and the chief promoter of a convention which might adopt some sort of I. & R. He was one of the most prominent delegates and was the chosen and actual leader of the I. & R. forces, who usually followed his lead in voting on modifications of the essentials and language of the Amendment. His speeches were generally moderate in tone but positive in statement, although he sometimes became sharp and impatient under heckling.

SHERMAN L. WHIPPLE

Sherman L. Whipple (Democrat), of Brookline, delegate-at-large, Committee on the I. & R., and one of the most prominent and aggressive lawyers in the Commonwealth, was the I. & R. candidate for Speaker, and followed Walker in opening their case. His address, ridiculing the fears of the opponents of the I. & R., stressing the inequality of social conditions and the subservience of the legislature, was effective, often quoted, and one of the sensations of the debate. He took, however, a minor part in the subsequent proceedings, except to make an able, but unsuccessful plea for non-unanimous verdicts.

CHARLES F. CHOATE

Charles F. Choate, of Southboro, delegate-at-large, Committee on the I. & R., a leader of the bar, was a great-nephew of Rufus Choate and shared his great legal ability but lacked his fiery eloquence. His set speech against the I. & R., stressing the inviolability of the social contract, was not effective; but he showed to advantage in debate with the many delegates who interrupted or questioned him. He made an able plea in favor of retaining the existing provisions for the appointment and tenure of office of the judges, and opposed the National Resources Amendment; but he advocated the Billboard Amendment as a right of the people to regulate a nuisance.

GEORGE B. CHURCHILL

George B. Churchill (Republican), of Amherst, member of the State Senate 1917–19, was a professor at Amherst, a lecturer, and an author. He maintained his position as leader of the opposition to the I. & R., both inside and outside of the Convention, until it was finally adopted by the people. His brilliant reply to Walker and Whipple at the beginning of the I. & R. debate has already been referred to. He strongly advocated biennial elections and opposed biennial sessions of the legislature. He took an active part in many other matters, as an active and influential member of the Convention on the conservative side.

HERBERT PARKER

Herbert Parker (Republican), of Lancaster, graduated from Harvard in 1878, and studied law in the office of Senator George F. Hoar. He had an imposing presence and was noted for fluent oratory. He was attorney-general in 1902–1905. Later he enjoyed a large general and corporation practice in Boston. In the Convention he held membership in the important Committees on Rules and Procedure, on the I. & R., and subcommittee to rearrange the Constitution.

Eminently conservative and a skillful political manager, he was one of the committee in charge of the opposition to the

I. & R. He proposed and persuaded the general committee on the revision of the Constitution to adopt the form of Clause 136 which resulted in the defeat of the attempt to revise the Constitution.

CHARLES L. UNDERHILL

Charles L. Underhill (Republican), of Somerville, spoke more often than any other delegate. Starting in life as a wage earner, he was in the hardware business, and a member of the House for seven years. In Convention he was on the Committees on Liquor Traffic (chairman), and Rules and Procedure. He was a strong and able representative of the plain people, a champion of the integrity and ability of the legislature and the existing system of government. He was notably forceful in replying to labor's argument in favor of the I. & R. and the curtailment of the power of the court to issue injunctions in labor disputes. Strongly conservative, he opposed the Public-Trading and Natural Resources Amendments, and classification of property for purposes of taxation. His addresses, notable for common sense, fire, and an intimate knowledge of practical politics, carried unusual weight with the average delegate. He was elected a member of Congress, 1920.

JOSIAH QUINCY

Josiah Quincy (Democrat), delegate-at-large, born in Quincy, October 15, 1858, was the direct descendant in the sixth generation of Edmund Quincy (1628–1698), prominent in the Colony in the seventeenth century. He was the grandson of Josiah Quincy, six times Mayor of Boston, 1823–1828, and later president of Harvard College.

Delegate Josiah Quincy was a member of the bar, for four years mayor of Boston, First Assistant Secretary of State under Cleveland, and member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives for four years. In the Convention he was a member of the Committee on Rules and Procedure, and chairman of the Committee on the Executive. Both before and during the Convention he was one of the principal advocates of the I. & R. He reported and advocated a comprehensive measure to make the governor the responsible head of the whole executive department.

Albert E. Pillsbury

Albert E. Pillsbury, of Wellesley, Republican, was one of the most striking figures of the Convention. He had been in the legislature for six years, during two of which he was president of the Senate, and he had been elected thrice attorney-general. He was a strong man of decided opinions. In the Convention he was a member of the Committee on Rules and Procedure and Judicial Procedure (chairman), and the Subcommittee to Codify the Constitution. He made an able and bitter attack on the I. & R., and on the character of the Convention (of which he had a poor opinion), when the measure came up for engrossment, and therefore too late to be effective. For reasons best known to himself he voted "No" on the Anti-Aid Amendment.

Robert Luce

Robert Luce, of Waltham, Republican, lawyer, author, writer and statesman, held a commanding position among the members of the Convention. He had been a member of the legislature for nine years, and lieutenant governor for one year. In the Convention he was chairman of the Committee on Rules and Procedure and member of the Committee of the General Court. He was an authority on parliamentary law, and later the author of a learned treatise on the subject. He was an original, profound public thinker, and originated the direct primary, for which I think he had the grace to repent. A firm believer in representative government, he was one of the leaders to the opposition of the I. & R., but he supported the Public Trading and Necessaries of Life Amendments, and the unsuccessful proposal to permit the classification of property for purposes of taxation. He was the proponent of the unsuccessful proposal for administrative legislation.

Contributing Members of the Convention

It is impossible in the space assigned for this chapter to characterize or even to mention all the active members of the

Convention who devoted their talents and abilities to the task. The present editor of the *Commonwealth History* had a part in the deliberations of the Convention, where he warmly advocated the I. & R. As clerk of the special Committee of Rearrangement, he prepared a logical classification of the existing text of the Constitution, hoping that in any case it might be useful to a future Constitutional Convention. He desires here to put on record the appreciation of the Convention for the service of Augustus P. Loring, member from Beverly, whose preceding story of the Convention leaves out of account his own influence and service as chairman of the Committee on Form and Phraseology, and as a member of the Committee to Rearrange the Constitution.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE COMMONWEALTH AT ITS TERCENTENARY

By Albert Bushnell Hart

Historical Point of View

Until the founding of the *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts,* of which this is the concluding chapter, the point of view of historians who undertook anything like a comprehensive view was that everything that has happened in Massachusetts in the last three centuries is referable to the beginnings. The mind of the reader has usually been carried back to the earliest colonists, the earliest organization of government, the earliest differences within the Colony, and the earliest appearance of an independent spirit. He was led to believe that the Colony, Province and State were always measured by the ideals and successes of the earliest Massachusetts people. Hence, within this State of the Union, which has educated, trained and supported a group of unrivaled American historians, not one of those eminent writers ever published a book intended to follow Massachusetts all the way along, and to show what had been the influence of all this magnificent history upon the State and its population.

From the first chapter to the last of the *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts,* the writers have kept in mind that they are a part of a body of collaborators who carried the history of the State all the way through, with a view to that accumulation of aspirations and experiences which has made the people of Massachusetts a strong, vigorous, self-reliant people, with their faces always set toward the destination of the body politic of their State. Conjoined with this apprehension of the history of Massachusetts as a living, moving, vital story which could be understood only in the light of the latest results of the development of the State, the editor and writers have labored unceasingly to bring to the common task studies of the numerous fields of effort and of organization in which the energies of Massachusetts have been engaged.

Till a comparatively recent period, all the formal historians of Massachusetts were interested chiefly in the long, slow and often interrupted development of free popular government. That is certainly one of the noblest evidences of the underlying character of the Massachusetts people, but is only a part of their experience. We moderns are likely to suppose that the principal subject of interest, the principal topic of discussion, from 1630 to the present day, was the controversies between the different parts of the Massachusetts government. That long series of disputes over who should govern was deeply connected with the troubled period of the pre-Revolution, of the Revolution itself, and also with the attitude of the people of Revolutionary Massachusetts toward their own government and that of the Federal Union. Hence the few attempts at something like a brief, comprehensive history of Massachusetts have been unsuccessful because constitutional disputes and legislative quarrels and struggles in constitutional conventions, constitutional decisions by the courts, and constitutional arguments by the great Massachusetts minds, however significant, are far from being the whole history of the Commonwealth.

Massachusetts as a Part of the World

The keynote of this history is struck by the first chapter of the first volume, Western World Movement. Massachusetts is not a miracle; it is a part of a movement toward a free church and a free State. They wanted to be free from antecedent control, whatever might be the domination by men and influences springing from within. Massachusetts history is a part of English history and world history. It is one of several English colonial enterprises of the seventeenth century. Aside from the very one-sided international relations with the Indians (Volume I, chapter vi) and with other neighboring New England settlements (Volume I, chapter viii), the international side of Massachusetts is strongly brought out in the New England Confederation

(Volume I, chapter ix). The early beginning of shipping, involving touch with the southern colonies, the West Indies and Europe, is another evidence that from the beginning Massachusetts has been a part of the world. The wars with the Indians and with the French (Volume I, chapter xix; Volume II, chapters iii, vii, xiv) are carried in the revolutionary period into maritime wars against the European powers (Volume III, chapter ii). Later on we find the same spirit of adventure and of establishing relations with the uttermost parts of the earth, in the springing up of oriental trade (Volume III, chapter xviii), and the wonderful development of the clipper ships (Volume IV, chapter xv). The services of Massachusetts men as diplomatic representatives comes out in the chapters on the Revolution and the statesmen of the nineteenth century. As a coastal State, as a maritime State, as an adventurous State, as a commercial State, Massachusetts has had perhaps the longest and the closest touch of all the States in the Union with other nations and with international policies.

External Relations of Massachusetts

One of the reasons for the importance of Massachusetts throughout the three centuries of its existence has been its contact with regions outside its boundaries. Both Massachusetts and Plymouth sprang out of peculiar social conditions in England (Volume I, chapters iii and iv). It furnished settlers and friendly relations, rising to the formation of the New England Confederation with its neighbor colonists (Volume I, chapters viii and ix). Its shipping early brought it into profitable relations with other parts of the world, sustained down to the present day (Volume, I, chapter xvi; Volume III, chapter xviii; Volume IV, chapter xv, Clipper Ships).

Massachusetts people were trained in international relations both through their early controversies with the home country (Volume I, chapter xvii); then through the French wars (Volume I, chapter xviii). In the eighteenth century, the struggle to exclude France from North America was renewed and successful (Volume II, chapter iii). After the

Revolution came a remarkable development of commerce and shipbuilding, establishing relations with the Orient (Volume III, chapter xviii; Volume IV, chapter xv).

With these oversea relations may well be included the status of Massachusetts among sister communities. Virginia and South Carolina joined in opposition to the British repressive policy; but Massachusetts had been protesting against British control in one form or another for half a century before the Revolution (Volume II, chapters xv to xvii). Massachusetts took a leading part in the movement which resulted in the Continental Congresses of 1774 and 1775 (Volume II, chapter xviii). Massachusetts may fairly be considered a leader in independence (Volume III, chapter iv). Its part in the government of the Continental Congress and the Confederation was active and directive (Volume III, chapter vi). The ratification of the Federal Constitution in Massachusetts (Volume III, chapter xiii) was essential to the success of that instrument. In the later period, Massachusetts participated in the development of its own western territory (Volume IV, chapter xii); and was a leader in the organization of the North in the Civil War (Volume IV, chapters xvi and xvii), and in the process of reconstruction (Volume IV, chapter xix). In the nineteenth century, Massachusetts was a powerful agency in building up the West by its emigrants to that region, and by its application of capital.

Massachusetts in the Midst of New England

With the exception of the Albany Congress in 1754, Massachusetts, outside of trade, had very little relation with the middle and southern Colonies. On the other hand, Massachusetts enjoyed a geographic situation (Volume I, chapter ii) which made it the fountain from which issued the colonial streams of Maine, Vermont, Plymouth, Rhode Island and Connecticut (Volume I, chapter iv; Volume II, chapters xvi, xvii; Volume III, chapter xix, Separation of Maine). The part of Massachusetts in the Revolution, as a leader among the northern colonies, can never be forgotten.

THE MASSACHUSETTS PEOPLE

The people of Massachusetts have never been lacking in appreciation of the great services of Massachusetts people to the State, the nation and the world so far as they were not members of the wrong political party. All authorities agree that the New England Colonies and States had a social life of their own, many features of which have been preserved in Massachuetts throughout its history. The origin of the social elements of Massachusetts (traced in Volume I, chapter iii) is chiefly in the rural parishes and smaller industrial cities of England, somewhat tempered by the side influence of the Dutch and the Plymouth pilgrims. Nothing is clearer in Massachusetts history than the sense, which has not entirely disappeared, that the descendants of the original Massachusetts stock were the Lord's anointed. Few were the French and Scotch and Irish in the first two centuries of Massachusetts history. It would be impossible to understand Massachusetts democracy without knowing that from the beginning down to near the present day there were in most parts of the Commonwealth traditional families who were frequently preferred for public office (Volume I, chapter iii). Throughout this work especial attention has been paid to social life in the Colonies and in the States. Witness in the first half century (Volume I, chapter x); in the eighteenth century (Volume II, chapter ix); in the Revolutionary period (Volume III, chapter x); and in the early nineteenth century (Volume III, chapter xvii). Taken together, these chapters make up a brief social history of race elements, population, manners and customs and social institutions.

IMMIGRATION

All the early colonists were immigrants (Volume I, chapters iii, iv), and immigration on a small scale continued for two centuries. In a sense the Massachusetts people who cast their lot in other colonies were immigrants into Rhode Island and Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire and, to some degree, Vermont. A few French, some Scotch-Irish and a few Irish from Ireland found their way into Massachusetts Colony, and the most perservering of them were eventually accepted as fellow citizens, though Baptists and Quakers and Episcopalians were discouraged. The slaves, both Indians (Volume I, chapter xix) and Negroes (Volume II, chapter ix), were never very numerous, and their treatment was hardly more severe than that of the lowest stratum of English men and women. The slave trade was a profitable Massachusetts industry till long after the Revolution. The first word of "Part the First" of the Constitution of 1780 declares that "all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights." This clause was subsequently held by the highest court to make chattel slavery impossible. As is shown in Volume III, chapters x, xvii, the situation of very poor people of any cult was wretched in the eighteenth century. Orphans and other poor children were held in a state not far removed from slavery. However, the State was freed from the curse of chattel slavery; and when the issue of slavery in its relation to the national government arose (Volume IV, chapter xi), Massachusetts became a hotbed of antislavery; and in the political crisis preceding the Civil War (Volume IV, chapter xvi) was distinctly antislavery.

The immigrant question re-arose about 1930 with the coming in of foreign immigrants (Volume V, chapter xiv). Massachusetts stood out for Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation; the Thirteenth Amendment, which destroyed slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment, which gave equality of legal status to the Negro race; and the Fifteenth Amendment for so reorganizing the Southern States that Negroes should participate in the State government. The whole subject of immigration, including the groups now living in the State, is treated in Volume IV, chapter v.

MASSACHUSETTS WOMEN

No Massachusetts history could get on without taking account of the character and services of the women of the Commonwealth. Besides the early participation of women in the debates on government and religious freedom, (Vol. I, chapter xiv) there are several special chapters exclusively devoted to women (Vol. I, chapter xi; Vol. II, chapter xii;

Vol. III, chapter xi; and Vol. V, chapter vii). In addition, their influence comes out in most of the chapters on social life, education, art and literature throughout the series.

PERSONALITY IN MASSACHUSETTS

It is not enough for a history to recount what has been done in the many fields of human endeavor by the people of a commonwealth. There is no genuine history which does not recognize and accent the personal element. First of all, through the leaders of the community from decade to decade; and second, through that interplay of individuals which constitutes social history. Nearly all the leaders in the Commonwealth, down to the Revolution, are characterized or placed in the narrative chapters. Nearly all the governors of colony, province and State are at least mentioned. Many of the principal clergy are characterized. The most eminent women, particularly the extraordinary group of Revolutionary ladies, are characterized in Volume III, chapter xi. The Index reveals the astonishing number of names of persons mentioned first or last in the five volumes.

Among the groups of individuals discussed in the *Commonwealth History* are the early statesmen (Volume I, chapters v, ix, xiii, xiv, xx, xxi). The heads of the government are particularly discussed in Volume I, chapter xx; Volume II, chapters iii, v, vi, x, xv; Volume III, chapters iii, iv, vi, viii, xi, xiv, xv; Volume IV, chapters i to iv, xvi to xx; Volume V, chapters iv, vii, xv, xvii.

The plan of the work includes in each volume a representative character, a man who seems better than any one else to sum up the character and ambitions of the people of Massachusetts in the five periods covered by the five volumes. This list includes John Winthrop (Volume I, chapter vii); Cotton Mather (Volume II, chapter xi); John Adams (Volume III, chapter viii); Daniel Webster (Volume IV, chapter iv); and Charles William Eliot (Volume V, chapter x). For each of these five leading characters, and for many others, additional material will be easily available through the chapter bibliographies.

MASSACHUSETTS PERSONALITIES

No colony—not even Virginia or Pennsylvania—included so many men who are an acknowledged part of national history. Captain John Smith might fairly be called the first Massachusetts man. John Winthrop was both the political and historical head of the Colony. Roger Williams, Mrs. Hutchinson, John Endicott, Thomas Dudley (Volume I, chapter vii), Edmund Andros, William Phips, Joseph Dudley, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards, James Otis, Joseph Warren, John Hancock, John Quincy Adams, Harrison Gray Otis, Daniel Webster, Horace Mann, Ralph Waldo Emerson, George Bancroft, Edward Everett, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, William Ellery Channing, William Lloyd Garrison, Donald McKay, John A. Andrew, George F. Hoar, Henry Cabot Lodge, Charles Francis Adams—these are some of the many names of Massachusetts men who have made themselves national characters.

MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNMENT

Much of the published history of Massachusetts is constitutional in type, and for the best reasons, for the Colony of Massachusetts has lived through seven constitutional periods. (1) Under the original charter (Volume I, chapter v). (2) Under a semi-revolutionary government (Volume I, chapter xx). (3) Preceding the Revolution of 1689 (Volume I, chapter xxi). (4) Under the Province Charter of 1691 (Volume II, chapter i), including conflicts with the royal governors (Volume II, chapter v) and the pre-Revolutionary controversies with Great Britain, which culminated in revolution (Volume II, chapters xv-xviii). (5) The irregular Revolutionary period without charter or constitution. (6) Under the Constitution of 1780. (7) As a member of the United States of America, with the Federal Constitution of 1789. Not one of the sister States went through such a long, thrilling and educative training in resistance to an unloved government.

The process of constitutional government within the State is shown particularly in Volume III, chapters iii, iv, vii. The

From a photograph by Harris and Ewing

Calvin Coolidge

same subject came up again in the long-disputed constitutional amendments (Volume IV, chapter i), and in the Fourth Constitutional Convention of 1917 (Volume V, chapter xxi).

In this slow but sure constitutional development, Massachusetts was not only training her own citizens to respect an orderly process of constitutional change, but was setting a pace for other States in the Union. No sister commonwealth has had so long, so varied, and so successful an experience of peaceful revolution by constitutional changes made by legal forces and registered in a body of free institutions. A particular service by Massachusetts to itself and to the country was in its ratification in a great crisis of the Federal Constitution of 1787 (Vol. III, chapter xiii).

Local Government

New England is the traditional home of town government and town meetings; all the larger Massachusetts places have been transformed into cities, but the original type of town meetings and town officials still exists in several hundred communities. That system goes back to earliest Massachusetts. The State representative system in Massachusetts began by the claim of representatives of the towns to share in the government of the Colonies (Volume I, chapter v). The town system expanded into the neighboring Colonies (Volume I, chapter viii). Much of the social legislation of the colonial and later period is the work of the town meetings, as illustrated in Volume I, chapters x, xii, xv, and Volume II, chapter iv, which is a careful account of the colonial town system. The town of Boston, which was the site and the origin of many of the great political and constitutional issues, is the subject of Volume II, chapter viii. From the towns came much of the impetus for the Revolution (Volume II, chapter xviii). The siege of the town of Boston by its own friends, the Continental Army under Command of George Washington, resulted in the first defeat of a British army by Revolutionary forces. In the last hundred years of Massachusetts history, the action of the towns is merged in the action of the State as a whole. It is also tangled up in the Unitarian movement, which involved town churches

(Volume IV, chapter ix). Boston government in the last half century is reviewed in Volume V, chapter iii.

Federal Government

Massachusetts has the honor of being the most important member of the first Federal government founded in the Americas, the New England Confederation of 1643 (Volume I, chapter ix), which was the germ of the Albany plan of 1754 (Volume II, chapter xv), and of the Congress of 1774 (Volume II, chapter xvii). The attitude and action of Massachusetts during the Revolution (Volume III, chapters iii, iv) gave strong support to independence; and the important share of Massachusetts in forming a national Federal government appears in Volume III, chapters vi, xiii. No statesman of the period had more influence on the creation of a stable permanent Federal government than John Adams of Massachusetts (Volume III, chapter viii). One of the curious side issues of the Revolution, the banishment of the Tories, who were thus excluded from any form of American government, is brought out by the story of the Massachusetts loyalists (Volume III, chapter ix). The attitude of Massachusetts to the Union after the Federal government was set up is described in Volume III, chapter xiv; Volume IV, chapters x, xi and xvi.

Massachusetts Religion

St. Paul thought that the men of Athens were "too religious," and many writers of history have applied the same dictum to early Massachusetts. The education of the Commonwealth, the organization of its government, the system of laws, were closely bound up with the formal religious organization of the community. The Massachusetts people who came over as a protest against Bishop Laud and his restrictions on religion, applied Laud's principle of conformity to Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson and to the Baptists and the Quakers (Volume I, chapters xiv and xvii). In the public mind, the witchcraft episode (Volume II, chapter ii) is supposed to have been animated by the clergy who, under Cotton Mather's leadership, did push on the trials; but belief in witchcraft was imported from England, and Massachusetts was the first community in the world to abandon the frightful doctrine. Cotton Mather (Volume II, chapter xi) and Jonathan Edwards (Volume II, chapter x) have been accepted as the typical colonial New England ministers, but the popular spirit of toleration completely outgrew their theology; and in the nineteenth century Massachusetts was one of the earliest States to grant genuine freedom of worship (Volume IV, chapter ix). The present status of the churches is set forth in Volume V, chapters xv and xvii, one of them by a Protestant clergyman and one by a Catholic clergyman.

Literature and Education

From the start, Massachusetts was under the guidance of men of education—not merely book men, but men of intellectual power, who knew how to record what they experienced. Indeed, the greatest colonial author, Benjamin Franklin, was a son of Massachusetts. This interest in things of the mind took two forms: the first was the training up of the rising generation, evidenced by the early founding of Harvard College (Volume I, chapter xii); then by the legal requirement of schools for boys, which, however, did not lead to girls' schools until after the Revolution. An account of colonial education can be found in Volume I, chapters x and xi, and for the post-Revolution period in Volume III, chapters x and xvii. To nineteenth-century education is devoted a long chapter (Volume IV, chapter vi), while in Volume V general education is discussed in chapter viii, and educational reform in chapter x.

A high degree of education may exist without literature, and a flourishing literature with very little general education. However, nobody could succeed in public life in Massachusetts without the ability to express in speech and writing the ideas which eventually took shape in the American Revolution. It was no accident that the second governor of Plymouth and the first governor of Massachusetts both wrote admirable personal histories of the origin and early days of their Colonies. Those two works are a part of an excellent, though scanty Colonial literature, an account of the origins of which may be found in Volume I, chapter xiii. It includes the first American poetess, Anne Bradstreet. Much of the controversial literature over the rights of the Colonies is well written and worthy of study.

Massachusetts eighteenth-century literature (Volume II, chapter x) is characterized by Cotton Mather and later non-clerical writers. A special chapter on Cotton Mather (Volume II, chapter xi) shows how that man stood for the spirit of his half century of activity. The letters and statements and arguments of the revolutionary period (Volume II, chapters xv-xviii) are examples of good literature. So are the state papers and protests of the movement toward independence (Volume III, chapter iv). So is the State Constitution of 1780 (Volume III, chapted vii). John Adams wielded a mighty pen (Volume III, chapter viii). Webster's speeches are a part of the best literature (Volume IV, chapter iv). Nineteenth century literature is summarized in Volume IV, chapter vii. The depositaries of literature—the libraries—are described in Volume V, chapter x; and chapters xv and xvii deal with the clergy—Protestant and Catholic. The modern development of publishing and periodicals is the subject of Volume V, chapter xvi.

The Professions

The first recognized profession in the Colonies was that of the ministry, and for more than two hundred years the ministers were the most powerful and best organized body of men in the community.

Every town supported one and (in early days) sometimes two ministers to a parish; while in the more populous towns additional churches were set off, each with its dominant minister. The situation of the clergy is made clear in Volume I, chapters iv, xii, xxi; Volume II, chapters ii, viii, ix, xi; Volume III, chapter x; Volume IV, chapter ix; Volume V, chapters xv, xvii.

Ever since the Revolution, and superior in their influence on public affairs, the profession of the law has been next in importance to the clergy. John Winthrop was a lawyer in England. The original charter (Volume I, chapter v) was drawn up by lawyers. Harvard College in the middle of the eighteenth century began to educate lawyers. Principles of public law, and to some degree private law, entered into the controversy with England over the Charter from 1664 to 1689 (Volume I, chapter xx). To the colonial bench and bar in the pre-Revolutionary period is devoted Volume II, chapter vi. The controversies over the Stamp Act and the tea duties involved difficult questions of public law and led (Volume II, chapter xv) to the great constitutional arguments on the Writs of Assistance and the legal basis of taxation. Lawyers were active in the organization from colony to State, as is shown in the violence of legal discussion (Volume II, chapters xvi to xviii). So with the violent agitation over the organization of a new government and independence from 1775 to 1780 (Volume III, chapters iii and iv). The highest public law of the new State, the Constitution of 1780, was drawn by one of the greatest constitutional lawyers in the country, John Adams (Volume III, chapters vii, viii). The part of lawyers in the political and constitutional development of the State after the Revolution is set forth in Volume III, chapters xiv, xv. To the judicial system and the bar of the nineteenth century is devoted Volume IV, chapter ii. The attitude of the bar on secession and reconstruction is brought out in Volume IV, chapters xvi and xix. The bench and bar of the nineteenth century is the subject of Volume V, chapter iv. Thus education for the bar, the personalities of leaders of the bar, the great constitutional issues of a hundred years and the development of a system of constitutional law are made a part of the *Commonwealth History*.

Allied with the bar and the pulpit throughout Massachusetts history has been the profession of medicine. Long based on tradition rather than on experimentation, the profession nevertheless included many leading men, among them Dr. Joseph Warren, the Revolutionary patriot. Some attention is paid to the medicine of early times in the chapters on social conditions; and the present state of the profession is set forth in Vol. V, chapter xviii.

Artistic Massachusetts

Throughout the series, in the discussion of local and colonial government some attention is paid to public buildings, which were in colonial times almost the only evidences of public appreciation of art. A few remaining town halls and churches, such as the Old State House and the Old South Church, bear witness to the architecture of the colonial period. In the State House, in museums and in some private collections are excellent portraits of men and women, public characters and private. Many families cherish ancestral and artistic silver, furniture and carved fittings of rooms. Aside from these limited evidences of wealth and taste, the artistic development of Massachusetts is set forth in Volume IV, chapter viii, Artistic Massachusetts. A later chapter of the work (Volume V, chapter ix) gives an account of libraries in Massachusetts both in their educative and architectural effects.

Political History of Massachusetts

Most of the 101 chapters of the five volumes of this *History* deal directly or indirectly with the action of the people of Massachusetts through their duly constituted public authority, for the protection of the individual, the maintenance of impartial courts, and the workings of primary assemblies and representative bodies authorized to express the public will. This action of popular government early resulted in the amendment of the First Charter in 1791 and the substitution of a State government for the Colonial government in the Revolution; and also for the relation of Massachusetts to the whole United States of America.

The study of this free government in action is one of the main purposes of this series. It begins with the Mayflower Compact (Volume I, chapter iv); and the Massachusetts Charter, and the controversy over its authority (Volume I, chapters v, vii, xx and xxi. In the next century it involves the workings of the Province Charter, and the long controversies with the royal governors (Volume II, chapters i, v, xv, xvi). It accounts for the provisional constitutional government of Massachusetts (Volume II, chapter xviii; Volume III, chapter iii). It includes the contemporaneous throwing off of dependency on England (Volume III, chapter iv); the participation in the national government (Volume III, chapter vi); the adoption of the new Constitution (Volume III, chapter vii); and the entrance into the Federal Constitution (Volume III, chapter xiii). It involves indirectly the separation of Maine (Volume III, chapter xix).

In the same field belong the chapters on constitutional changes (Volume IV, chapter i) and the internal political history of the State down to 1861 (Volume IV, chapters iii, x, xi and xvi. This discussion carries Massachusetts through the Civil War (Volume IV, chapter xviii) and thence to 1889 (Volume IV, chapters xviii-xx). The relation of the State to the welfare and betterment of the people is the subject of Volume V, chapter ii. An account of the workings of the General Court is detailed in Volume V, chapter i, and the political readjustment of recent Massachusetts in Volume V, chapter vi.

Economic Development of Massachusetts

The modern school of history justly insists that there is no adequate or true history of a community which does not include the economic field. In the *Commonwealth History* will be found, from volume to volume, accounts by competent writers of the pursuits and organizations through which Massachusetts first supported the population; and then allowed them a profit out of which they could expand their business and put part of their capital into wharves and shipyards and textile mills and a great variety of modern economic pusuits. This discussion is crystallized in Volume I, chapter xv; Volume II, chapter vii on finance, and chapter xiii on business and transportation; Volume III, chapters xii and xviii; Volume IV, chapters xiii to xv, including agriculture; and Volume V, chapters xi, finance; xii, manufactures; xiii, transportation; and xiv, labor. These chapters read in sequence furnish a business history of Massachusetts from the beginning to the present day.

Massachusetts in War

The possibility for the development of such a self-governing community came through the civil war in England, which for twenty years prevented royal intervention. At the same time, in America the Colony was at once plunged into Indian wars (Volume I, chapter xix), which, after the practical subjugation of the home tribes, were renewed in the long French and Indian Wars (Volume II, chapter xiv). The armed Revolution broke out on the soil of Massachusetts at Lexington and Concord (Volume II, chapter xix). The first battle between organized Massachusetts forces and the English was at Bunker Hill; and the first capture of a British stronghold was in Boston (Volume III, chapter i). Massachusetts had an honorable part in the continental forces (Volume III, chapter v). Its people participated by land and sea in the War of 1812 (Volume III, chapter xvi). In the Civil War, Massachusetts was the first to the front and steadfast to the end (Volume IV, chapters xvii, xviii). So in the World War, Massachusetts troops bore an honorable part (Volume V, chapters xix, xx).

Succession of Historical Topics

The method adopted in this work brings out the principal phases of the progress of the State. That story might have been arranged in volumes—say, one on Massachusetts government; one on social life in Massachusetts; one on economics and trade; one on the intellectual side, literature and education; one on the great human spirits of the Commonwealth; and one on the wars in which Massachusetts has been engaged. That method of procedure would have left the impression that the history of any State in the Union can be written and read and studied in watertight compartments. In every period since the founding of Massachusetts in 1630, all these various phases of public and private life have been going on side by side. They can best be treated in successive epochs of the history of Massachusetts. Hence the work is divided into five chonological eras:

I. The Colony of Massachusetts Bay (1605–1689)
II. The Province of Massachusetts (1689–1775)

III. The Revolution and Political Reorganization (1775–1820)
IV. Nineteenth Century Massachusetts (1820–1899)
V. Twentieth Century Expansion (1889–1930).

Subdivisions neither begin nor end at arbitrary dates. Authors have been free to bring in preceding events, and to follow a little beyond their chronological boundary whenever that is necessary to make their subject clear. Many subjects —such as art and education and manufacturing and race elements and religion—cannot be fitted into exact chronological periods. Nevertheless it is possible to arrange a system of monographic chapters which will fairly fit in with their preceding and succeeding neighbors and at the same time will make clear the general progress of the topics which they describe. This is a flexible method. It is not necessary to read the whole of a volume in order to understand clearly what goes on in the next volume.

There is throughout the work a chronological progress; but the *Commonwealth History* is not a staircase of a hundred and one steps of uniform height. It is a progress from one to another to five platforms, on each of which will be found monuments to a variety of people and of human efforts. Taken all together, these hundred and one chapters might be likened to five connecting halls each paved with twenty marble slabs, commemorating some field of Massachusetts history; yet all assembled together. The purpose of this final chapter is to make clear to the reader what are the important lines of research and historical statement throughout the work, and how different chapters may be linked together to bring out the progress of the work and the variety of its contents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

No important historical work nowadays can be considered complete unless it has a proper apparatus of bibliography references. Sometimes it takes the form of "Works cited by the author." Frequently the bibliography is an assemblage of titles, arranged alphabetically or classified, of books and periodical articles and sometimes manuscripts, which have been the foundation of the writer's work. The bibliography of the *Commonwealth History* is arranged on a somewhat different plan. Each author has cooperated with the editor in preparing an alphabetical list of titles of books, periodical articles and governmental material which would assist a reader or searcher to extend his knowledge on the subject of any one of the chapters in the work. That is, the classification is in the 101 successive chapters of the work. The form and arrangement of titles is the same throughout, and is intended to follow the usage of the best bibliographers. All authors are in small capitals; all titles are in italics. The place and date of publication are carefully indicated so as to make it easy to find the book or periodical or pamphlet or public report that may be desired. The method of notation is familiar to all the libraries of the State.

Through this careful bibliographical system it is hoped that investigators, teachers in universities and schools, and students in colleges and high schools and even in the upper grammar grades, may find it possible and convenient to go further into the details of some of the two thousand or more sections of the work. Studies of the character and achievements of individual men and women are particularly useful for this kind of work. Through the bibliographies also it will be possible to find material on many interesting subjects in social and economic life, which heretofore have been very difficult to approach. School plays, titles, representations of historical events, can be aided by a judicious, however brief, bibliography of the most useful and accessible works in that field.

Index

A subject so rich, so varied, so abounding in interesting detail as the history of Massachusetts, cannot be surmounted without the aid of a suitable Index. A great number of persons and events are mentioned in the five volumes, and it is impossible that all of them should be indexed; but it is intended to make an index note of every person and event which can be reached conveniently by indexing, and also to index subjects on a uniform system so that the reader may follow out any particular topic that interests him and be reasonably sure to find everything important upon that subject within the covers of the work.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF HIGHEST STATE EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL OFFICERS (1890–1930)

GOVERNORS (1890–1930)

1890–1891	John Q. A. Brackett
1891–1894	William E. Russell
1894–1896	Frederic T. Greenhalge **
1897–1900	Roger Wolcott
1900–1903	W. Murray Crane
1903–1905	John L. Bates
1905–1906	William L. Douglas
1906–1909	Curtis Guild, Jr.
1909–1911	Eben S. Draper
1911–1914	Eugene N. Foss
1914–1916	David I. Walsh
1916–1919	Samuel W. McCall
1919–1921	Calvin Coolidge
1921–1928	Channing H. Cox
1928–1929	Alvan T. Fuller
1929–	Frank G. Allen

** Died in office.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS (1890–1930)

1890–1893	William H. Haile
1893–1897	Roger Wolcott ***
1897–1900	W. Murray Crane
1900–1903	John L. Bates
1903–1906	Curtis Guild, Jr.
1906–1909	Eben S. Draper
1909–1912	Louis A. Frothingham
1912–1913	Robert Luce
1913–1914	David I. Walsh
1914–1915	Edward P. Barry
1915–1916	Grafton D. Cushing
1916–1919	Calvin Coolidge
1919–1921	Channing H. Cox
1921–1925	Alvon T. Fuller
1925–1929	Frank G. Allen
1929–	William S. Youngman

*** Acting Governor for part of the period.

JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT (1890–1930)

1881–1891	Charles Devens[1]
1881–1891	William Allen **
1882–1898	Charles Allen *
1882–1902	Oliver Wendell Holmes ***[2]
1887–1911	Marcus Perrin Knowlton
1890–1913	James Madison Morton *
1891–1906	John Lathrop *
1891–1905	James Madison Barker **
1898–1914	John Wilkes Hammond *
1899–1919	William Caleb Loring *
1902–1929	Henry King Braley **
1905–1915	Henry Newton Sheldon *
1906–	Arthur Prentice Rugg ***
1911–1924	Charles Ambrose DeCourcy **
1913–	John Crawford Crosby
1914–	Edward Peter Pierce
1915–	James Bernard Carroll
1919–1923	Charles Francis Jenney **
1923–	William Cushing Wait
1924–	George Augustus Sanderson
1929–	Fred Tarbell Field

* Resigned.
** Died in office.
*** Promoted to Chief Justice.

[1] In 1881 appointed Attorney-General of the U. S.; and reappointed to the bench in 1881.

[2] Appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court of the U. S.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF FEDERAL OFFICERS FROM MASSACHUSETTS (1890–1930)

President

August 3, 1923 – March 3, 1929	Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States

Cabinet Officers (1889–1930)

1889	William C. Endicott, Secretary of War* (President Harrison)
1892	William F. Wharton, Secretary of State (President Harrison) (Acting *ad interim* as Assistant Secretary)
1893	William F. Wharton, Assistant Secretary of State (President Harrison) (Acting *ad interim* as Secretary of State)
1893–1895	Richard Olney, Attorney-General (President Cleveland)
1895–1897	Richard Olney, Secretary of State (President Cleveland)
1897–1902	John Davis Long, Secretary of the Navy (President McKinley; President Rosevelt)
1902–1904	William Henry Moody, Secretary of the Navy (President Roosevelt)
1904–1906	William Henry Moody, Attorney-General (President Roosevelt)
1907–1909	George von Lengerke Meyer, Postmaster-General (President Roosevelt)
1909–1913	George von Lengerke Meyer, Secretary of the Navy (President Roosevelt)
1909–1913	Frank Harris Hitchcock, Postmaster-General (President Taft)
1921–1925	John Wingate Weeks, Secretary of War* (President Harding)
1928–1929	William Fairfield Whiting, Secretary of Commerce (President Coolidge)
1929–	Charles Francis Adams, Secretary of the Navy (President Hoover)

United States Senators (1890–1929)

1875–1893	Henry Laurens Dawes
1877–1904	George Frisbie Hoar **
1893–1924	Henry Cabot Lodge **
1904–1913	Winthrop Murray Crane
1913–1919	John Wingate Weeks
1919–	David Ignatius Walsh
1924–1926	William Morgan Butler
1925–	Frederick Huntington Gillett

United States Representatives (1890–1929)

1884–1891	Francis W. Rockwell
1887–1895	William Cogswell **
1887–1893	Henry Cabot Lodge * (Later a Senator)
1889–1893	John Forrester Andrew
1889–1891	Nathaniel P. Banks
1889–1891	John W. Candler
1889–1891	Frederic T. Greenhalge
1889–1897	Elijah Adams Morse
1889–1895	Joseph H. O'Neil
1889–1895	Charles S. Randall

* Resigned.

** Died in office.

1889–1899	Joseph Henry Walker
1889–1891	Rodney Wallace
1891–1893	Frederick Spaulding Coolidge
1891–1893	John Crawford Crosby
1891–1893	Sherman Hoar
1891–1895	Moses T. Stevens
1891–1893	George Fred Williams
1893–1895	Lewis Dewart Apsley
1893–1897	William Franklin Draper
1893–1895	William Everett
1893–1913	Samuel Walker McCall
1893–1895	Michael J. McEttrick
1893–1897	Ashley Bascom Wright **
1893–1925	Frederick Huntington Gillett (Later a Senator)
1895–1899	Harrison Henry Atwood
1895–1899	William E. Barrett
1895–1901	John F. Fitzgerald
1895–1903	William Shadrach Knox *
1895–1902	William H. Moody **
1895–1898	John Simpkins **
1897–1899	Samuel June Barrows
1897–1913	George Pelton Lawrence
1897–1910	William C. Lovering **
1897–1901	Charles Franklin Sprague
1898–1924	William Stedman Greene **
1899–1903	Henry Francis Naphen
1899–1917	Ernest W. Roberts
1899–1903	John R. Thayer
1899–1901	George Warren Weymouth
1901–1903	Joseph A. Conry
1902–1917	Augustus Peabody Gardner *
1901–1903	Samuel Leland Powers
1901–1910	Charles Quincy Tirrell **
1903–1913	Butler Ames
1903–1911	John Austin Keliher
1903–1905	William Sarsfield McNary
1903–1905	John Andrew Sullivan
1905–1906	Rockwood Hoar **
1905–1913	John Wingate Weeks *
1907–1911	Charles Grenfill Washburn
1907–1911	Joseph Francis O'Connell
1907–1914	Andrew James Peters
1910–1911	Eugene Noble Foss **
1910–1911	John Joseph Mitchell
1911–1914	James Michael Curley *
1911–1913	Robert Orr Harris
1911–1914	William Francis Murray *
1911–1913	John Alden Thayer
1911–1913	William Henry Wilder **
1913–1915	Frederick Simpson Deitrick
1914–1928	James Ambrose Gallivan **
1913–1915	Edward Gilmore
1913–1915	John Joseph Mitchell
1913–1925	Calvin DeWitt Paige
1913–1921	Michael Francis Phelan
1913–1925	John Jacob Rogers **
1913–1925	Samuel Ellsworth Winslow
1915–1919	William Henry Carter
1915–1925	Frederick William Dallinger (First service)
1915–1921	Richard Olney
1915–1919	Peter Francis Tague (First service)
1915–	George Holden Tinkham
1915–	Allen Towner Treadway
1915–1922	Joseph Walsh *
1917–1921	Wilfred Weymouth Lufkin *
1917–1921	Alvon Tufts Fuller *
1919	John Francis Fitzgerald * (March–October; superseded)
1919–1925	Peter Francis Tague (Second service)
1919–	Robert Luce
1921–	Abram Piatt Andrew, Jr.
1921–1928	Louis Adams Frothingham **
1921–1923	Robert Sarsfield Maloney
1921–	Charles Lee Underhill
1922–	Charles L. Gifford
1923–	William Patrick Connery
1924–1925	Robert Milton Leach
1925–1929	Henry Leland Bowles

* Resigned.
** Died in office.

1925	George Bosworth Churchill **
1925–	John Joseph Douglass
1925–	Frank Herbert Foss
1925–	Joseph William Martin
1925–	Mrs. Edith Nourse Rogers
1925–	George Russell Stobbs
1925–1926	Harry Irving Thayer **
1926–	Frederick William Dallinger (Second service)
1928–	John W. McCormack
1929–	William Kirk Kaynor **
1928–	Richard B. Wigglesworth

** Died in office.

INDEX

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Abbot, Benjamin, iv, 106.
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Abercrombie, General James, ii, 435, 438, 441-442.
Abington, i, 528; ii, 103, 104, 106; antislavery agitation, iv, 322.
Abnaki Indians, i, 130, 153; ii, 74, 77; v, 512; French influence, i, 81, 513; ii, 70, 72, 78, 85, 91, 428; conflict with, i, 518; ii, 63, 69, 71, 72, 74, 77, 78, 85-91; influence of Mass., ii, 72, 85; French influence, i, 81, 513; ii, 70, 72, 78, 85, 91, 428; canoe, i, 153; treaty, ii, 85; in Revolution, iii, 125.
Abolitionists. *See* Antislavery movement.
Aborn, George P., v, 381.
Acadia, relations with Mass., i, 235, 471, 492, 502-505, 507-511, 514-517; ii, 69-70, 428; fishing grounds, i, 455, 496, 497; expeditions against, ii, 4, 67-68, 79-83, 425, 428; French supply ship, 76; English territory, 85, 421, 428.
Acadians, deported, ii, 260, 430; v, 509.
Accessory to a crime, conviction, iv, 53.
Accidents, authorities, v, 30. *See also* Safety; Suits at law; *also other specific entries.*
Accounts, in terms of English money, ii, 201.
Achin, Henry, v, 22.
Act of Settlement (1701), ii, 171.
Act of Supremacy, i, 7.
Act of Trade (1696), ii, 17-18.
Act of Uniformity, i, 8, 476.
Acts of Trade. *See* Molasses Act; Navigation acts; Sugar Act; Townshend Acts.
"Active" (brig), iii, 35, 37, 60.
Acton, founded, ii, 106; in Revolution, ii, 575-577; iii, 100; Mass. constitution, iii, 183.
Adams, Mrs. Abigail (Smith), iii, 220, 248, 306, 310, 312, 315, 320, 328, 335, 358; in Europe, iii, 239, 306; letters, ii, 314, 315, 316; iii, 222, 315, (fac simile) opp. 220; portrait, opp. 310.
Adams, Abijah, iii, 425, 453.
Adams, Brooks, v, 640, 647, 648, 650.
Adams, Charles Francis (1807-1886), politics, iv, 96, 97, 283, 297, 475, 476, 483, 596, 597, 601; U. S. Congress, 284, 504, 505; diplomat, 284, 597.
Adams, Charles Francis (b. 1866), v, 188, 662.
Adams, Charles Francis (1835-1915), iv, 614; v, 29, 362.
Adams, Edward Dean, iii, 214.
Adams, Henry, v, 315.
Adams, Rev. John, ii, 530.
Adams, President John, iii, 212-249, 310; lawyer, ii, 173-174, 175, 178, 180, 186, 189, 483, 503; iii, 170, 225; influence of others, ii, 177, 178; iii, 319; public career, ii, 178, 250, 557; iii, 67, 93, 155; rebel, ii, 528; in Continental Congress, ii, 545, 547, 550; iii, 22, 78, 83, 104, 141, 144, 154, 159,

160, 162-164, 168, 169, 174; military interest, iii, 140-145, 159, 234; in France, iii, 170, 235, 310, 328; in Holland, iii, 171; Mass. Constitution, iii, 116, 189, 198, 200, 201, 206, 209, 236; iv, 4, 33; v, 188; offices, iii, 230, 410; presidency, iii, 422-428, 455; library, v, 271; state papers, iii, 104; writings, ii, 313, 314, 315, 316; iii, 237, 238, 247, 402, 447; views, ii, 510, 535; iii, 65, 71, 79, 156, 160, 168, 169, 173, 230, 313, 328, 331, 475; characteristics, ii, 180, 503; iii, 371, 422, 423; eulogy by Webster, iv, 115, 211; anecdotes, iii, 172, 320, 417; v, 513; birthplace, (illus. opp.) iii, 234; portrait, ii, frontispiece.

Adams, President John Quincy, iii, 224, 314, 332; iv, 70; diplomatic service, iii, 235, 328, 435; Secretary of State, iii, 246, 435; politics, iii, 246, 414, 434, 456, 465; iv, 77, 82-85; in U. S. Congress, iii, 434, 457, 540; iv, 88, 284, 287, 288, 295, 332, 339; lawyer, iv, 70; presidency, iv, 283, 292, 304, 305; abolitionist, iv, 294, 295, 311, 325; writings, ii, 316; iii, 447; iv, 210; characteristics, iii, 434; views, iii, 475; iv, 81; portrait, opp. iv, 294.

Adams, John Quincy (1833-1894), iv, 593, 595.

Adams, Samuel, Sr., ii, 140, 245; iii, 226.

Adams, Governor Samuel, ii, 491; iii, 226; politics, ii, 145, 149, 151, 251-253, 313, 472, 490, 557; iii, 67, 93, 226, 400, 409, 416, 437, 442, 448; efforts for independence, ii, 153, 505, 507, 510, 527-528, 540; iii, 213; oppression opposed, ii, 241, 249, 498, 500, 509; offices, ii, 244, 250, 491; proscribed, ii, 313; iii, 227; Continental Congress, ii, 544, 545, 565; iii, 94, 154, 160, 164, 165, 167, 174, 177, 227, 233; Secretary of the Commonwealth, iii, 69, 93, 112; Mass. constitution, iii, 116, 189, 190, 192, 201, 236; military interest, iii, 142, 146, 148; Constitution of U. S., iii, 398, 400; governor, iii, 420, 449-451; political writings, ii, 250, 311, 312, 316, 555; iii, 92; views, ii, 234; iii, 503; popularity, ii, 126; iii, 78; characteristics, ii, 145; iii, 225; ancedotes, ii, 253, 555, 565, 568; Great Incendiary, ii, 522, 528; portrait, ii, 540.

Adams family, iii, 213, 252.

Adams (Mass.), name, iv, 349; road to Charlemont, iv, 364.

"Adams" (U. S. frigate), iii, 492.

Adjutant-general (Mass.), v, 29, 592.

"Admiral Duff" (H.M.S.), iii, 35.

Admiralty districts, ii, 186; iii, 39; Maine, iii, 548.

Advertisements, ii, 228, 230, 260, 262, 359, 360; iii, 284, 288, 296; along public ways, v, 648; fac similes, opp. ii, 262, 276.

Advocate General of the Crown, ii, 421.

African Company, i, 94.

Agamenticus (Me.), i, 197, 198, 201, 227.

Agassin, Louis, portrait, opp. v, 324.

Agassiz, Alexander, v, 163, 264, 298.

Agassiz, Louis, iv, 185; v, 150, portrait, opp. v, 324.

Agawam. *See* Ipswich; Springfield; Wareham.

Age, extreme, ii, 373; average length of life, iii, 281.

Agents, fiduciary, v, 45.

Agents in England, of Mass., i, 563, 599; ii, 4, 34, 84, 129, 132, 137, 147, 436, 473; of Plymouth, i, 78.

Agents in Europe of United Colonies, iii, 169, 170, 235.

Agrarian movement, iii, 368, 416.

Agriculture, causes of decline, i, 25; industry, 33-34, 264, 265, 421; ii, 391-394; iii, 356, 503; iv, 75, 174, 372-399; v, 431; poor basis for trade, i, 34, 45; primitive, 71, 146-147, 533; fish fertilizer, 71, 147, 424; regulation, 87; iv, 351; Indian, i, 146-148, 249; crops, i, 148-149, 422; ii, 391; iii, 357; iv, 379; implements, i, 423; iii, 357; iv, 373-375; fertile regions, i, 496; statistics, ii, 394; iv, 379; societies, iii, 358; iv, 382, 385; improvement, 358; v, 261; fairs, iv, 382, 384; centrally directed, 383; State authorities, 386; v, 32; State investigations, iv, 385; convention, 386; instruction, 388-395; experimentation, 393; Sunday privileges, v, 47. *See also* Massachusetts Agricultural College.

Air service, v, 422.

Aircraft, Sunday privileges, v, 46, woman pilot, v, 218; embargo, v, 226; development, v, 264.

"Alabama" (Confederate vessel), iv, 457; claims, iv, 597.

Alabama (State), iv, 555, 567, 574.

Albany (N. Y.), Indian troubles, ii, 66-68, 78, 80, 89; quarrel with Leisler, ii, 68; French and Indian War, ii, 427, 442; capitol, iv, 241; railroads, iv, 425, 427, 428.

Albany Bank, iv, 359.

Albany Congress (1754), ii, 422, 456.

Alcott, Amos Bronson, iv, 190, 207, 276; v, 148, 221.

Alcott, Louisa May, v, 207, 218, 498.

Alden, Ichabod, iii, 132.

Alden, John, Sr., i, 73, 86.

Alden, Captain John, Jr., ii, 70.

Aldermanic government, iii, 502.

Aldrich, Nelson Wilmarth, v, 181.

Aldrich, Thomas Bailey, v, 486, 487.

"Alert" (English sloop), iii, 482.

Alexander (Indian), i, 540.

Alexander, Sir William, i, 202, 505, 508.

Alexandria (Va.), conference (1755), ii, 426.

Alfred (Maine), iii, 162, 561.

Algerines, iv, 91.

Algonquian Indians, i, 129, 519.

Alien Act (1798), iii, 241, 425, 451-452.

Aliens, plaintiffs in federal courts, iii, 419; deportation, iii, 452, 509; libelling an official, iii, 452.

Allen, Alexander V. G., v, 461.

Allen, Charles, iv, 70, 133, 303.

Allen, Ethan, iii, 161, 313.

Allen, Fanny, v, 535.

Allen, Frederick M., v, 560.

Allen, Governor Frank G., v, 16, 24.

Allen, Gardner W., "Massachusetts in the War of 1812," iii, chap. xvi, pp. 471-499.

Allen, John, iii, 125, 126.

Allen, John Weston, v, 124, 193.

Allen, Jolley, iii, 257-259.

Allen, Thomas, iii, 74, 183; iv, 369.

Allen, William Henry, iii, 484.

Allerton, Isaac, i, 78, 80, 85.

"Alliance" (vessel), iii, 59.

Alliances, in Revolution, iii, 160, 168; danger of European wars, 170.

Almshouses. *See* Poor.

Allston, railroad, v, 417.

Allston, Washington, iv, 230.

Allyn, John, iii, 513.

Alton (Ill.), iv, 295, 327.

Amber, medicinal, iii, 285.

Ambergris, ii, 403.

"America" (vessel), iii, 59, 60.

"America" (privateer), iii, 494, 496, 543.

"America" (U. S. S.), v, 608.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences, iii, 504; iv, 270; v, 286.

American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, iv, 336.

American Antiquarian Society, iv, 249; v, 286.

American Anti-Slavery Society, iv, 294, 337.

American Archaelogical Society, iv, 237.

American Baptist Missionary Union, iv, 356.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, iv, 356; v, 456.

"American Boy," v, 490.

American College of Surgeons, v, 563.

American Colonization Society, iv, 315.

American College of Surgeons, v, 217.
"American Cyclopedia," iv, 208.
American Electric Co., v, 384.
American Federation of Labor, v, 434; policemen, 190.
American Express Co., v, 407.
American Institute of Architects, iv, 247.
"American Jurist," iv, 47.
American Medical Association, v, 563.
American party, iv, 76, 488-496; v, 524.
American Protective Association, v, 528.
American Railway Association, v, 412.
American Red Cross, v, 213, 220.
American System. *See* Roads; Tariff.
American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race, iv, 318.
American Unitarian Association, iv, 254, 265.
American Woolen Co., v, 438.
Americanization of immigrants, iv, 151, 541; v, 211.
Ames, Adelaide, v, 215.
Ames, General Adelbert, iv, 582.
Ames, Fisher, iii, 398, 413, 414, 415, 429, 438, 448; U. S. Congress, 409, 418, 437; anecdote, iv, 41; portrait, opp. iii, 412.
Ames, Butler, v, 580, 593, 605.
Ames, Nathanael, ii, 283, 292, 293, 303-306.
Ames, James Barr, v, 106, 107.
Ames, Oakes, iv, 565; v, 160, 161.
Ames, Governor Oliver, iv, 607, 610; v, 160, 161.
Ames, William, i, 347.
Amesbury, Mass., founded, i, 57; industries, iv, 383, 401.
Amherst, Sir Jeffery, ii, 304, 440, 442, 444.
Amherst (Mass.), founding, ii, 110; turnpike, iv, 364; colleges, iv, 190, 391.
Amherst College, iv, 190, 232, 368, 369, 389; library, v, 284.
Ammunition, sale to Indians, i, 238; ii, 164; preparation for Revolution, ii, 523, 571, 573; iii, 23; cannon balls, ii, 407; iii, 81.
Amphibious regiment, iii, 21.
"Amphitrite" (clipper), iv, 459.
Amusements, ii, 234, 254, 271-284, 360; iii, 290, 300; exclusion from, iv, 584; on Sunday, v, 45.
Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, ii, 233, 272; officers, ii, 301.
Anderson, Frederick Lincoln, v, 637, 662, 664.
Anderson, George Weston, v, 634, 640, 662, 664.
Anderson, Major Robert, iv, 504.
Andover (Mass.), founded, i, 57, 526; witchcraft, ii, 56; industries, iii, 41, 140; Mass. taxes, iii, 349; visited by Washington, iii, 417; schools, iii, 388, 504; iv, 177.
Andover Theological Seminary, iv, 333; v, 140, 281, 457.
Andrew, Governor John Albion, iv, 390, 495-497, 501, 554, 592, 611, 616; politics, 500-502, 558, 565, 566, 574, 593; in Civil War, 502-513, 516, 518, 520, 521, 524-528, 531-537, 540; abolitionist, v, 148; portrait, opp. iv, 532.
Andrew, John Forrester, iv, 607; v, 170.
"Andrew Jackson" (clipper), iv, 467, 468.
Andrews, Mrs. Fanny Fern (Phillips), v, 229.
Andrews, General George L., iv, 526.
Andrews, Robert D., iv, 239.
Andros, Lady, i, 591; ii, 286.
Andros, Governor Edmund, i, 254, 404, 459, 512, 513, 516, 517, 582-603; ii, 6, 64-65, 97-98, 327, 534; iii, 89; portrait, opp. i, 582.
Anesthesia, first public demonstration, (illus.), opp. v, 550.
Anemia, v, 563.
Anesthesia, v, 548, first public demonstration (illus.), opp. v, 550.

"Angel Gabriel," v, 525.
"Anglo-Saxon" (vessel), iv, 443.
Animals, cruelty to, i, 118; exhibitions, ii, 283. *See also* Game; Livestock; *also different kinds of animals.*
Annapolis (Md.), convention (1786), iii, 370, 388.
Annapolis (N. S.), ii, 85, 421.
Anne, queen of England, ii, 274.
"Anne" (vessel), i, 76, 264.
"Ann McKim" (clipper), iv, 439.
Annuities, v, 357.
"Antelope" (brig), iv, 440.
Anthony, Susan B., v, 203, 223.
Antifederalists, iii, 413.
Antimasonry, iv, 76, 81-86, 121.
Antimonopoly party, iv, 605.
Antinomianism, i, 174, 177-180, 310, 396.
Antin, Mary, v, 474.
Antioch College, v, 144.
Antiquities, preservation, v, 648.
Antislavery movement, early, i, 374; ii, 264; after Revolution, iii, 295, 297; iv, 312; development, 81, 90, 205-206, 309-341, 485-497, 552; v, 142, 147; party alignment, iv, 93, 97, 501; Southern violence, 322, 327; Boston vigilance committee, 476, 479; legislation, 492; in Kansas, 484-487, 493; disunionists, 503; Civil War period, 504. *See also* Fugitive Slave Act; Personal Liberty Bill.
Anti-Slavery Depository, iv, 320.
"Anti-Slavery Reporter," iv, 336.
Anti-Tuberculosis Association of Cambridge, v, 217.
Antrim (N. H.), i, 63.
Appalachian Mts., boundary, ii, 424; iii, 175.
Appeal, right of, to England, i, 479, 484, 486, 563, 575; ii, 14, 19, 163, 168; to General Court, ii, 166; to superior courts, ii, 166, 247; iv, 66; to governor and council, ii, 185.
Appendicitis, v, 550.
Appleton, Nathan, iv, 94, 287, 288, 358.
Appomattox (Va.), iv, 539.
Apprentices, Indians, i, 248; minors, 266, 284, 307-308; ii, 101, 266; bond, (fac simile) opp. i, 284; marriage, 303; paupers, ii, 266; inhabitants, 243.
Aquidneck (R. I.), i, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212.
Arbitration, private disputes, iv, 65; labor disputes, iv, 606; v, 653; State board, iv, 606, 611, 614; v, 29.
"Archer" (clipper), iv, 460.
"Architectural Review," iv, 245.
Architecture, iv, 225-237, 243-248; v, 156, 472; high buildings, 80.
Archives (Mass.), v, 268, 273.
"Arena," v, 491.
"Argentine Republic," battleship, v, 387.
"Argus" (U. S. brig), iii, 484.
Arianism, iv, 260.
"Ariel" (vessel), iii, 59.
"Ariel" (clipper), iv, 440, 444, 468.
Aristocrats, in 16th century, i, 51; church members, 106; opposed democracy, 109; clergy, 114; plutocrats, ii, 123, 493; iii, 408; loyalists, ii, 493; Federalists, iii, 369, 412; educated persons, iv, 173.
Arithmetic, instruction, v, 306.
Arkansas (State), admission, iv, 567.
Armed defence, right claimed, i, 102, 174; iii, 88; advocated, ii, 472, 556; iii, 88.
Armenians, iv, 160, 167, 169.
Arminianism, ii, 307; iv, 260.
Armistice Day, v, 37, 629.
Armory Commissioners, iv, 614.
Arms, disarmament penalty, i, 311; iii, 263. *See also* Firearms; Militia.
Armstrong, John, iii, 148, 489.
Army, colonial, King Philip's War, i, 253, 548-549; King William's War, ii, 74-75; scouts, 74, 79; substituting, 74; Port Royal expedition, 83; Louisburg expedition, 421; pay, 429, 434, 441, 446; French and Indian War, 425-427, 429, 432-434, 437-438,

441, 443, 444; commander-in-chief, 432, 435; officers' rank, 435, 440; commanders, 433, 435; equipment, 429, 434, 447-449; organization, 433; rangers, 439-440; rations, 447, 448, 449.

Army, Continental, enlistment period, ii, 254; iii, 142; method of warfare, iii, 3, 8; early organization, 4, 5, 17, 19; precise shooting, 9; incompetence in, 17; commander-in-chief, 18, 160, 161; desertions, 21; ill-equipped, 20; armed vessels commissioned, 21; Mass. troops, 129-138, bounties, 133-137, 142, 344; recruiting, 133-136; substitutes, 136; relative rank, 139; officers, 139, 142, 146; nucleus, 159; pay supplemented by towns, 344.

Army (English), in Boston, i, 583; ii, 150, 152, 250, 313, 498, 502, 523, 524, 548; iii, 20, 25; quartering, ii, 144, 517, 518; support, ii, 250; "Sam Adams's regiments," 313; ignorance of America, 432; commander-in-chief in America, 435; intimidation of civilians, 505, 515; use illegal during peace, 517; desertions, 523, 526; boycott, 527; Prussian methods, iii, 1-4, 9; firing exercise, 10; gallantry in action, 15; losses in battle, 16; captured troops, 129, 130. *See also* Military science; *also names of engagements, and other specific topics.*

Army of the Potomac, iv, 513, 530, 532, 538.

Army of the United Providences of North America, iii, 32.

Army of the United States, commander-in-chief, iii, 149; early organization, 149; proper peace establishment, 366; v, 226; war with France, iii, 426; War of 1812, 474-477, 489; Civil War, iv, 512-513, 523-532, 535-540; v, 614; health, iv, 522, 528; draft, 532, 536; v, 610, 624; recruits from Mass., iv, 527, 538, 539, 540; v, 582, 611, 614, 619, 622, 630; veterans' influence, iv, 540; orders of the President, 557; at elections, 572, 577; withdrawn from the South, 572, 577; Spanish War, v, 175, 578, 614; World War, 175, 610, 614; bonuses from Mass., 334; U. S. Volunteers, 579; present organization, 594.

Army of the United States, infantry regiments: First, iv, 525; Second, 513, 526; Third, 578; Seventh, 526; Ninth, iii, 485; iv, 526; Tenth, 526; Eleventh, 526; Twelfth, 523-524, 527; Nineteenth, v, 580; Twenty-first, iii, 486; Twenty-second, iv, 528; Twenty-fourth, 513; Thirty-third, iii, 486; Thirty-fourth, 486; Fortieth, 489; Forty-fifth, 489; Fifty-fourth, iv, 535-536; One-hundred-and-first, v, 615, 616, 618; One-hundred-and-fourth, 615, 616, 617. Pioneer Regiments, v, 619; Telegraph Battalion, 620; 1st Division, 623; 2d Division, 623; 26th Division, 615, 622, 629; (illus.) opp. v, 628; 42d Division, 616; 76th Division, 618, 621; 82d Division, 622. *See also* Militia; National Guard; *also branches of service.*

"Army Register," names of battles in, iv, 569.

Arnold, Benedict (d. 1678), i, 210, 366.

Arnold, General Benedict, iii, 125, 129, 130, 161.

Arnold Arboretum, v, 90, 264.

Arrowsic (Maine), ii, 88.

Art. *See* Fine arts.

Art Commission for the Commonwealth, v, 30.

Arthur, President Chester Alan, iv, 137, 603.

Articles of Association (1774), iii, 156.

Articles of Confederation (1778), prec-

edent of New England Confederation, i, 256; drafts, ii, 458; iii, 167; ratification, iii, 167, 178; amendment, 370, 375, 378, 386; Article IX, iii, 173, 177; Article VIII, 177; Article XVII, 172, 174; Article XVIII, 175.
Articles of War, iii, 142.
Artillery, at Bunker Hill, iii, 13, 16; in siege of Boston, 20, 23-24; Ticonderoga, 23; floating batteries, 24. *See also* Cannon; Ordnance.
Artillery troops (Mass.), in Revolution, iii, 121, 126; in American Army, 149; in Civil War, iv, 527; in World War, v, 616, 617, 619, 620.
Artists. *See branch of art affected.*
Arundel of Wardour, Lord, i, 193.
"Aryan" (ship), iv, 467.
Ashburnham, founded, ii, 260; chair-making, iv, 408.
Ashburton, Lord, iv, 123, 298, 300, 302.
Ashby, vote on independence, iii, 102; roads, v, 62.
Ashfield, Mass. Constitution, iii, 197; poor relief, iii, 514.
Ashuelot Railroad, iv, 607.
Assembly, created by Provincial Congress, iii, 68, 182; speakership, iii, 80.
Assistants, Court of, number, i, 96, 103, 113-114; quorum, 96, 103; government by, 103-104; records, 103, 105; legislative function, 103, 105, 106, 110, 173, 174; judicial function, 104, 111-112, 114-116, 119-120, 173; ii, 164; elective power, i, 105, 169; choosing, 105, 106, 109; fined, 108; negative voice, 110-112, 113, 170, 174; separate body, 112; administrative power, 116, 119, 181; choosing military officers, 185.
Association of Delegates from the Benevolent Societies of Boston, iii, 520.
Association of Teachers of Mathematics, v, 251.
Associations, suability, v, 37; women's, v, 211.
Assos (Asia Minor), iv, 237.
Assumption College, v, 241.
Astor Library (N. Y.), v, 154.
Astronomy, v, 215.
"Astrea" (vessel), iii, 55, 538.
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R.R., v, 158, 160, 161.
Athearn, Walter S., v, 458.
Atheists, i, 407.
Atherton Land Company, i, 212, 213, 577, 587.
Athol, ii, 110; v, 381.
Antietam (Md.) battle, iv, 534.
Atkinson, Edward, iv, 245.
Atlanta (Ga.), exposition, iv, 144.
Atlantic City (N. J.), convention, v, 222.
"Atlantic Monthly," iv, 157, 213, 221, 557; v, 129, 486.
Atlantic National Bank, v, 347.
"Atlas" (newspaper), iv, 89.
Attleborough, founded, i, 529; name, ii, 104; agriculture, iv, 383; industries, v, 390.
Attorney-general, appointing, iii, 73; popular election, iv, 25; v, 40; office, 29, 32, 40.
Atwood, Charles, iv, 239, 244.
Auditor of the Commonwealth, v, 32-33, 40, 336.
Auger, invention, iv, 362.
Augusta (Maine), i, 78, 85, 195; ii, 86; capitol, iv, 229.
Aulnay, Charles de Menou d', i, 85, 235, 471, 502-505.
Austin, Ann, i, 402, 482.
Australia, packet ships, iv, 465.
Austrians, iv, 161.
Automobiles. *See* Motor vehicles.
Avery, John, iii, 93, 109, 112, 115.
Avery, Mrs. Mary, ii, 372.
"Avon" (H.M.S.), iii, 488.
Ayer, camp, v, 612.
Azores Ids., emigration, iv, 162.

BACHELORS, i, 301.
Backus, Isaac, iii, 193, 197.
Bacon, Daniel C., iv, 445, 457.
Bacon, Francis, i, 347; ii, 32.
Bacon, Gaspar G., "The State Constitution (1777-1780)," iii, chap. vii, pp. 182-210; iv, 445; v, 42.
Bacon, Henry, iv, 238, 247.
Bacon, John, iii, 425, 427, 453; iv, 368.
Bacon, William, ii, 436.
Badger, Joseph, v, 142.
Bagley, Mrs. Frederick P., "The Woman Movement in Massachusetts 1830-1930)," v, chap. vii, pp. 199-232.
Bainbridge, William, iii, 481.
Bailey, Henry Turner, v, 156.
Baker, Newton Diehl, v, 604.
Baldwin, John Denison, iv, 565, 576.
Baldwin, Loammi, iii, 129; iv, 366, 423; canal survey (map), opp. iv, 422.
Baldwin, Maria, iv, 585.
Ballard, Harlan H., "Western Massachusetts (1789-1861)," iv, chap. xii, pp. 345-370.
Ballot box, self-registering, iv, 613.
Ballots, early use, i, 109, 171; provincial period, ii, 236; secret, iv, 613; short, v, 633, 650.
Baltimore, Lord, i, 407.
Baltimore (Md.), battle (1814), iii, 487; clipper ships, iv, 439; Sixth Mass. infantry, iv, 508; v, 580; freight differential, v, 419.
Baltimore & Ohio R. R., v, 414.
Bancroft, Aaron, iv, 258.
Bancroft, George, iv, 92, 94, 288, 295, 555; v, 296, 310; offices, iv, 85, 87, 95, 283, 297; historian, iv, 208; v, 151.
Bancroft, General William A., v, 582.
Bangor (Maine), captured in War of 1812, iii, 493; boom, iii, 578.
Bangor & Aroostook R. R., v, 414, 415.
Banishment, heretics, i, 179, 184, 277, 311, 396-397, 481; for resistance of authority, i, 179, 277; thieves, ii, 228; Indians and Negroes, ii, 228; loyalists, iii, 266.
Bank of North America, iii, 363.
Bank of the United States (first), iii, 415, 416; iv, 288; (second), iii, 539; iv, 87, 109, 112, 121, 288.
Banking, early schemes, i, 577; ii, 129, 199; public loan bank, 208; private land bank, 140, 208-210, 217; merchants, 208, 210; iii, 307, 362; chartered banks, 363; control by Suffolk System, 578; incorporation, iv, 20; redemption of notes, 20; capital requirements, 87; liability, 90; v, 346, 352, 353; depositaries of U. S. funds, iv, 288; State banks, 288; loans in war time, 518; savings banks, 602; v, 27, 342, 343, 345, 351, 355, 359; State supervision, 29, 30, 32, 341, 346, 352, 354, 355; payment of interest, 37; "immigrant banks," 27; nineteenth and twentieth centuries, 341-355; examination, 341, 352; statistics, 341, 343, 353-355; national banks, 341, 343-348, 356; trust companies, 342, 343-348, 352, 355, 357; stocks and dividends, 344; failures, 341, 343, 346, 352; consolidation, 343, 347; Federal Reserve System, 345, 349, 351, 607; clearing house, 350; gold reserve, 351; cooperative, 353, 355; incorporation outside Mass., 354; private, 354, 355; investment service, 364.
Bankruptcy, State jurisdiction, iv, 113.
Banks, Governor Nathaniel Prentiss, iv, 99, 475, 483, 495; in Congress, iv, 493, 565, 570; Civil War, iv, 532.
Baptism, i, 282, 307; iii, 285; denial to infants, i, 311, 394, 398, 399.
Baptists, i, 81, 178, 311, 394, 398; iii, 369; iv, 267, 356; v, 460; legislation, i, 398; support of Congregational church, ii, 270; toleration for, 337; legal standing, iii, 197, 505;

iv, 11; settlement, iv, 354; missions, iv, 356; v, 139; school of theology, 461.
Bar. *See* Lawyers.
Bar Association of the City of Boston, v, 110; officers, 124.
"Bar Bulletin," v, 111.
Barbados, commerce, i, 218; slave trade, i, 270; Quakers, i, 402.
Barbers, racial discrimination, iv, 584.
Barker, John, ii, 524, 576.
Barlow, Joel, ii, 281, 317.
Barnard College, v, 316.
Barnes, Viola F., "The Revolution of 1680," i, chap. xxi, pp. 582-605; "Massachusetts in Ferment (1766-1773)," ii, chap. xvi, pp. 488-511.
Barnstable, founded, i, 59, 82-83, 88, 528; fisheries, iii, 531; camp, v, 585.
Barnstable County (Mass.), settlement, i, 78; ii, 103, 110, 112.
Barré, Isaac, ii, 250, 477, 515, 517.
Barrels of stones to repulse British attack, iii, 25.
Barrett, James, ii, 551, 572-576.
Barrington (Mass.), iv, 349.
Barrington (N. S.), iii, 48.
Barron, Clarence W., v, 366; portrait, opp. v, 366.
Bartas, Guillaume du, i, 321.
Bartlett, Ruhl J., "Commerce and Industry (1789-1820)," iii, chap. xviii, pp. 526-545.
Bartlett, Sydney, iv, 70; v, 99.
Bartlett, William, iii, 38, 39.
Barton, Clara, v, 213.
Barton, Margaret, ii, 373.
Barton St. David (Eng.), iii, 213.
Bartram, John, ii, 316.
Baruch, Bernard Mannes, v, 609.
Bass, Bishop Edward, iv, 267.
Batchelder, Mrs. Frank Roe, v, 228.
Bates, Governor John Lewis, v, 9, 23, 175; Mass. Constitution, v, 10, 188, 635, 660, 662; governor, v, 24, 175, 178.
Bates, Joshua, iv, 300.
Bates, Katherine Lee, v, 219.
Bath (Maine), "Sultan," iii, 562; shipbuilding, iv, 467.
Bathing facilities, v, 77, 78, 90.
Batteries. *See* Artillery.
"Battle Hymn of the Republic," iv, 541.
Battles, decisive, iii, 3, 25; iv, 534.
Bauer, Frederic Gilbert, "The Massachusetts Militia (1889-1930)," v, chap. xix, pp. 570-597.
Baxter, Richard, i, 179; ii, 32, 36.
"Bay Psalm Book," i, 265, 338, 377; title page, (fac simile) opp. i, 374.
"Bay State Democrat," iv, 87.
Bay State Mills, iv, 418.
Beacon Hill (Boston), ii, 391; iii, 88.
Bears, baiting, iii, 300.
"Beaver" (vessel), iii, 532.
Beaver skins, currency, i, 33, 433; trade, 33; value, 103. *See also* Fur trade.
Beaufort (S. C.), school, iv, 579.
Beaven, Bishop Thomas D., v, 472, 532.
Becket (Mass.), industries, iv, 361, 362.
Bede, Venerable, v, 539.
Bedford (Mass.), founded, ii, 106; in the Revolution, ii, 575.
Bedfordshire (Eng.), i, 61.
Beecher, Henry Ward, iv, 367.
Beecher, Lyman, v, 141.
Beer, military ration, ii, 449, 450; manufacture and sale, v, 191.
Belcher, Governor Jonathan, ii, 129, 137-140, 203, 209, 314.
Belchertown (Mass.), ii, 110; iv, 362; State school, v, 59.
Belden, Charles F. D., "Libraries Public and Private (1800-1928)," v, chap. ix, pp. 267-293.
Belfast (Maine), iii, 492.
Belgium, emigration, iv, 162.
Belknap, Jeremy, ii, 314, 318, 534.
Bell, Alexander Graham, v, 239.

Bellingham, Governor Richard, i, 279, 344, 482, 485, 488; ii, 157.
Bellingham (Mass.), name, ii, 104; founded, ii, 106; parson, iii, 190.
Belmont (Mass.), water supply, v, 86.
Bellomont, Richard Coote, Earl of, ii, 16, 18-19, 21, 76, 78, 331; portrait, opp. ii, 76.
Bemis Heights (N. Y.) battle, iii, 130.
"Ben De Ford" (steamship), iv, 526.
Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, iv, 274.
Bennett, Joseph, ii, 268, 389.
Bennington (Vt.) battle, iii, 129, 183.
Berardelli, Alexander, v, 126.
Berkley, founded, ii, 105.
Berkshire (Eng.), i, 57, 61.
Berkshire Agricultural Society, iv, 358, 363.
Berkshire County (Mass.), separation, ii, 105; iv, 347; settlement, ii, 105, 110, 112; courts vacant during Revolution, iii, 74; opposition to resumed charter, iii, 74; agitation for constitution, iii, 183; jealousy of the East, iii, 206; cotton industry, iv, 281; map, iii, inside cover.
"Berkshire County Eagle" (newspaper), iv, 370.
Berkshire Medical Institution, iv, 360; v, 544.
Bermuda, slave trade, i, 183; neutrality, iii, 47.
Bermuda Company, i, 94.
Bernard, Governor Sir Francis, ii, 146-150, 435, 444, 469, 475, 478-482, 490, 498; iii, 93.
Bernardstown, founded, ii, 111.
Bernon, Gabriel, i, 62.
"Bertram" (clipper ship), iv, 447.
Bethlehem Steel Corporation, v, 397.
Beverages. *See* Drinking; Intoxicants.
Beverly (Mass.), founded, i, 58, 529; industries, ii, 411; iii, 360, 511; iv, 305; v, 372; in the Revolution, iii, 32, 33, 44, 48; notables, v, 134, 296, 632; privateering, iii, 38, 42, 57; Mass. taxes, 349; population, 408.
Beverly Farms, monument, v, 220.
Bex & Co., i, 62.
Bible, Geneva, i, 80; government by, 120, 176, 221, 243-244, 390, 487, 604; ii, 16, 162, 169-170; guide for all, i, 177, 384-385; ii, 44; interpretation by clergy, i, 179, 396; influence, 329-330, 576; ii, 16, 32, 33; text book, i, 353; iii, 291, 313; popularity, i, 337-338; iii, 287; Indian translation, i, 338, 372, 537; Quakers, 401; oath, 591, 595; witchcraft, ii, 31; distribution, v, 138.
Biddeford (Me.), founded, i, 196; Mass. constitution, iii, 194.
Bigelow, George Hoyt, v, 554, 561.
Bigelow, Chief Justice George Tyler, iv, 70; v, 654.
Bigelow, Henry Jacob, v, 550, 558, 565; portrait, opp. v, 550.
Bigelow, Jacob, v, 565.
Bigelow, Timothy, iii, 465; iv, 38.
Bilbao (Spain), neutral port, iii, 43.
Bill of rights, Massachusetts, i, 118; ii, 15; iii, 190, 195-202, 209; United States, ii, 312, 401, 421; uncommon, iii, 209.
Bill to alter the government of Mass., ii, 545.
Billerica (Mass.), founded, i, 531; school, ii, 375; Concord fight, ii, 579.
Billings, Charles W., iv, 374.
Bills of credit, ii, 69, 80; iii, 342, 540.
Bills of exchange, i, 34, 45; fac simile, opp. iii, 352.
Bills of lading, legislation, v, 44.
Bingham, Caleb, iii, 312, 313.
Bingham, John Arende, iv, 559, 568; portrait, opp. iv, 558.
Bird, Charles Sumner, v, 184, 185, 633, 634, 651.
Bird, Francis W., iv, 573, 597.
"Birmingham" (U. S. S.), v, 397.
Birney, James G., iv, 94, 327, 335, 338; v, 147.

Bishop, Mrs. Bridget (Oliver), i, 298; ii, 39-40; warrant (fac simile), opp. ii, 40.
Bishop, Phanuel, iii, 424, 427.
Bishop, Elias Bullard, v, 24.
Bishop, Robert R., iv, 604.
Birthdays of royal family, ii, 273.
Black Ball Line, iv, 440, 465.
Blackmail cases, v, 124.
Blackstone, Rev. William, i, 18, 403.
Blackstone, Sir William, ii, 174.
Blackstone Canal, iv, 422, 427.
Blackstone River, sewerage, v, 331.
Blackwell, Alice Stone, v, 206.
Blaine, James Gillespie, iv, 600, 606; v, 170.
Blake, General John, iii, 150, 492.
Blakely, Johnston, iii, 487.
Blandford, ii, 105; iv, 354.
Blasphemy, i, 276, 277-278, 313.
"Blessing of the Bay" (vessel), i, 38, 184, 264, 447.
Blind persons, care of, iii, 518; education, iv, 174; v, 210, 239; State commission, v, 30.
Bliss, Alvan E., v, 22.
Bliss, George, iv, 70, 364, 368.
Bloomer, Mrs. Amelia (Jenks), v, 203.
"Blue Jacket" (clipper ship), iv, 465.
Blynman, Richard, i, 58, 60, 523.
Board of Bar Examiners, v, 104.
Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, iv, 606, 611, 614; v, 29, 441.
Board of Free Public Library Commissioners, iv, 154.
Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity, iv, 148; v, 56.
Board of Parole, v, 41, 55.
Board of Railroad Commissioners, iv, 613.
Board of Registration in Medicine, v, 29.
Board of State Charities, v, 29, 49, 51, 52, 56; institutions, 50, 59.
Board of Trade (Eng.), ii, 13, 17.
Board of War (Mass.), iii, 36, 121.
Board of War and Ordnance (1775), iii, 141, 146.
Boards. *See* State boards.
Bodfish, John D. W., v, 653, 654.
Body of Liberties, i, 117-118, 123, 182, 269, 368, 481; ii, 159-160; cited, i, 118, 269, 280.
Bogan, Fred B., v, 579.
Boiler rules, State board of, v, 30, 450.
Bolan, William, ii, 436.
Bolton, founded, ii, 105.
Bombs, sent to officials, v, 128.
Borden, Lizzie, v, 122.
"Bon Homme Richard" (vessel), iii, 59.
Bonds. *See* Public debt.
"Bonita" (clipper ship), iv, 459.
Bonus Bill, iv, 292.
Bookbinding, ii, 410.
Books, private collections, i, 284, 312, 347, 372; ii, 342; publication, i, 284-285, 338; ii, 410; v, 494, 496, 500; censorship, i, 372; ii, 52; in Indian tongue, i, 372; Prince's New England Library, 365; school books, 372; iii, 291, 313; iv, 196; v, 499; burned, i, 402; ii, 52; law books, 159; iv, 47, 49, 51; foreign classics, iii, 287; scarce in homes, 287; prohibited imports, 351; free textbooks, iv, 607, 617; v, 169, 245; temperance text books, 610; reference books in public schools, 617. *See also* Bible; Libraries; *also individual titles, and authors.*
Booksellers, i, 285, 440; v, 494; women, ii, 373.
Boot and Shoe Workers Union, v, 434.
Boston (Mass.), ii, 222-255; v, 68-96; before 1630, i, 17, 137; founded, 59, 100, 387, 525; early residents, 62; harbor fortifications, 102; capital, 166, 415; histories, 375; prosperity, 465, 480, 488; burying grounds, 404; description, 414-415; ii, 222, 389, 390; population, i, 416; ii, 223; iii, 20, 355, 408; iv, 76; v, 72, 74; industries, i, 428; iii, 360, 361; streets, i, 432; ii, 223, 226; iii, 26, 108; iv, 267, 614; v, 79, 88,

494, 498; Mass. tax, i, 435; ii, 215; iii, 348; town house, i, 579, 583, 590, 601; ii, 175, 223, 235, 248; mob riots, 148, 471, 479, 503; iv, 323, 537; v, 521, 593; bridewell, ii, 223; coded ordinances, ii, 236; conflagrations, 248; iv, 245, 596; during Revolution, ii, 254; iii, 4-26, 120, 252-259; political focus, ii, 490-493; destruction suggested, 516; intertown rivalries, 520; supplied from outside (1774), 521, 525; Neck fortified by Gage, 526, 548, 552; blockade, iii, 82; independence celebration, 107-111; royalist signs burned, 111; fortified in Revolution, 120, 124; social change in Revolution, 252; celebration of French Republic, 447; House of Industry, 515; financial center, 578; city charters, iv, 5, 270; v, 69, 70, 72, 74, 78, 79, 82; shipping, iv, 305; "Hub," 449; v, 479; city bonds, iv, 596; wharves, v, 169, 420; growth, 70; government, 71-72, 74-83; bequests to, 87; iii, 520; City Planning Board, 89; planning, 89; zoning, 80, 89; street watering, 92; Health Department, 92, 557; port, 30, 420; illustrations, i, 464; ii, 390; iv, 450; maps, i, 464; ii, 226; iii, 8; v, 96. *See also specific topics.*

"Boston" (frigate), iii, 59.

"Boston" (U. S. frigate), iii, 471.

Boston-Albany stage route, iv, 365.

Boston & Albany R. R., iv, 366, 425; v, 414, 417, 425; lease, v, 175, 401, 405, 411, 415.

Boston & Fitchburg R. R., iv, 75, 329, 428, 615; v, 418, 425; lease, v, 175, 401, 402, 420.

Boston & Lowell R. R., iv, 425; v, 417; roads absorbed, v, 402; control by Boston & Maine R. R., v, 402, 420; first train (illus.), opp. iv, 426.

Boston & Maine R. R., v, 401, 405, 406, 413, 414, 416, 417, 418, 425; roads absorbed, 175, 402, 416; control by N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R., 178, 407, 410, 411, 416; bonds held by Mass., 329; territory served, 403; regional group, 415; electrification, 418; docks, 420.

Boston & Providence R. R., iv, 425; v, 403, 418, 425.

Boston & Worcester R. R., iv, 75, 367; v, 401.

"Boston American," v, 482.

Boston Art Club, v, 220.

Boston Association of Ministers, ii, 233; iv, 266.

Boston Athenaeum, iii, 238; iv, 239, 270; v, 284, 514, 552; building, iv, 233; librarians, v, 154, 285, 291.

Boston Board of Trade, iv, 306.

Boston Browning Society, v, 271.

"Boston Centinel," iv, 322.

Boston College, iv, 186; v, 241, 265, 473, 524, 531; library, 283; buildings, 472; (illus.), opp. 270, 530.

Boston College of Physicians and Surgeons, v, 544.

Boston Common, British troops encamped, ii, 442; Parkman Fund, v, 88.

"Boston Daily Advertiser," iv, 270, 423, 571; v, 152, 482.

Boston, Directors of the Port of, v, 30.

Boston Dispensary, iii, 520.

"Boston Evening Transcript," iv, 322, 581; v, 481, 485, 661.

Boston Fatherless and Widows' Society, iii, 520.

Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, iv, 323.

Boston Female Asylum, iii, 520.

"Boston Gazette," ii, 151, 311, 478; iii, 110; fac simile, opp. ii, 276.

"Boston Globe," v, 482.

Boston, Hartford & Erie Railroad, iv, 595, 615; v, 403.

"Boston Herald," v, 483.

Boston Herald-Traveler, building (illus.), opp. v, 482.

Boston Holding Co., v, 407, 416.

Boston Independent Company of Cadets, ii, 551.
Boston Independents, iii, 122.
Boston Lancers, iv, 527.
Boston Library, iv, 270.
"Boston Light" (clipper ship), iv, 459.
Boston Light Infantry, iv, 358.
Boston Massacre, ii, 180, 184, 241, 502; orations, 251, 253, 554.
"Boston Medical & Surgical Journal," v, 543, 547.
Boston Medical Library, v, 290, 551.
Boston men, iii, 537; iv, 299.
Boston News Bureau, v, 366.
"Boston News-Letter," ii, 311; fac simile, opp. ii, 262.
Boston Normal Art School, iv, 188.
"Boston Pilot," v, 493, 517, 521.
Boston Port Act, ii, 518-523, 525, 538, 545, 549, 564.
Boston Port Authority, v, 80.
"Boston Post," v, 482; fac simile, opp. iv, 516.
Boston Public Library, iv, 221; v, 154, 267-271, 278, 551, 552; building, iv, 239; v, 269; librarians, 271, 279, 291; affiliation with George Baker Library, 281; (illus.), opp. 270.
Boston, Revere Beach & Lynn R. R., v, 401, 418, 425.
Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Company, v, 342.
Boston, Siege of, ii, 586; iii, 1-26, 322; iii, 32-34, 159.
Boston Society of Arts and Crafts, iv, 147.
Boston Society of Natural History, v, 290.
Boston State Hospital, v, 57, 59.
Boston Stock Exchange, v, 364.
Boston Tea Party, ii, 241, 305, 509, 519, 535-536, 557.
Boston Theater, iv, 233.
"Boston Traveller," v, 483.
Boston University, iv, 191; v, 207, 255, 257, 265, 458; presidents, iv, 194; v, 235, 458; law school, 108, 214; buildings, 108; curriculum, 260, 263; libraries, 283; School of Medicine, 544.
Boston Volunteers, iv, 526.
Boston Water Board, iv, 614.
"Boston Whig," iv, 96.
"Boston Yankee," iii, 576.
Bostonian Society, v, 288.
Botany, iv, 359, 360.
Boundbrook (N. J.) battle, iii, 132.
Boundaries, Federal authority over States, iii, 176, 178.
Boundaries of Mass., early patents, i, 19, 78, 86, 96, 192, 211; (map) opp. p. 222; v, 132; Plymouth absorbed, i, 89; uninhabited land, 128; Maine, i, 199, 201, 241; northern boundary, i, 192, 200-201, 511; iii, 176; New Hampshire, i, 206, 241; Connecticut, i, 239-240, 250-251; iii, 176; Rhode Island, i, 250-251; iv, 113; Charter of 1691, ii, 11; western line, iii, 175, 179; Charter of 1780, 407.
Boundaries of U. S. *See names of adjacent countries.*
Bourne, Richard, i, 536.
Boutwell, Governor George Sewall, iv, 19, 98, 386, 475, 478, 481, 483, 594; Mass. Constitution, iv, 59; in Congress, iv, 556-559, 562, 565, 570, 575, 594, 599; portrait, opp. iv, 558.
Bowditch, Henry Ingersoll, iv, 324, 329, 337; v, 551, 553, 556.
Bowditch, Henry Pickering, v, 557, 566.
Bowditch, Nathaniel, ii, 318; v, 270.
Bowdoin, Governor James, politics, ii, 237; iii, 78, 441, 442; in General Court, ii, 237; papers, ii, 315; in Provincial Congress, iii, 113, 182; Constitutional Convention, iii, 116; Continental Congress, ii, 545; iii, 108, 154, 159, 227; Mass. Constitutional Convention, iii, 189, 192, 208, 236; house used by British, iii, 321; governor of Mass., iii, 351, 368, 369; ratification of Constitution of U. S., iii, 398; host to Washington, iii, 417; portrait, opp. iii, 192.

Bowdoin College, founding, iii, 504, 568, 578, 579; iv, 232.
Bowler, James, iii, 320.
Bowles, Samuel, iv, 221, 370, 570, 574; v, 153, 480.
Bowls, wooden, i, 155.
Bowman vs. Middleton, ii, 471.
Bowman, Thaddeus, ii, 567, 568.
"Boxer" (H.M.S.), iii, 484.
Boxford (Mass.), founded, i, 58, 531; camp ground, v, 576, 613.
Boyden, Albert G., iv, 180.
Boyden, Arthur C., iv, 180.
Boyleston Reservoir, v, 76, 86.
Boylston, Thomas, ii, 228; iii, 307.
Boylston, Zabdiel, ii, 228, 346; v, 541.
Brackett, Governor John Quincy Adams, iv, 608; v, 23, 169, 635, 648.
Bradbury, Theophilus, iv, 41, 59.
Braddock, General Edward, ii, 426.
Bradford, Edward Hickling, v, 559.
Bradford, Governor William, (Plymouth), i, 13, 60, 71, 72, 77, 88, 156; views, 315, 411; "History of Plymouth," 365; v, 174.
Bradford (Mass.), schools, v, 248.
Bradstreet, Mrs. Anne (Dudley), i, 265, 304, 307, 319-322, 361, 370, 373; "The Tenth Muse," (illus.) opp. i, 320.
Bradstreet, Charles, iii, 313.
Bradstreet, Dudley, i, 572.
Bradstreet, General John, ii, 434, 436, 442.
Bradstreet, Governor Simon, i, 103, 112, 201, 228, 243, 246, 256, 265, 339, 421, 455, 478, 484, 500, 514, 572, 574, 600, 601; ii, 3-4, 55; iii, 90; house, (illus.) opp. i, 320.
Brainerd, David, ii, 310.
Braintree (Mass.), industries, i, 40, 43, 62; ii, 407, 410; founded, i, 59, 215, 524; school, 341; town government, ii, 113-115; Province loan, 200; poor relief, 368; vote against slavery, iii, 295; in Revolution, 344, 358.
Braley, Abner L., "Sister New England Settlements (1620-1660)," i, chap. viii, pp. 191-225; Provisional Government of Massachusetts (1774-1779), iii, chap. iii, pp. 64-85.
Bram, Thomas, v, 122.
Brandeis, Louis Dembitz, v, 119, 473.
Branding, i, 277, 314; ii, 181.
Brandywine River battle, iii, 131.
Branford (Conn.), i, 222.
Brattle, William, ii, 54-55.
Brattle, General William, ii, 187, 480; portrait, iii, 258.
Brewster, William, i, 12, 13, 60, 72, 80, 88, 284, 386.
Bricks, importation, i, 42, 263; manufacture, 265; iv, 231; export, iii, 361.
Bridgman, Frank E., "The General Court of Massachusetts," v, chap. i, pp. 1-27.
Bridgeport (Conn.), iv, 521.
Bridges, i, 432; ii, 415; iv, 364; toll rates, i, 432; iv, 365; Medford, i, 432; Lynn, 432; Boston, iv, 78; v, 89; competition, iv, 113.
Bridgewater, founded, i, 59, 528; Indian troubles, i, 550; iron works, ii, 407; iii, 40; Acadians, ii, 431; Mass. constitution, iii, 204; Mass. taxes, iii, 349; population, iii, 408; schools, iv, 179, 180. *See also names of State institutions.*
Brigantine, iii, 40.
Briggs, Governor George Nixon, iv, 93, 94-99, 337, 368, 369, 389; portrait, opp. iv, 96.
Briggs, General Henry Shaw, iv, 526.
Briggs, LeBaron Russell, v, 307.
Briggs, Lloyd Vernon, v, 54.
Briggs Brothers, iv, 455, 459.
Brigham, Mrs. Anna Sophia (Parkman), iii, 309, 311, 314.
Brigham, Elijah, iii, 311.
Brighton, part of Boston, v, 70.
Brimfield, ii, 105.
Brimstone Corner, v, 456.
Briscoe, Nathaniel, i, 349.
Brissot de Warville, Jean Pierre, iii, 303, 502, 533.

Bristol (Eng.), i, 1, 62; iii, 273.
Bristol (Mass.), schools, iii, 312.
Bristol (R. I.), founded, iv, 351.
Bristol County (Mass.), settlement, i, 78; ii, 103, 110, 112; cotton mills, iv, 281.
Bristol County Society, iv, 382.
British Charitable Society, iii, 520.
British Coffee House, ii, 313; iii, 284.
"British Manual Exercise of the Foot," iii, 10.
Broad arrow, on trees, i, 37; ii, 466.
Brock, General Isaac, iii, 479.
Brockton, racial elements, iv, 167; industries, v, 376, 379; labor movement, 435.
Bromfield, Edward, ii, 245, 274.
Brook Farm, iv, 207, 215, 270, 276; illus., opp. iv, 262.
Brookfield, founded, i, 531; ii, 105; Indian troubles, i, 548; reincorporated, ii, 105; population, iii, 408.
Brookline, founded, ii, 103, 104; monument, v, 220. *See also* Muddy River.
Brooklyn (N. Y.), fortified in Revolution, iii, 126, 127.
Brooks, Governor John, iii, 128, 130, 147, 148, 149, 150, 466, 467; iv, 77; proclamation (illus.), opp. iv, 8.
Brooks, Bishop Phillips, iv, 243; v, 461, 470.
Brooks, Preston, iv, 493, 494.
Brooks, William A., v, 627.
Broughton, Nicholas, iii, 22, 32.
Brown, Abbie Farwell, v, 218.
Brown, Buckminster, v, 558.
Brown, Charles Brockden, ii, 292, 318.
Brown, E. Gerry, v, 649, 662.
Brown, Elisha, ii, 409.
Brown, General Jacob, iii, 485, 489.
Brown, George W., v, 387.
Brown, John, abolitionist, iv, 493, 496, 502; v, 148.
Brown, John, of Plymouth, i, 89, 241.
Brown, John Ball, v, 558.
Brown, Moses, iii, 58.
Brown, Reuben, ii, 571, 574.
Browne, Sir Thomas, ii, 31.
Brownell, George, ii, 359.
Brownists, i, 12, 49.
Brownson, Orestes Augustus, iv, 207, 534.
Bruce, Kathleen, "Massachusetts Women of the Revolution," iii, chap. xi, pp. 306-337.
Brunswick (Maine), convention, iii, 566, 570; schools, v, 544. *See also* Bowdoin College.
Bryan, William Jennings, v, 173, 180.
Bryant, William Cullen, iv, 207, 220, 358, 369.
Bryce, James, Viscount, v, 94.
Bubble Act, ii, 140, 209.
"Buccanier" (vessel), iii, 55.
Buckinghamshire (Eng.), i, 57, 61.
Buckman, John, ii, 568.
Budget. *See* Public expenditure.
Budget Bureau, v, 33.
Buffalo (N. Y.), exposition, iv, 244.
Buffinton, Arthur H., "External Relations," i, chap. xviii, pp. 492-519; ii, chap. iii, pp. 63-91.
Building associations, v, 353.
Buildings. *See* Architecture; Houses.
Bulfinch, Charles, ii, 244; iv, 229; v, 156, 513.
Bulkley, Peter, i, 308, 563.
Bull Moose. *See* Progressive party.
Bullock, Governor Alexander Hamilton, iv, 593.
Bullock, Governor (Ga.) Rufus Brown, iv, 568.
Bunch of Grapes tavern, ii, 249; v, 137.
Bundling, i, 281; iii, 288.
Bunker Hill battle, iii, 7-17, 25, 161, 223, 321; powder supply, ii, 530; fiftieth anniversary, iv, 114; chart, opp. iii, 12.
Bunker Hill fortifications (English), ii, 585; iii, 18.
Bunker Hill Monument, i, 43; iv, 124, 211, 424.
Bunker Hill Soldiers' Relief Society, iv, 521.

Bunnell, George W., v, 616.
Bunyan, John, i, 285; iii, 287.
Bureau of Education (U. S.), v, 237.
Burdett, George, i, 205, 206.
Burgess, Daniel, ii, 231.
Burgess, Elisha, ii, 129.
Burgoyne, General John, iii, 130, 321.
Burhans, Daniel, iv, 357.
Burial, duelist, ii, 277; town lot, iv, 351.
Burke, Edmund, ii, 515, 517, 522, 531.
Burlingame, Anson, iv, 284, 494.
Burnet, Governor William, ii, 89, 135-137, 279.
Burnham Antique Book Stores, v, 495.
Burning a criminal, ii, 263.
Burns, Anthony, iv, 340, 486, 489; portrait, opp. iv, 486.
Burns, William Adams, v, 24.
Burrage, Walter L., "Medicine in Massachusetts," v, chap. xviii, pp. 539-569.
Burr, Aaron, iii, 128, 244, 427, 429, 456.
Burroughs, Edward, i, 483.
Burroughs, George, ii, 38, 40, 329.
Burrows, William, iii, 484.
Busfield, Theodore E., "Plymouth Plantation (1617-1660)," i, chap. iv, pp. 66-92.
Business administration, instruction, v, 260.
Business and Professional Women's Republican Club of Massachusetts, v, 225, 228.
Business depressions, i, 596.
Business Historical Society, v, 288.
Bussey Institute, founding, iv, 389.
Bute, Earl of, ii, 479.
Butler, Andrew Pickens, iv, 493.
Butler, Governor Benjamin Franklin, iv, 59, 68, 69, 499, 500, 502, 556, 595, 599, 603-605; in Civil War, iv, 508, 509, 517, 519, 553, 578; in Congress, iv, 557-563, 565, 568-569, 604; governor, iv, 589, 604-605, 612; portrait, opp. iv, 604.
Butler, Nicholas Murray, v, 644.
Butler, William M., v, 24, 193, 194.
Butter. *See* Dairy.
Buttrick, John, ii, 572, 575-578.
Buzzards Bay, i, 19, 27, 137.
Byfield, notables, ii, 179; iv, 42; woolen factory, iii, 360.
Byles, Mather, ii, 224, 309, 321.

CABINET, PRESIDENT'S, election, iii, 387; lists, iv, 621. Cabinet, personnel, v, 690.
Cable, under sea, iv, 368.
Cabot, Andrew, iii, 55.
Cabot, Edward C., iv, 233, 234, 239.
Cabot, George, iii, 189, 200, 209, 412, 418, 426, 429, 465, 529.
Cabot, John, i, 1.
Cabot, Richard Clarke, v, 562.
Cabot family, iii, 85.
Calef, Robert, ii, 40, 47, 50-52, 56.
Calhoun, Vice President John Caldwell, iv, 80, 81, 91, 94, 109, 120, 127, 290, 292, 326.
Calhoun, William B., iv, 295.
California (Spanish period), commerce, iii, 536; name, iv, 345.
California (State), free State, iv, 127; gold rush, 444; enlistments in Mass. regiment, 536.
Calumet and Hecla Mining Co., v, 163.
Calvinism, i, 79; ii, 306, 339; iv, 202.
Cambridge (Eng.), i, 99, 163.
Cambridge (Mass.), founded, i, 58, 215, 345, 525; ii, 106; emigration (1635), i, 84, 215; county court, 115; capital, 173; clergy, i, 215; v, 465, 467; printing press, i, 265, 343; house lots, 286; schools, 341, 352; name, 344, 346; description, 415; Colony tax, 436; shipbuilding, 448; boundaries, 531; town government, ii, 113; General Court in, i, 173; ii, 152; execution, 263, 367; cannon seized, 547; mandamus councillors, ii, 547; Provincial Congress, 552; iii, 65; in Revolution, 5, 19, 24, 131, 161; Mass. Constitutional Convention, 189; visited by Washington, 416; old

houses, 419; iv, 229; foreign-born element, 154; population, 281; anti-slavery agitation, 329; railroad, 428; in Civil War, 525; mayor, 607; industries, v, 381, 383, 386, 389; railway, 355, 426; map (1759), opp. ii, 116. *See also names of colleges and other institutions.*

Cambridge Anti-Slavery Society, iv, 319.

Cambridge Platform of 1651, i, 88, 123, 473, 482.

Cambridge (Mass.) Synod, i, 182.

Cambridge University (Eng.), i, 325, 330-337, 342; graduates, i, 88, 215, 328, 338-339, 345, 349, 388, 397, 399.

Cameron, Simon, iv, 524.

Camp Alger (Va.), v, 579.

Camp Devens, v, 596, 612, 629; training exercise (illus.), opp. v, 594.

Camp Dewey (Framingham), v, 579.

Camp Green (N. C.), v, 619.

Camp Meade (Va.), v, 582.

Camp Thomas (Ga.), v, 580.

Canada (Dominion), in American Revolution, iii, 125, 129; boundaries, iii, 420; iv, 298-303; emigrants, 146, 156, 158; v, 73; competition in industry, iv, 381; in World War, v, 387; map, opp. ii, 66. *See also* New France.

Canada Townships, ii, 107.

Canadian National Railway System, v, 401, 414, 415.

Canals, iv, 75, 292, 359, 365, 421-423; v, 418, 419; lock gate (illus.), opp. iv, 426.

"Canceaux" (H.M.S. sloop), iii, 125.

Cancer, v, 59, 560.

Candles, spermaceti, i, 36; ii, 403; iv, 404; tallow, i, 263; making, i, 266; ii, 370; iii, 361.

Cannon, Annie Jump, v, 215.

Cannon, Ida M., v, 562.

Cannon, Joseph Gurney, v, 181.

Cannon, Walter Bradford, v, 566.

Cannon, manufacture, ii, 407; iii, 40; 141; confiscated by British, ii, 547, 553; concealment, 574; carronade, iii, 40; on vessels, 40; furnished by France, 40; antiquated coast defense, v, 581. *See also* Artillery.

Canoes, i, 153.

Canonicus (Indian), i, 208.

Canterbury, archbishop of, v, 462. *See also* Laud.

Canton (China), prize port, iii, 495.

Canton (Mass.), Massachusetts Hospital School, v, 50, 59.

Canvas, i, 39; ii, 408; iv, 364.

Cape Ann, early settlements, i, 15, 18-19, 524; authority of Plymouth, 18-19; name, 363; lions, 367.

Cape Breton Island, i, 514; ii, 85.

Cape Cod, geology, i, 27; name, 31, 363; Pilgrims, 69; Nauset Indians, 130; discovery, 137; settlement, 414; canal, iv, 420; v, 420.

Cape Elizabeth, i, 197.

Cape Porpoise, i, 201.

Capital city, national, temporary, iii, 410, 418; site, 415; iv, 325.

Capital punishment, in Plymouth Colony, i, 83-84; in England, 84; offenses, i, 179, 276, 298, 308; ii, 16, 366; iii, 266, 455; women, i, 372, 298, 403; witches, 276; ii, 29-30, 59; religious offenders, i, 276, 403, 563; ii, 16, 77; right to inflict, 14; pressing, 40; burning at the stake, 30, 50, 59, 263, 367; public spectacle, 278, 361; iii, 294; hanging, ii, 367; hanging in chains, 367; for murder, iv, 89, 92; opposition to, iv, 604; v, 646.

"Capitall Lawes of New-England," (fac simile) opp. i, 118.

Carlisle, in Concord fight, ii, 575.

Carlyle, Thomas, iv, 253, 269, 271.

Carnegie, Andrew, v, 254, 279.

Carnegie Foundation, iv, 248.

Carnes, Jonathan, iii, 537.

Carney Hospital, v, 536, 546, 637.

"Caroline" (vessel), iii, 539.

"Caroline" (steamboat), iv, 123.

Carpetbaggers, iv, 581-583.

Carpenter, Benajah, iii, 127.

Carpets, manufacture, v, 390.

Carriages, tax, ii, 216; numbers, 217, 389; iii, 331; of loyalists, 265; booby hutch, ii, 305; manufacture, iv, 362, 365.

Carrier, Mrs. Martha, ii, 39.

Carroll, Archbishop John, v, 511.

Carter, John G., iv, 179.

Cartwright, Thomas, i, 179.

Carver, Governor (Plymouth) John, i, 14, 71.

Carver, Jonathan, ii, 315.

Carver (Mass.), incorporation, ii, 110.

Casco (Maine). *See* Portland.

Cass, Thomas, iv, 526.

Cassidy, Monsignor, v, 472.

Castine (Maine) trading post, i, 85, 89; in the Revolution, iii, 36; War of 1812, iii, 492, 568. *See also* Penobscot.

Castle Island, i, 173, 438, 439, 464, 597, 601; ii, 222, 472; iii, 88, 120; British garrison, ii, 152, 313; commander's pay, 23; stamped papers, 482; unauthorized garrison, 482; refuge of British officials, 502.

Catechisms, i, 337, 340.

Cathcart, John, iii, 60.

Catholic Church, lands seized, i, 50; colleges, iv, 186; parochial schools, v, 186, 472, 528, 638; growth, 471, 504-538; dioceses, 526. *See also* Reformation; *also names of places and institutions.*

Catholics, in England, i, 7-8, 406; v, 506; compared to Puritans, i, 378, 385; disabilities, i, 390; iii, 198, v, 507, 510; in Massachusetts, i, 406; ii, 36, 270; iv, 357, 488; v, 504, 508; in colonies, i, 407; hostility, 513, 518, 580; iv, 489; v, 505, 524; exclusion, ii, 77, 269, 337; v, 507; immigrants, ii, 260; in Quebec, 518; legal standing, iii, 505; v, 526; schools, 241. *See also* Irish; Know-Nothings.

Catskill (U.S.S.), v, 582.

Cattle, export, i, 88; prices, 271; poor relief, 287; Indian depredations, 540; imports, 423; health control, iv, 382, 395; v, 566; State commission, iv, 395, 396, 614; v, 29; overland transportation, iv, 403. *See also* Livestock.

Caucus, iii, 445.

Caucus Club (Boston), ii, 252, 490, 492, 509.

Caulkins, Hugh, i, 60.

Cavalry troops, in Civil War, iv, 527, 536, 581.

Cayuga Indians, ii, 432.

Censuses (Mass.), (1764-1765), ii, 111, 262; (1845-1875), iv, 379.

Centenarian, ii, 373.

Centennial Exposition (1876), iv, 242, 244.

Central Pacific R. R., v, 157.

Central Vermont R. R., v, 401, 414, 415.

Chadwick, James Read, v, 551.

"Challenger" (clipper ship), iv, 459.

Chamberlain, Governor (N. C.) Daniel H., iv, 581.

Chamberlain, George C., v, 22, 235.

Champlain, Samuel, i, 4, 5, 127, 141, 142, 144, 147, 152, 154.

"Champion of the Seas" (clipper ship), iv, 465.

Champlain, Lake, battle, iii, 487.

Chancellorsville (Va.), battle, iv, 537.

Chandler, Francis, iv, 234, 247.

Chandler, General John, iii, 550, 561, 576.

Chandler, Peleg W., iv, 55.

Channing, William Ellery, iii, 505, 520; iv, 205, 254, 261-266, 328, 330, 333, 334; portrait, opp. iv, 262.

Chanteys, iv, 452.

Chapin, Chester Williams, iv, 75.

Chapin, Samuel, iv, 242.

Chaplains, on privateer, iii, 50; for legislative bodies, v, 5.

Chapman, Mrs. Maria (Weston), iv, 320, 323, 328, 331; portrait, opp. iv, 320.

Chapman, Chief Justice Reuben A., iv, 58.
Charcoal, manufacture, iv, 361.
Charitable Irish Society, iii, 519; iv, 156; v, 183.
"Charity" (vessel), i, 76.
Charity. *See* Poor.
Charlemont, road to Adams, iv, 364; pastor, iv, 369.
Charles I (England), i, 98, 102, 226, 363, 364, 493, 494, 550; iv, 345.
Charles II (England), i, 250-251, 400, 460, 472-473, 483-484, 487, 580, 591; ii, 475.
Charles River, boundary of Mass., i, 19, 96, 98, 192; name, 363; sewerage, v, 331; improvement, 332.
Charles River Bridge Co., iv, 79, 113.
Charleston (S. C.), boycott on tea, ii, 511; in Revolution, iii, 133; proslavery agitation, iv, 95, 295, 322.
Charlestown (Mass.), founded, i, 17, 58, 62, 100, 102, 104, 261, 524, 525; fortifying, 173; schools, 341; pastors, i, 348; prosperity, i, 464; description, 415; Colony tax, 436; witchcraft, ii, 33; town government, 113; battles, 306, 585; iii, 7-17; criminal gibbeted, ii, 367; in Revolution, ii, 564; iii, 18; burned, 16, 161; poor, iii, 519; bridge, iv, 79; in Civil War, 521; State prison, v, 52, 53; part of Boston, 70; docks, 420; convent burned, 518; hospitals, 546. *See also specific topics.*
Charlton, ii, 110.
Charlottesville (Va.), iii, 131.
Charter of Massachusetts Bay Company (1629), grant, i, 96, 98, 163, 191, 386, 413, 478; provisions, 96, 101, 168, 192, 386, 416, 442, 443, 536; ii, 10, 158; removal to New England, i, 99-101, 163, 387; ii, 158; iii, 89; exceeded, i, 101, 478-479; iii, 87; fac simile, opp. i, 102; cancellation, 102, 174, 406, 479, 486, 488, 563-566; not made public, i, 107, 390; iii, 88; resistance to surrender, i, 174, 374, 470, 563-565, 571-572; iii, 88; restoration, ii, 4-7; original, v, 273.
Charter of Massachusetts Bay Province (1691), ii, 1-26; (illus.), opp. ii, 8; provisions, i, 192; ii, 99, 123, 158; revocation, 19; iii, 89; unworkable, ii, 124; explanatory charter (1728), 131; v, 273; modification by Regulating Act, ii, 517; iii, 68; basis for State constitution, 67; resumed, 68; revision, 71; v, 135; original, v, 273.
Chase, George, iv, 247.
Chase, Chief Justice Salmon Portland, iv, 559, 579.
Chase, Samuel, iii, 173, 176, 233; iv, 559.
Chatham (Mass.), founded, i, 530; ii, 103, 108; fishing fleet, iii, 526.
Chattanooga (Tenn.), iv, 538.
Chauncy, Charles (1592-1672), i, 80-81, 338, 350, 372, 390, 399; v, 540.
Chauncy, Charles (1705-1787), ii, 224, 540; iii, 309.
Chauncey, Commodore Isaac, iii, 485, 486.
Chebacco. *See* Essex (Mass.).
Cheever, David Williams, v, 566.
Chelmsford, founded, i, 531; Indian troubles, 539; militia, ii, 575; v, 574.
Chelsea, founded, i, 261, 530; ii, 106; notables, i, 403; iv, 446; description, i, 415; prosperity, 423; in Revolution, iii, 345; poor relief, 514; industries, iv, 238; v, 386; population, iv, 281; shipbuilding, 446; water supply, v, 86; fire, 587. *See also* Romney Marsh.
"Cherub" (H.M.S.), iii, 483.
Cherry Valley (N. Y.), iii, 132.
"Chesapeake" (U. S. frigate), iii, 431, 434, 473, 484.
Cheshire, founded, iv, 354; industries, 361.
Chesterfield, ii, 110.
Cheverus, Bishop Jean Lefebvre de, v, 512, 513.

Chew, Benjamin, iii, 131.
Chicago (Ill.), school, iv, 189; exposition, iv, 244, 245; architecture, 247; v, 157; libraries, 154; fine arts, 155; railroads, 157; great fire, 356.
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R., v, 157, 158, 159, 160.
Chickamauga Park (Ga.), v, 580.
Chickering, Jonas, v, 383, 386.
Chicopee, industries, iv, 231, 361, 362.
Chicopee Falls (Mass.), industries, iv, 414; v, 386, 390; railroads, iv, 428.
Chicopee River, i, 421.
Child, Katharine, iv, 242.
Child, Mrs. Lydia Maria, iv, 294, 328; v, 211.
Child, Robert, i, 122-123, 170, 175, 484.
Child-training, iv, 207.
Children, i, 281-284, 304-309; iii, 285; at table, i, 264, 282-283; iii, 286; labor, i, 266, 284, 318; ii, 266, 408; iii, 511; iv, 419; v, 36, 44, 45, 449; apprentices, i, 266, 285, 288; ii, 266; bound out, i, 284, 285, 288, 306; ii, 228, 267, 370; in church, i, 273; girls' tasks, iii, 284, 308; sponsoring, i, 285; stubborn, 288; in England, 305; protection, i, 307; land, 411; defective, 306; v, 556; in families, ii, 372; v, 50; ships' crews, iii, 50; treated as adults, 281; at funerals, 298; guardian, 334; paupers, 515, 521; v, 50, 523; State responsibility, iii, 521; v, 51; inhabitancy, iii, 517, 518; home school for boys, iv, 175; custody, v, 112; delinquent, 51, 52; library facilities, 278; saving money, 352; medical care, 557.
Children's Museum, v, 250.
Childs, Henry Halsey, iv, 12, 360; v, 544.
Chillingworth, William, i, 385.
Chilmark, ii, 103.
China, commerce, iii, 535; iv, 440; treaty (1843), iv, 125; coolie trade, iv, 457; emigrants, iv, 610.
Chippawa (Ont.) battle, iii, 485.
Chisholm v. Georgia, iii, 420, 421.
Choate, Charles F., v, 188, 641, 642, 648, 662, 666.
Choate, Rufus, Mass. Constitutional Convention, iv, 60, 483; U. S. Congress, 95, 124, 283, 284; politics, iv, 103, 129, 130; lawyer, iv, 113, 134, 135; orator, iv, 115, 137; interests, iv, 184, 284; views, iv, 55; portrait, opp. iv, 60.
"Christian at Work," v, 491.
"Christian Leader," v, 467.
"Christian Register Examiner," v, 493.
Christian Science, v, 212, 467.
Christian Science, First Church (illus.), opp. v, 462.
"Christian Science Journal," v, 493.
"Christian Science Monitor," v, 212, 468, 484.
"Christian Science Sentinel," v, 468, 493.
Christmas, observance, i, 592; ii, 234, 285, 303; seals, v, 217.
Chubb, Pascoe, ii, 76.
Church, Benjamin (d. 1718), i, 376, 547, 550-552, 554; ii, 71, 74, 76, 81, 310.
Church, Dr. Benjamin, ii, 237, 250, 540, 554; iii, 67, 68.
Church, Samuel, iv, 361.
Church and state, i, 376. *See also* Theocracy.
Church Green (Boston), ii, 233.
Church members, requirements, i, 79, 122-123; freemen, 105-106, 121-122, 170-171, 479; rule of, 122-123, 170-171; office-holding, i, 228; iii, 198; iv, 116; women, i, 309.
Church of All Nations, v, 460.
Church of England, i, 6-8, 79, 398, 400, 561; identity with state, 9-10, 566; Hampton Court conference, 10; in America, 79, 194, 396, 403-406, 578-579, 590-591; ii, 284, 298, 327; iv, 351; ministers, i, 392; secession from, 403; members disfranchised, 482; members as settlers, 568, 571; support of Congregational church,

ii, 270; American episcopate, 500, 505. *See also* Laud; Puritans.
Church of Scotland, ii, 297.
Churches, in secular buildings, i, 74, 80; forms of service, 80, 273; theocracy, 106; defiance of General Court, 178; founded by civil authority, 181; approval by ministers, 182; interior arrangements, 313; iii, 299; statistics, i, 339; independence, 404; discipline by magistrates, 482; compulsory attendance, 578, 590; iii, 195; iv, 13; each town, ii, 107; iii, 195; iv, 351; town meeting in, ii, 115-116; support, 270; iii, 195; services, ii, 233, 234; iii, 297; proclamations read in, 109; heat in, 299; social function, iii, 297, 332; attitude toward slavery, iv, 312, 330, 333; union congregations, 356; v, 475; in West, 138-143; twentieth century, 474. *See also* Pilgrims; *also names of places, religious bodies, etc.*
Churchill, George B., v, 641, 642, 651, 656, 666.
"Cicero" (vessel), iii, 55.
Cider, i, 275.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Lane Theological Seminary, v, 141; public library, 154; architecture, 157.
Circular letters, intercolonial, ii, 496-497; on confederation, iii, 167.
Cities, creation, ii, 240; iv, 5, 604; planning, 232; v, 88; zoning, iv, 246; v, 80, 89, 649; democratic, 95; government, 95; statistics, 95, 338; at water powers, 429. *See also* Towns.
Citizens, naturalized, residence required, iii, 425, 452; eligibility for office, 466; iv, 31; prevention of fraud, 613.
Citizenship, English, ii, 14, 158.
City Planning Board (Boston), v, 89.
Civil Damages Law, iv, 609.
Civil Rights Bills, iv, 569-570.
Civil service, Massachusetts, iv, 605, 612; v, 47; United States, v, 47; State authorities, v, 29, 32, 33, 614; preference to veterans, 37, 48; cities and towns, 47.
Civil War (U. S.), iv, 516-542; policy of postponement, iv, 129; won by Unionists, 129; effects, 226, 241; memorials, 242; first warning, 503; State defense measures, 504-507, 516-518; first shot, 506, 516; calls for troops, 506, 512, 516, 520, 523-524, 527, 531, 532, 536, 539; won by siege and blockade, 529, 538; Mass. support in Congress, 553; cost, 590; opposition in North, 504, 591; reparation claims, 594; Harvard University, v, 298.
Claflin, Governor William, iv, 595, 609, 641; v, 554.
Clagget, William, ii, 235.
Clap, Thomas, i, 216.
Clapboard Islands, i, 201.
Clapp, Jason, iv, 365.
Clarendon, Edward Hyde, 1st earl of, i, 475, 485, 488, 557.
Clark, Abraham, iii, 167.
Clark, Arthur Hamilton, iv, 462.
Clark, Embury P., v, 579.
Clark, Ezra W., v, 22.
Clarke, Major Francis N., iv, 537.
Clarke, James Freeman, iv, 207, 275; v, 221.
Clarke, Jeremy, i, 53.
Clarke, John, i, 212, 398, 481.
Clarke, Jonas, ii, 565, 571.
Clark, Jonas Gilman, v, 257.
Clark, William Smith, iv, 392.
Clark University, v, 257; library, v, 283.
Claus, Henry T., v, 481.
Clay, Cassius M., iv, 335.
Clay, Henry, iv, 94, 121, 122, 124, 289, 292, 420; U. S. Congress, iv, 108, 116, 127, 128, 290.
Clearing house. *See* Banks.
Cleeves, George, i, 198-199, 201.
Clergy, ordination, i, 14; settlers, i, 53, 176; educational standards, 53,

180, 273; ii, 343; influence, i, 114, 119, 176, 180-181, 276, 479-480, 494, 560, 569; ii, 13; iv, 205; v, 140; Cambridge platform, i, 123; advisers of civil authorities, 119, 174, 181, 242, 480, 482, 486, 500; ii, 157; proceedings against, i, 177; criticism of, 177-178, 312; maintenance, 181, 590; ii, 75, 233, 244, 270; iii, 195, 300; iv, 10, 351; installation, i, 182; associations feared, 182; synods, 182; ii, 287; land, i, 204, 418, 431; preaching to criminals, 371; election, 387; each town, 425; ii, 107-108; extra professions, i, 425; salaries, 431; ii, 109; iii, 300, 310; donations, i, 431, 282; imprisoned, 594; suspended, 594; killed in wars, ii, 90; waning power, 2; benefit of, 181, 366; ministerial authority, 233; visiting schools, 246; in the Revolution, iii, 67; loyalists, 262; families, 300, 310; in politics, 412, 448; inhabitancy, 517; chosen profession, iv, 192; attitude toward slavery, 333, 338.

Cleveland, President Grover, iv, 606-607; v, 171, 172.

Cleveland, Stephen, iii, 39.

Cleveland (Ohio), university, v, 146; fine arts, 155; architecture, 157.

"Climax" (clipper ship), iv, 456.

Clinton, Governor (N. Y.) De Witt, iv, 178.

Clinton, George, iii, 401, 429, 433.

Clinton, Sir Henry, iii, 131.

Clinton (Mass.), reservoir, v, 76, 86; industries, 390.

Clocks, iii, 286.

Clothing, prices, i, 271; fashions, 271-272, 294-296, 429; ii, 310, 358; iii, 282, 309; v, 210; children, i, 305; iii, 283, 286; made in home, 311, 323, 324; for soldiers in war time, 324.

Coal, transportation, iv, 415; v, 421; conservation, 627, 629.

Coast defenses, iv, 291, 293.

Coast Guard in Revolution, iii, 121.

Coast survey, iv, 291.

Coat Roll Resolution, iii, 324.

Cobb, David, iii, 150, 552.

Cobb, Henry Ives, iv, 244.

Cobbett, Thomas, i, 399.

Cobbs, John, i, 275.

Cocheco. *See* Thompson's Island.

Cochituate, Lake, v, 85.

Cod, industry, i, 32, 35; ii, 402, 404; iii, 362, 529, 545; iv, 405; symbol, i, 35, 363; v, 2; exports, ii, 412.

Coddington, William, i, 103, 208-209, 212.

Codman, Ernest Amory, v, 562.

Codman, John, ii, 263, 367.

Coffee, drinking, iii, 286, 320.

Coffin, Mrs. Lucy (Folger), iii, 336.

Coggeshall, George, iii, 494.

Cogswell, William, i, 306.

Cogswell, General William, iv, 526.

Coke, Sir Edward, i, 18; ii, 159, 470.

Cole, General Charles H., v, 616; portrait, opp. v, 614.

Cole, Eunice, ii, 34.

Coleman, George W., v, 460, 638, 641, 643, 662.

Coleman, George W., "Labor and the Labor Movement (1860-1930)," v, chap. xiv, pp. 429-454.

Coleman, Henry, iv, 385, 389.

Colerain, founding, ii, 111; iv, 354; industries, iv, 361.

Coligny, Admiral Gaspard de, i, 2, 6.

College of Physicians of London, ii, 471.

Collins, Patrick Andrew, iv, 157; v, 77, 172, 535; portrait, opp. v, 76.

Collis P. Huntington Memorial Hospital, v, 561, 564.

Colman, Benjamin, ii, 295, 335, 377.

Colman, John, ii, 208-209.

Colorado, in the Union, iv, 574.

"Columbia" (vessel), iii, 535-538; iv, 299, 455.

Columbia River, iv, 298.

"Columbian Centinel," ii, 112; iii, 448.

Columbus, Christopher, i, 1, 15.

Columbus, rejected name for a State, iii, 574.

Coma Berenices, v, 215.

"Comet" (clipper ship), iv, 456, 468.

Commerce, i, 442-466; ii, 386-416; iii, 341-364, 525-545; trading companies, i, 4, 93-96, 102, 220; basis of colonization, 4, 32, 413, 444, 476; iii, 92; southern, i, 33, 46, 461, 536; West Indies, 33-34, 45, 218, 446, 449, 454, 462, 477; ii, 411, 474; iii, 47, 351, 362, 472, 497, 529; iv, 304; development, i, 34, 45-47, 264, 449, 454, 460-466, 488, 557-558; ii, 411-414; iii, 307; iv, 305, 429, 437; paucity of exports, i, 34, 449, 495; Mediterranean, 34, 45, 454, 461; ii, 411, 414; iii, 46, 55, 362; triangular voyage, i, 34, 45, 445, 446, 449; ii, 402, 413; iv, 304; exchange of goods, i, 34; ii, 194; iii, 356; coastwise, i, 46; iii, 542; iv, 304; v, 421; Plymouth Colony, i, 86, 77; monopolies, 193-194, 220; intercolonial, 219, 235, 237; with New Netherland, 245; winter occupation, 273; with Spain, 446, 447; with Azores, 449; with Canary Islands, 449; with northern Europe, 449; iii, 362; with England, i, 449, 451; ii, 411, 413, 414, 524; iii, 92, 349-350; illegal, i, 449, 450-460; call at English port, 452; underselling English merchants, 454; with French colonies, 455, 503, 514, 517; ii, 70, 78; Mercantile Theory, i, 470, 474; independence, 474-475, 577; in English ships, 475; iv, 304; bond of empire, i, 495; rivalries dangerous, 496; ii, 520; ethics, i, 542; English regulation, 596; ii, 414, 465, 493; iii, 351, 529; protection by war vessels, ii, 73, 80; affected by war, 77; credit accounts, 107, 413; coin required, 195; iii, 364; local regulation, ii, 232; inland, 415; iv, 364; with enemy, ii, 474, 475; iii, 476, 497, 544; reforms suggested, ii, 493; during the Revolution, iii, 45-48, 80; official State trade, 46; Nova Scotia, 48; revival after the Revolution, 55, 349, 362, 510, 533; treaties, 49, 170, 172, 533; prohibited commodities, 351; country store, 356; oriental, 362, 534-537, 545; regulation by U. S., 367, 392-394, 528; relation to politics, 408, 540; neutrality disregarded, 430; broken voyage, 430, 472; embargo (1807), 431, 457, 540; embargo (1811), 435; iv, 63; Napoleonic Wars, iii, 456, 459, 533, 543; license to carry grain, 542; overland, 544; Canada, iv, 304; Newfoundland, 504; in American ships, 304; with the West, 430; injured by War of 1812, iii, 460, 467; limiting embargo, 466; interdicting foreign, 466; Russia, 538; control of interstate, iv, 112; uniform laws, v, 44; trade commissioners, 226; twentieth century, v, 419, 598. *See also* Bills; Merchants; Navigation Acts; Reciprocity.

"Commercial Bulletin," v, 366.

Commission of 1664, i, 484-488.

Commission on Administration and Finance, v, 32, 337; Division of Personnel and Standardization, 40.

Commission on Economy and Efficiency, v, 30, 31, 337.

Commission on Uniform State Laws, v, 44.

Commissioner of Insolvency, iv, 30.

Commissioner of Public Welfare, iii, 521.

Committee for Trade and Plantations, i, 197, 199, 211, 387, 477, 558, 561; ii, 5, 8. *See also* Lords of Trade.

Committee of notification, v, 2.

Committee of Safety, iii, 5, 7, 66, 182. *See also specific topics.*

Committee on Education, iii, 512.

Committee on Extension of Territorial Limits, iii, 462.

Committee on Public Safety, v, 601, 605, 617, 625, 626, 627, 629.

Committees of correspondence, established, ii, 153, 473, 496, 505, 540-541; activities, 496, 509, 520, 531, 537, 540-542, 544, 546; iii, 66; conservators of loyalists, 264.

Commonwealth, essential form, iii, 87; use of term, 87.

Commonwealth Bank, iv, 87.

Commonwealth Defense Act, v, 606.

Communism, Plymouth, i, 67, 411-412; ideal settlements, iv, 276.

Competition in trade, i, 429.

Comptroller's Bureau, v, 33, 40.

Conant, Roger, i, 97-98, 524, 529.

Conants Island, i, 166.

Concord (Mass.), Winthrop estate, i, 166; public cows, 287; founding, 526; surrounded by Indians, i, 526, 532; industries, ii, 411; county convention (1774), ii, 550; Provincial Congress, 551; iii, 65; Mass. constitution, 183; monument, iv, 243; reformatory, v, 52; Home for Aged Women, 458.

Concord battle, ii, 306, 562-586; iii, 2, 6; effect, iii, 4; map, opp. ii, 574; at North Bridge (illus.), opp. ii, 578.

Confectionery, industry, iv, 362, 399; machinery, v, 372, 389.

Confederate States of America, iv, 503-506, 516, 529-539. *See also* Rebels.

Confiscation of property, witchcraft, ii, 53; desertion of estate, 75; loyalists, iii, 264; insurrectionary use, iv, 553.

Conformity Acts, i, 79, 561.

Confucius, i, 188.

Congregational Church, dominant, i, 21, 479; iii, 196; development, i, 79, 176, 228; iv, 255; v, 456; Scrooby, i, 79; Plymouth, i, 79-82, 392; iv, 298; maintenance, i, 590; iii, 195; iv, 10; synods, i, 182; ii, 135; members, iii, 196; attitude toward slavery, iv, 333; missions, v, 138.

Congregational churches (Boston), Brattle Street, ii, 207, 337; Christ (Old North), 224, 564; (illus.) opp. iii, 298; First Baptist, i, 400; ii, 224; First Church, i, 82, 181, 395, 559; New South, ii, 233; Old South, i, 559, 578, 591-592; ii, 241, 251, 509, 510, 555; iii, 299; iv, 358; v, 495; Second (North), ii, 5, 224, 564; ii, 5, 324, 326.

Congregational Library, v, 289.

Congregational School of Theology, v, 146.

"Congregationalist," v, 493.

Congresses, etc.: Albany, (1684) ii, 518, (1754) ii, 423, 456; Alexandria (Va.), ii, 426; Annapolis (Md.), iii, 370; Boston, (1768) ii, 498; (1788) iii, 398; (1820) iv, 4; Falmouth (Maine), iii, 554, 556; New York, (1690) ii, 68, (1755) 432, (1763) 481; Stamp Act, ii, 148, 480; Suffolk convention, 188. *See also* Continental Congress; Constitution; House of Representatives; Provincial Congress; Senate; *and other specific topics.*

Congressional Library, v, 154.

Connecticut (colony), Indians, i, 131; charter, i, 192, 212, 509, 569; ii, 18; iii, 182; territory, i, 213, 216, 218, 234; early period, i, 214, 222, 226; jurisdiction, i, 220-221, 222, 233-234, 239, 247; Pequod War, 217-218; corn for Harvard College, 236; river tolls, 238-240, 241; Mass. duties, 239-240, 438; militia, 229, 252, 253; ii, 18, 20, 421; boundaries, i, 239-240, 250; iii, 176; war with New Netherlands, i, 242, 472, 500; war with Niantics, 243; New Haven absorbed, 222, 251; free trade, 477; Canadian expedition, 509-510; Philip's War, 549-552; in Dominion of New England, 583; Quebec expedition, ii, 4, 68, 83; ally in war, 66, 71-72, 80, 82; bills of credit, 214; iii, 343; Albany Congress, ii, 423; French and Indian War, 427, 444; Stamp Act Congress, 481; cooperation against England, 521, 525, 544; Battle of Lexington, iii, 5-6, 12; militia in Revolution, 122, 127; agrarian movement, 368; federal constitution, 374, 379; slavery prohibited, iii, 508; emigration, iv, 354; v, 136, 138; populous near seaboard, 419; World War, 615. *See also* New England Confederation.

Connecticut River, tolls, i, 238; route, 238; settlements on, 532; description, iv, 347; water power, 360; navigation, 365; canal, 421.

Connecticut River Railroad, iv, 607; v, 402, 403.

Conservatives. *See* Federalists; Loyalists; Tories.

Conspiracy, iv, 53.

Constables, i, 104; ii, 100, 114, 196, 243; v, 60, 593.

"Constitution" (U. S. frigate), iii, 60, 471, 479, 488; (illus.), opp. iii, 478.

Constitution of Mass. (1780), iii, 182-210; incorporating earlier provisions, ii, 158, 162, 185; draft by General Court, iii, 115; conventions (1779-1780), 116; v, 635; (1820), iv, 4, 116; v, 635; (1853), iv, 20, 50, 59, 482; v, 635; (1917-1919), v, 9, 16, 188, 273, 633; Convention Committee, (1918), (illus.), opp. v. 636; ratification, iii, 116; revision, 207; iv, 3, 8, 20, 76; v, 633; model for others, iii, 209, 401; remains fundamental law, iv, 33; amendment, v, 20, 633, 641; original, 273; rearrangement, 657; page of rearranged constitution, (illus.), opp. v, 660.

Constitution of Mass.: Frame of Government; Chapter III, ii, 186; iii, 205; Chapter V, iii, 207; Chapter VI, iii, 207.

Constitution of Mass., Declaration of Rights, iii, 184, 190; v, 645; Article I, v, 147; Article II, iv, 8; Article III, ii, 181; iii, 193, 195, 208; iv, 8-13; Article VII, iv, 8; Article XVI, iii, 199; Article XIX, v, 35; Article XXIX, ii, 181, 186, 199, 205; Article XXX, iii, 202; v, 28.

Constitution of Mass., Amendments, iv, 1-34; First-Eighth, iv, 5-7; Ninth, 7; Tenth, 7; Eleventh, 13; Twelfth, 16; Thirteenth, 17; Fourteenth, 24; Fifteenth, 24; Sixteenth, 22; Seventeenth, 25; Eighteenth, 25; v, 637; Nineteenth, iv, 25; Twentieth, 25; Twenty-first, 23; Twenty-second, 23; Twenty-third, 31; Twenty-fourth, 27; Twenty-fifth, 27; Twenty-sixth, 31; Twenty-seventh, 31; Twenty-eighth, 29; Twenty-ninth, 31; Thirtieth, 32; Thirty-first, 30; Thirty-second, 30; Thirty-third, iv, 28; v, 15; Thirty-fourth, iv, 27; Thirty-fifth, 28; Thirty-sixth, 30; Thirty-seventh, 30; Thirty-eighth, 32; Thirty-ninth, 32; Fortieth, 29; Forty-first, 32; Forty-second, 30, 34; Forty-third, 1; Forty-fourth, 44; Forty-fifth, v, 639; Forty-sixth, 188, 637; Forty-seventh, 640; Forty-eighth, 19-21, 28, 38, 188, 656; Forty-ninth, 647; Fiftieth, 648; Fifty-first, 648; Fifty-second, 652; Fifty-third, 651; Fifty-fourth, 651; Fifty-fifth, 651; Fifty-sixth, 39, 651; Fifty-seventh, 650; Fifty-eighth, 650; Fifty-ninth, 650; Sixtieth, 649; Sixty-first, 649; Sixty-second, 40, 338, 650; Sixty-third, 18, 40, 650; Sixty-fourth, 652; Sixty-fifth, 652; Sixty-sixth, 31, 650; Sixty-seventh, 21; Sixty-eighth Amendment, 10.

Constitution of the U. S., liberty of conscience, i, 408; Albany Plan preliminary, ii, 458; modeled on Mass. Constitution, iii, 209, 237, 401; bill of rights, 237, 397, 401, 421; movement for, 369; Annapolis Convention (1786), 370, 388; Philadelphia Convention (1787), 370-382, 388, 391, 395; compromises, iii, 388-394; drafts, iii, 391, 395; ratification, iii, 396, 398-401, 407, 558; iv, 43; signers, iii, 397; opposition in Massachusetts, 400; theory of compact, 506; iv, 119, 120; abolitionist criticism, 337; burned in public, 492; referendum of amendments, v, 36; Article I, iv, 112; Article IV, 112.

Constitution of the U. S., Amendments, iii, 396, 399-401, 433, 466; First-Ninth (bill of rights), iii, 421; Fifth, iv, 233; Eleventh, iii, 420, 422; Thirteenth, iv, 555, 575, 592; Fourteenth, 567, 570-572, 592; Fifteenth, 575-578, 592; Eighteenth, v, 36, 37, 38, 191; Nineteenth, 10, 202, 223, 224, 227.

Constitutional Club (Boston), iii, 448.

Constitutional government fostered by Puritans, i, 377.

Constitutional Union party, iv, 499, 502.

Consumers' League, v, 221.

Consumptives. *See* Tuberculosis.

"Contest" (clipper ship), iv, 456.

Continental Congress, iii, 155-179; resolved upon, ii, 544-545; iii, 156; delegates, ii, 547; iii, 146, 154, 164; policy of passive resistance, ii, 550; convened, 545; iii, 7, 159; delegation visits Washington, 20; Naval Committee, 22; medal awarded, 26; independence declared, 94-97, 103-106; Board of War and Ordnance, 141, 146; voting in, 168, 173, 174, 177. *See also names of committees and other specific topics.*

Contracts, State must not impair, iv, 112.

Convention of 1768, ii, 498.

Convention of 1800, iii, 426.

Conventions, political, iii, 462; first national nominating, iv, 82. *See also* Congresses; Treaties; *also specific topics.*

Convents, investigation, iv, 491.

Converse, James, ii, 71.

Convicts, immigrants, i, 286; ineligible for office, iv, 606; pardons, paroles and reprieves, v, 30, 41, 55; treatment in Mass., 54, 55; psychiatric examination, 54; anatomizing, 540. *See also* Prisons; *also specific names of crimes.*

Conway, General Thomas, ii, 477, 517; iii, 145-146.

Conway (Mass.), industries, iv, 360, 362.

Cook, Asa Merrill, iv, 519.

Cook, Ransom, iv, 362.

Cook, Sherwin Lawrence, "Governmental Crisis (1664-1686)," i, chap. xx, pp. 557-580; "Boston: the Eighteenth-Century Town," ii, chap. viii, pp. 222-255.

Cooke, Elisha (1637-1715), ii, 4, 6, 16, 22, 330.

Cooke, Elisha (1678-1737), ii, 129-130, 138, 238, 244-246.

Cooke, Josiah P., v, 297.

Cooke, Mrs. Rose (Terry), iv, 213.

Cookery, Indian, i, 149-151; sale of, iii, 318.

Coolidge, President Calvin, iv, 369; v, 23, 24, 25, 191; governor of Mass., iv, 369; v, 16, 37, 42, 94, 187, 189-191; presidency, v, 189, 192, 193; writings, v, 191; views, v, 190, 191; portrait, opp. v, 678.

Coolidge, Charles Allerton, iv, 236; iv, 157.

Coolidge, Mrs. Dorothy, iii, 326.

Coolidge, Mrs. Grace Anna (Goodhue), v, 225.

Cooper, Samuel, iii, 96.

Cooper, William, ii, 252; iii, 96, 112.

Copley, John Singleton, ii, 44, 70, 358; iv, 231.

Copley Society, iv, 249.

Copper, Indian artifacts, i, 145; mining companies, v, 163.

Copperheads, iv, 591; v, 171.

Corbitant (Indian), i, 73.

Corcoran, William Wilson, iv, 133.

Cordage, industry, i, 40.

Corey, Giles, ii, 40, 53.

Corey, Mrs. Martha, ii, 38, 40, 56.

Cork (Ire.), i, 63.

Corlet, Elijah, i, 352.

Corn, cultivation, i, 71, 73, 127-128, 146-148; purchase from Indians, 75; export, 88; green, 149; cookery, 149-150; caches, 149; tax in kind, 236; price, 430.

Cornell University, v, 316.

Corning, Daniel, iii, 48.

Cornwall (Eng.), ii, 159.

Cornwall, County of (Maine), i, 513, 583.

Coroners, v, 552.

Corporation for the Propogation of the Gospel in New England, i, 247.

Corporations, iv, 20, 89; v, 29, 32, 650; transfer of stock, 44; investment in securities, 364. *See also* Banks; Boston Stock Exchange.

Corwin, George, ii, 43.

Cost of living, i, 271, 431; iii, 82.

Cotton, John (1585-1652), i, 59, 114, 116, 344, 473; preaching, i, 107, 111, 177, 181, 536; lawmaker, i, 116, 117, 182; Antinomian controversy, i, 177, 396; pastorate, i, 395; writings, i, 117, 182, 369, 372; ii, 231; views, i, 119, 167, 181, 182, 216, 310; ii, 340; portrait, opp. i, 384.

Cotton gin, iii, 359; v, 312.

Cotton industry, iv, 281, 312, 361, 415; political influence, 474; tariff, v, 394.

Couch, General Darius Nash, iv, 526, 556, 593.

Council (Mass.), standing (1636), i, 113, 172; inter-charter, 572-574; ii, 4; provincial, i, 584; ii, 12, 13, 127, 185, 192, 517, 545; iii, 64; quorum, ii, 133; manadamus councillors, 546, 549; iii, 67; under Provincial Congress, 68, 69-70, 72, 182; under State Constitution, 186, 202; iv, 17, 18, 21, 22; v, 1; executive function, iii, 455; v, 227; Maine represented, iii, 552; filling vacancies, iv, 27; traveling expense, 28; records, v, 273. *See also* General Court; *also specific topics.*

Council (U. S.), executive, *See* Cabinet.

Council for New England, established, i, 6, 386; charter of Plymouth Company (1620), 18, 191, 193; records, (illus.) opp. 18; patents, 19, 72, 76, 78, 98, 191-192, 193-194, 195, 196, 202; dissolution, 191, 197, 203. *See also* Massachusetts.

Council for the Safety of the People and Conservation of the Peace, ii, 3, 98; iii, 89.

Council of National Defense, v, 222, 607, 609, 628; Women's Council, 613.

Council of Safety (1689), i, 601.

County, political unit, ii, 240; officials, v, 47, 552.

Court of Chancery (Eng.), ii, 165.

Court of Wards and Liveries (Eng.), i, 161.

Courts, i, 115, 118; ii, 12, 14, 161, 256; iv, 57; v, 645, 646; probate, i, 12, 14; ii, 185; v, 113, 114, 115, 116; oyer and terminer, ii, 41-43, 49, 163; of elections, i, 83, 96; Quarter Sessions, creation, ii, 100; county, i, 115, 116; ii, 166; iii, 74-77; iv, 347; Commission of 1664, i, 486; appellate courts, i, 111, 115, 486; ii, 127, 162; officers, ii, 11; admiralty, ii, 11, 12, 18, 164, 185, 186, 474, 475, 478, 479, 494, 505; Court of Small Claims, ii, 161; separate arm of government, 162; iii, 199; equity jurisdiction, ii, 165, 166; Chancery courts, ii, 165-166; Superior Court of Judicature, ii, 165, 170, 188-189; iii, 77; iv, 35; v, 114; Superior Court of Mass., ii, 165; iv, 67; v, 112-114, 119, 120; revolutionary period, ii, 189; iii, 74; General Sessions of the Peace of Suffolk County, ii, 232, 236; closed by Stamp Act, ii, 483; royal courts overthrown, iii, 74; protection by troops, 157; juvenile, iii, 521; v, 51, 55; probation system, iii, 521; difficulties of rural sections, 555; Municipal Court in Suffolk County, iv, 41, 55; Municipal Court of Boston, 54, 114, 116; Superior Court for the County of Suffolk, 67; administrative agencies, v, 29; reprieve of sentences, 41; faults, 100; Land Court, v, 112, 113, 117; district and municipal, v,

113, 114, 116, 117, 120. *See also* Judicial Council; Supreme Judicial Court.
Courts, federal, iv, 62. *See also* Supreme Court of the United States.
Courts of Common Pleas, ii, 166, 185, 247; iv, 66, 67; Suffolk County, ii, 183; Plymouth County, 184.
"Covington (U.S.S.)," v, 608.
Cowdin, General Robert, iv, 526.
Cowes (Eng.), i, 100.
Cox, Channing H., portrait, opp. v, 44.
Cox, Governor Channing H., v, 24, 192, 193; portrait, opp. v, 44.
Cox, Louis Sherburne, v, 24.
Crabbe, George, ii, 374.
Cradock, Matthew, i, 99, 184, 415; iii, 88.
Craft, Mrs. Ellen, iv, 476, 479.
Craft, William, iv, 476, 479.
Crafts, Abigail, iii, 325.
Crafts, Thomas, iii, 112-113.
Cram, Ralph Adams, iv, 245, 249; v, 157.
Cranbrook (Eng.), i, 59.
Cranch, Mrs. Mary (Smith), iii, 313.
Crane, Governor Winthrop Murray, v, 58, 174, 175, 179; U. S. Senator, v, 175, 176, 184, 193.
Cranfield, Governor (N. H.) Edward, i, 405, 459.
Crapo, William W., iv, 71.
Crawford, William Henry, iii, 484; iv, 77, 78.
Credit unions, v, 354, 355.
Crellius, Joseph, ii, 259.
Cressy, Josiah Perkins, iv, 436, 450, 451, 452.
Criminals, deportation, iii, 509; international extradition, iv, 303; psychiatric examination, v, 37, 54; stigmata, 213. *See also* Insane; Prisons.
Cripples, education, v, 50, 59, 559.
Crittenden, John Jordan, iv, 504, 561.
Crocker, Alvah, iii, 511; iv, 75.
Croft, Caroline Brewer, v, 561.
Cromwell, Oliver, i, 245, 268, 385, 394, 416, 446, 472, 474, 495, 507; iii, 214.
Cromwell, Philip, i, 302.
Cromwell, Richard, i, 473.
Crosby, John Crawford, v, 24, 170, 660.
Cross, cut from flag, i, 176, 207.
Crown Point (N. Y.), ii, 303, 425-427, 432, 440, 444, 466; iii, 23.
Crowninshield, Jacob, iii, 429, 543; portrait, opp. iii, 542.
Crowninshield, Richard, iv, 52.
Cruelty, i, 274, 314.
Cuba, v, 174, 579.
Cudworth, James, i, 89.
Cullender, Rose, ii, 31.
Cumberland (Eng.), i, 57.
Cumberland County (Maine), ii, 112.
"Cumberland" (vessel), iii, 59.
Cummings, Charles A., iv, 234, 235.
Cummings, John W., v, 638, 641, 644, 662, 664.
Cunard Steam Ship Co., Ltd., iv, 441; v, 421.
Cunningham, William J., v, "Transportation in Massachusetts (1890-1930)," v, chap. xiii, pp. 399-428.
Curley, James Michael, v, 78, 79, 91.
Curnick, Arthur R., "Social Life in the Revolutionary Period," iii, chap. x, pp. 280-303.
Currier, William, iv, 442.
Curtis, Benjamin Robbins, legal career, iv, 58, 64, 477, 481, 502, 561-563, 583, 600; U. S. Supreme Court, 62, 64, 283, 496, 561; portrait, opp. iv, 562.
Curtis, Edwin Upton, v, 76, 93, 190; Mass. Constitutional Convention, v, 188, 638, 662, 663.
Curtis, George Ticknor, iv, 479.
Curtis, John Gould, "The Geographic Background (1630-1689)," i, chap. ii, pp. 25-47; "Expansion and King Philip's War," i, chap. xix, pp. 522-554; "Industry and Transportation (1820-1889)," iv, chap. xiv, pp. 401-431.
Curtis, Paul, iv, 446, 459.
Curwen, Samuel, iii, 85, 271.
Cushing, Caleb, iv, 96, 98, 99, 103, 289,

475, 478, 483, 499, 500, 509; diplomat, 124; lawyer, 134, 495; Attorney-General, 283, 495; in U. S. Congress, 295, 299, 495; portrait, opp. 96.
Cushing, Daniel, i, 60.
Cushing, Grafton D., v, 23, 186, 187.
Cushing, Harvey, v, 567, 621.
Cushing, Thomas, ii, 238, 245, 250, 498, 542; iii, 67, 78, 201; Continental Congress, ii, 545, 547; iii, 96, 154, 160, 164, 228; General Court, 108, 117, 154; autograph, opp. 116.
Cushing, William, ii, 183, 187; iii, 449; Mass. Superior Court, ii, 189; iii, 449, 552; iv, 35; federal constitutional convention, iii, 189; iv, 37; U. S. Supreme Court, iii, 410, 552; iv, 62.
Cushman, Robert, i, 14, 18.
Customs Board, ii, 495, 501.
Customs districts, i, 464.
Customs duties, free trade, i, 235, 477, 505; iii, 349; intercolonial, i, 239-240; imports, 437-438, 450; ii, 98, 132, 149, 197, 218, 219, 473; exports, i, 239-240, 450; iii, 376, 392, 393; English manufacturers, ii, 132, 504; payment in silver, 218; loss to England, 476; Eng. revenue measures, 495; Mass. rates after Revolution, iii, 449; protection of industries, 350; rebate for American carriers, 533; tonnage duty, 528, 533; iv, 604; foreign-caught fish, iii, 545.
Customs houses, Boston, i, 450, 488, 518; Salem, ii, 518.
Customs officers, i, 457, 564; ii, 13, 494; assaulted, i, 16; ii, 472; naval officers, i, 457; ii, 13; duties, i, 18; ii, 258; bribery, 146.
Cutler, Manasseh, v, 135.
Cutlery, manufacture, iv, 362.
"Cutty Sark" (clipper), iv, 467, 470.
"Cyane" (H.M.S.), iii, 488.
"Cyclone" (clipper ship), iv, 459.
Czechoslovakia, emigration, iv, 162.

DACRES, ADMIRAL JAMES RICHARD, iii, 480.
Dairy industry, iv, 380.
Dakota, settlement, v, 147.
Dale, William J., iv, 518, 528.
Dallin, Cyrus, iv, 249.
Dallinger, Frederick W., "Massachusetts in Reconstruction (1865-1871)," iv, chap. xix, pp. 552-586.
Dalton, Tristram, iii, 409, 412.
Dalton (Mass.), iv, 361; v, 383.
"Dalton" (brig), iii, 59.
Dams, i, 424; iv, 365; flowage and damages, iii, 551. *See also* Water power.
Dana, Charles Anderson, iv, 207, 276.
Dana, Chief Justice Francis, ii, 179, 250; iii, 370, 413; General Court, 107, 108; Continental Congress, 146, 164, 165, 176; judge, 454; iv, 36, 42.
Dana, Richard, ii, 236.
Dana, Richard Henry, iv, 70, 475, 476, 479-481, 486, 492, 554, 565, 574; Mass. Constitution, 60, 483; views, 576; writings, 70, 214; v, 490.
Dana, William Franklin, v, 178.
Dancing, ii, 285; iii, 281, 290, 309, 322, 331, 332; teaching, ii, 235; iii, 290, 293, 313, 331.
Dane, Francis, ii, 56.
Dane, Nathan, iii, 370, 399; iv, 49; v, 106, 134; writer, iv, 47.
Danes, immigrants, i, 204; iv, 162.
Danforth, Thomas, ii, 55, 170.
Dangerfield. *See* Truro.
Danvers, founding, i, 529; watching in Salem, 299; witchcraft, ii, 36-49; pastors, 36, 38; district, 109; incorporation, 109, 110; ii, 210, 554; Bell Tavern, iii, 289.
Danvers State Hospital, v, 59.
Dartmouth (Mass.), founding, i, 528; Indian troubles, 547; privateering, iii, 39; Mass. taxes, 348; population, 355; whaling, 83, 527, 532.
Dartmouth College, iv, 110, 112, 137, 232; v, 544.

Dartmouth College v. Woodward, iii, 562; iv, 110.
Darwin, Charles Robert, iv, 187.
Daughters of Liberty, iii, 306, 314, 318, 325.
"Dauntless" (clipper ship), iv, 456.
Davenport, John, i, 221, 222, 345, 376, 396, 559.
Davenport, Richard, i, 269.
Davis, Daniel, iii, 553.
Davis, Isaac (1745-1775), ii, 575-577.
Davis, Isaac (1799-1883), iv, 95, 96.
Davis, Jefferson, iv, 499, 556.
Davis, Governor John (1734-1854), iv, 83, 85, 89-90, 302; U. S. Senator, iv, 88, 93, 96, 283, 297; politics, iv, 91, 103; portrait, opp. iv, 86.
Davis, John (1761-1847), iv, 62.
Davis, General Nelson Henry, iv, 526.
Davis, Thomas A., v, 521.
Dawes, Henry Laurens, iii, 189; iv, 600; in Congress, iv, 554, 559, 565, 570, 576, 608; v, 172.
Dawes, Thomas, ii, 244, 252; iv, 36, 41.
Dawes, William, ii, 564, 565, 571.
Daye, John, i, 343.
Daylight saving, v, 36.
Day's work, i, 426; iv, 418; v, 169; ten hours, iii, 512; iv, 419; v, 448; eight hours, iv, 610; v, 44.
Deaconesses, i, 313.
Deaf and dumb persons, iii, 518; iv, 174; v, 210, 238.
Deane, Silas, iii, 22, 144, 169, 170.
Deane, Thomas, i, 487.
Dearborn, General Henry, iii, 418, 429, 474, 479, 484.
Death, i, 298; v, 552.
Debtors, i, 277, 430; iii, 74, 364; iv, 20, 38, 39, 90; relief, iii, 82, 447; marriage in smock, iii, 284; Insolvency Law (1838), iv, 89, 90.
Decatur, Stephen, iii, 483, 488.
Declaration of Rights (1661), i, 477. *See also* Constitution of Massachusetts.
Declaration of Rights and Grievances (1774), iii, 156, 228.
Declaratory Act (1766), ii, 182, 489, 494.
Declaratory judgment, v, 45.
Dedham, schools, i, 341; iii, 312, 314, 326; founding, i, 530; events, ii, 304, 305, 306, 547.
Deeds, registry, iii, 206; tax, iii, 555.
Deer, sachem's right, i, 134.
Deerfield, Indians, i, 131, 548; ii, 81; abandoned, i, 416; ii, 199; founding, i, 530; naming, ii, 104; school, ii, 376.
Deer Island, Indians, i, 539.
"Defence" (vessel), iii, 35.
Defoe, Daniel, ii, 297; iii, 287; collection, v, 271.
Deism, ii, 340.
Delano, Benjamin F., iv, 456.
Delaware (colony), money, ii, 214.
Delaware River, settlements, i, 219-221; route, 499.
Delaware & Hudson R. R., v, 414, 415.
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R. R., v, 414.
"Delia Walker" (ship), iv, 442.
Demeritt, John, ii, 530.
Democracy, in England, i, 51; in Mass., 52; ii, 1; iii, 77, 307; iv, 2, 76; estimate, i, 112, 216; iii, 412; equality within governing class, i, 185, 569; Providence Plantations, 209; Connecticut, 222; natural, 369; iii, 230; iv, 8; fostered by Puritans, i, 377; frontier class, 489; Berkshire Constitutionalists, iii, 77; slavery incompatible, iv, 324; characteristics, v, 95, 320, 325.
Democratic party, rise, iii, 442, 458; iv, 77-81; French cause, iii, 448; in Maine, 550, 552, 576; growth, iv, 85-100, 473, 475, 477, 481, 488, 490, 589, 591, 595-597, 600-609; v, 169-186, 189, 194, 632, 633; coalition with Free-soldiers, iv, 19, 473-478, 481-484; southern wing (1860), 499, 502, 509, 589; northern wing (1860), 500,

501; defections, 589, 592, 597; women, v, 228.
Dennis (Mass.), iii, 47.
Dentistry, Board of Registration in, iv, 614; instruction, v, 263, 313, 558.
Department of Agriculture, v, 32.
Department of Banking and Insurance, v, 32.
Department of Civil Service and Registration, v, 32.
Department of Conservation, v, 32.
Department of Corporations and Taxation, v, 32; Division of Accounts, v, 339.
Department of Correction, v, 32.
Department of Education, v, 32, 58, 238; Division of Immigration and Americanization, 227; Division of Free Public Libraries, 268, 274; Division of University Education, 248.
Department of Industrial Accidents, v, 32.
Department of Labor (U. S.), v, 445.
Department of Labor and Industries (Mass.), v, 32; Division of Minimum Wage, v, 228.
Department of Mental Diseases, v, 32, 56, 58, 556; Division of Mental Hygiene, 58.
Department of Public Health, v, 32, 554.
Department of Public Safety, v, 32.
Department of Public Utilities, iv, 616; v, 32, 363.
Department of Public Welfare, v, 32, 51; Division of Child Guardianship, 50.
Department of Public Works, v, 32, 63, 64.
Depravity, doctrine, i, 282.
Deputies of towns, Plymouth Colony, i, 83; Massachusetts, 107, 108, 112, 173, 174, 439, 482; Maine and New Hampshire towns, 201, 206; districts without, ii, 109. *See also* General House of Representatives.
Court; House of Representatives.
Deputy governors, i, 96, 105, 106, 108, 110; lists, 607-608. *See also* Governor.
Derby, Elias Hasket, iii, 362, 534, 537, 538; portrait, opp. iii, 538.
Derby, Captain John, iii, 6, 55, 538.
Derbyshire (Eng.), i, 61.
Desertion, legislation, v, 44.
"Desire" (vessel), i, 462.
"Des Moines" (U.S.S.), v, 397.
"Despatch" (brig), iii, 39.
Detroit (Mich.), in War of 1812, iii, 474, 479, 484.
Devens, General Charles, iv, 519, 520, 554, 592, 612.
Devil. *See* Witchcraft.
Devonshire (Eng.), i, 57-58, 59, 363, 526.
Devonshire County (Mass.), i, 511.
De Vries, David Pieterasen, i, 495.
Dewey, Charles Augustus, iv, 54, 368, 370.
Dewey, Davis Rich, "Economic Organization (1620-1689)," i, chap. xv, pp. 410-440; "Finance and Paper Money (1692-1775)," ii, chap. vii, pp. 192-219; "Economic and Commercial Conditions (1765-1800)," iii, chap. xii, pp. 341-364.
Dewey, Mrs. Davis R., v, 227.
Dexter, Samuel, iii, 241, 418, 461; iv, 44.
Diabetes, v, 560.
"Dial," iv, 207, 253, 275.
Dick Act, v, 588.
Dickens, Charles, iv, 418.
Dickinson, Emily, v, 218.
Dickinson, John, iii, 94, 167, 168, 169, 231, 374, 379, 382, 384, 388; writings, ii, 312, 313, 499.
Dickinson, John, "The Massachusetts Charter and the Bay Colony (1628-1660)," i, chap. v, pp. 93-123.
Dickinson, John W., iv, 194.
Dieskau, Baron, ii, 427, 440.
Diez, M. Luise, v, 217.
Dighton, founding, ii, 103, 104.
"Diligent" (schooner), iii, 31, 35, 37.
Dimock, Susan, v, 546.

Dinwiddie, Governor (Va.) Robert, ii, 424, 426.
Disciples of Christ, v, 139, 143.
"Discovery" (vessel), i, 74.
Dissenters. *See names of sects.*
District attorneys, v, 37, 650.
District (town), ii, 109.
Districts, federal elective, iii, 458; school, iv, 177.
District of Columbia, iii, 415; iv, 325; slavery, iv, 127, 325. *See also* Suffrage.
Ditson, Oliver, v, 499.
Divorce, i, 281, 298-299; ii, 364; v, 112, 213.
Dix, Dorothea, v, 213.
Dodd, Albert, iv, 519.
Dodge, General Grenville M., v, 161.
Dogs, trained, ii, 284; in church, iii, 299.
Dolls, ii, 359; iii, 291.
Domestic science, v, 234, 244, 248, 250.
Donaldson, M. Sylvia, v, 11, 227.
Dongan, Thomas, i, 516, 518, 597; ii, 64.
Donnelly, Charles F., v, 535.
"Don Quixote" (clipper), iv, 460.
"Donald McKay" (clipper ship), iv, 465, 466, 469.
Dorchester (Eng.), i, 58, 59, 97.
Dorchester (Mass.), founding, 56, 59, 100, 261, 525; fortifying, 173; iii, 491; emigration, i, 215; shipbuilding, 265, 448; v, 388; schools, i, 341; description, 414; Colony tax, 436; town government, ii, 113; notables, 236; industries, 411; in the Revolution, iii, 7, 24, 120; suffrage, 205; part of Boston, v, 70.
Dorchester Adventurers, i, 18, 97-98, 412, 523; iii, 214.
Dorchester Canada. *See* Ashburnham.
Dorman, William E., "Problems of the State Government (1890-1930)," v, chap. ii, pp. 28-67.
Dorr, Thomas W., iv, 91, 94.
Dorsetshire (Eng.), i, 56-59, 61.
Doubleday, Frank N., v, 486.
Douglas, Frederick, iv, 329.
Douglas, Stephen A., iv, 484, 501.
Douglass, William, ii, 346; v, 541.
Douglas, Governor William L., v, 173, 176, 177.
Dover (N. H.), settlement, i, 17, 205; annexed by Mass., i, 206; Indian troubles, ii, 66; stage route, iv, 420.
Douglas (Mass.), ii, 110.
Dowling, John J., v, 621.
Downing, Andrew Jackson, iv, 231.
Downing, Mrs. Ann, i, 317.
Downing, Emmanuel, i, 184, 278, 308, 344.
Downing, George, i, 184, 344.
Downing, Mrs. Lucy (Winthrop), i, 344.
Doyle, Andrew P., v, 22.
Dracut, founding, ii, 103, 104; iii, 90.
Drainage Board, v, 30.
Drake, Sir Francis, i, 32, 363; iv, 345.
Drama, collection, v, 271. *See also* Theater.
Draper, Governor Eben S., v, 63, 177, 178, 180.
Draper, Frank Winthrop, v, 552.
Draper, Mrs. Margaret, iii, 326.
Drawing, instruction, iv, 188, 191, 242; v, 156, 306.
"Dreadnought" (clipper), i, 39; iv, 460-463.
Drill, v, 381.
Drinking, i, 165, 274-275, 249; ii, 275, 344, 381; iii, 290, 550; censure, i, 165, 375; ii, 309; vessels, i, 264; drunkenness, i, 276; ii, 437; iii, 292; v, 60; flip, ii, 252; on queen's birthday, 274-275; beverages, iii, 403; v, 37; punishment, 52.
Driscoll, Dennis J., v, 641, 651, 653.
Druggists, sale of intoxicants, iv, 609.
Drugs, addicts, v, 56; industry, 399.
Druillettes, Gabriel, i, 81, 506; v, 508.
Dublin (Ire.), i, 63.
Dublin (N. H.), i, 63.
Ducking stool, i, 315.
Dudley, Ann, i, 282.

Dudley, Joseph, i, 405, 516, 565, 572-578, 584, 594, 602-603; ii, 16, 19-26, 78-84, 97, 202, 302, 331; iii, 89, 90; portrait, opp. i, 572.
Dudley, Mrs. Mary (Winthrop), i, 266.
Dudley, Paul (d. 1681), i, 531.
Dudley, Judge Paul, ii, 171, 244.
Dudley, Governor Thomas, i, 53, 99, 107, 172, 319, 572; governor, i, 108, 112, 174, 572; offices, i, 112, 113, 116, 228; house, i, 294; Harvard College, i, 344, 434.
Dudley, William, i, 531.
Dudley (Mass.), i, 531; ii, 105, 115.
Duelling, ii, 277, 481.
Dukes County (Mass.), ii, 103, 112.
Dumaresq, Philip, iv, 440, 447, 448, 457.
Dumb persons. *See* Deaf.
Dummer, Jeremiah, ii, 84-85, 129, 302.
Dummer, Lieutenant-Governor William, ii, 89, 133-135, 137, 203; portrait, opp. ii, 134.
Dummer Academy (Newbury), iv, 388.
Dunbar (Eng.) battle, i, 62.
Dunlap, John, iii, 105.
Dunstable, founding, i, 530.
Dunster, Henry, i, 236, 349-350, 352, 397-399.
Dunton, John, i, 277, 278, 280.
Duny, Amy, ii, 31.
Dupin, Baron Charles, iv, 281.
Duquesne (Pa.), ii, 426.
Durant, Thomas Clark, iv, 367.
Durham (Eng.), i, 57, 58.
Durham (N. H.), powder concealed, ii, 530.
Dutch, Osman, i, 297.
Dutch West India Company, i, 4, 234, 242.
Duties. *See* Taxes.
Duveneck, Frank, iv, 248.
Duxbury, founding, i, 82, 414, 528; delegates, i, 83; neutral in 1812, iii, 544.
Dwight, Edmund, iv, 179, 182.
Dwight, Henry W., iv, 368.
Dwight, Thomas, v, 535.
Dwight, Timothy, ii, 306, 316.
Dyer, Mrs. Mary, i, 312, 483.

EAGLE WING (clipper ship), iv, 460.
Earhart, Amelia, v, 218.
Ears, cropping, i, 184, 276.
East Anglia (Eng.), i, 56, 58-59, 62.
East Boston, tunnel, v, 89; gymnasium, v, 90. *See also* Noddle's Island.
East Ridgewater, textiles, iii, 359.
East India Company (English), i, 4, 11, 94; tea monopoly, ii, 508; tea destroyed, 510; compensation sought, 519, 521, 536, 539; missions, iv, 356.
East Sudbury, in Revolution, ii, 579.
Easter, holiday, ii, 234.
"Eastern Argus," iii, 563, 576.
Eastern Association of Physics Teachers, v, 251.
Eastern Railroad, iv, 428; v, 402, 418.
Eastham, founding, i, 88, 528.
Easthampton (Conn.), i, 222.
Eastman, George, v, 259.
Easton, John, i, 541, 544.
Easton, founding, ii, 105; nonimportation of English goods, 543; iii, 318; rastor, iii, 310; poor relief, iii, 513.
Eastport (Maine), iii, 530.
Easty, Mrs. Mary, ii, 39, 40.
Eaton, Amos, iv, 359, 360.
Eaton, Nathaniel, i, 346, 349.
Eaton, Theophilus, i, 221, 228, 256.
École des Beaux Arts, iv, 226, 232.
Economic conditions, i, 410-440; ii, 192-219; iii, 341-364.
Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston, v, 264.
Eddy, Mrs. Mary (Baker) (Glover), v, 212, 467, 484.
Edes, Benjamin, ii, 478; iii, 110.
Edgartown, founding, i, 526.
Edmonds, John Henry, "Massachusetts and Independency," iii, chap. iv, pp. 87-117.
Education, of immigrants, i, 21, 337-339; colonial period, 21, 229, 246,

284, 305-306, 316, 337-357, 590, 604; ii, 229; iii, 291-293; endowments, i, 205, 341; Indians, 248, 372, 537; towns obligated, 284, 425; iii, 504; iv, 191, 351; v, 143, 237; women, i, 316, 326; ii, 230, 374; iii, 220, 288, 308, 311, 336; iv, 184, 196; v, 200, 201, 206-210, 241, 316; grammar schools, i, 204, 230, 284, 326, 328-329, 341, 352, 425; ii, 246, 376; iii, 293; iv, 185, 189, 193; Latin schools, i, 284, 305, 341; iii, 280; v, 241; dame schools, i, 305-306; ii, 374, 379; iii, 293; neglect, i, 306; in England, 325-327; free, 341; ii, 229; iv, 76, 175, 191, 617; alphabet, ii, 267; Mather's estimate, ii, 343; public duty, iii, 231; necessary to democracy, iii, 247; v, 141; benefits, iii, 504; after the Revolution, iii, 504; private academies, 504; iv, 173, 177; v, 240; paupers, iii, 516; sectarian schools, iv, 20, 25, 173; v, 186, 188, 241, 528, 531, 533, 633, 637, 645; public control, iv, 89; foreign-born residents, 152; employed minors, 152, 188, 419; v, 449; supervision by State, iv, 152, 175, 188; v, 237, 528; nineteenth and twentieth centuries, iv, 172-198, 398, 617; v, 233-265, 300, 305; State supervision, iv, 175; v, 30, 32, 237; compulsory, iv, 175, 188, 617; v, 237; elementary, iv, 177, 195, 617; v, 143, 237, 241, 319; secondary, iv, 177, 185, 189; v, 234, 241, 242-245, 247, 248, 296, 317; normal training, iv, 178, 188, 617; v, 201, 246, 249; ninth grade, iv, 189, 235, 247; federal control, iv, 191; Federal surplus distributed to towns, 291; negroes, 339, 579, 585; evening schools, 419; v, 109; cooperation of towns, iv, 595; truancy, 617; vocational, 388; v, 76, 85, 88, 234, 251-255; summer schools, v, 109; State support, 186, 238; State schools, 50; cripples, 50; Northwest Territory, 134, 143-147; influence of Mass., 143-147; higher, v, 145-147, 234, 240, 243, 246, 247, 255-265, 309-316; grades, 233; investigating commissions, 234; affected by science, 236; extracurricular activities, 246; junior colleges, 248; university extension, 248; German system, 310; annual expenditure, 333, 335, 340. *See also* Books; Kindergartens; *also names of institutions, subjects taught, etc.*

Education, map of institutions, v, inside cover.

Educational Commission of Boston, iv, 580.

Edward VI (Eng.), ii, 6-7.

Edwards, General Clarence Ransom, v, 611, 615, 618; portrait, opp. v, 614.

Edwards, Jonathan, i, 376; ii, 265, 291, 306-308, 310; iv, 369; son a rascal, ii, 318; portrait, opp. ii, 306.

"Edwin Forrest" (clipper ship), iv, 460.

Egery, Daniel, iii, 31.

Eggleston, Azariah, iv, 356.

Egremont, founding, ii, 110.

Elbows. *See* Palmer.

Eldridge, Asa, iv, 451, 463.

Elections, by proxy, i, 83, 109; compulsory voting, 83; v, 649; annual, i, 83, 96, 108; v, 651; magistrates, i, 108-109, 171; ballots, 109, 171; ii, 236; iv, 613; by delegates, i, 109; locally, 109, 237; of deputies, 171; primary, 171; v, 169, 35; local, i, 171; ii, 99, 100, 237; v, 83; of representatives, iii, 68; elections of State officials, 75; iv, 25, 32, 90; U. S. representatives, iii, 384, 559; members of General Court, 443; v, 18, 651; governor, iii, 444, 456; nominating methods, 444; federal districts, 459; election of county officers, iv, 25; corrupt practices, 29; v, 171; mechanical devices, iv, 32, 610, 613; secret voting, 89, 90, 92; v, 169; hours, iv, 90; double voting, iv, 92;

"Nigger Election," 310; handbill of 1860 (illus.), opp. 508; military guards, 577; Federal supervision, 576; registration of voters, 603, 607, 612, 613; State regulation, 607, 613; secret voting, 613; open ballot, v, 182; commissioners, 76, 77; records of candidates, 80; non-partisan, 83; absentee voting, 639; biennial, 651. *See also* Suffrage.

Election, doctrine, i, 182.

Election Anniversary, ii, 271.

Election day, iv, 7, 21, 25.

Electoral College, selected by the General Court, iii, 427, 433, 457; selected by popular vote, 428; number from Mass., 433; apportionment, 464; exclusion of rebel States, iv, 567.

Electric appliances, lamp, v, 384; manufacture, v, 384.

Electric power, exhibition, ii, 235; lighting, iv, 187; v, 362; railways, iv, 187, 429; communication, 368; transformer, 368; State authorities, v, 29, 363; statistics, 364; motor, 372; drive, 372, 375, 392; dynamo, 384; supplying, 393. *See also* Public utilities.

Elephant, exhibited, ii, 235.

Elevators, passenger, iv, 246.

Eliot, Charles William, v, 295-328, 465, 528; Harvard College, iv, 187, 192; v, 106, 256, 565; public schools, iv, 189; educator, 187, 189, 191; influence, v, 145, 186; writer, iv, 187; views, v, 502; portrait, v, frontispiece.

Eliot, Jared, ii, 310.

Eliot, Sir John, i, 162.

Eliot, Rev, John, i, 59, 177, 248, 274, 338, 369, 372, 376, 535-538, 543; v, 508; "Tears of Repentance" (fac simile), opp. i, 248.

Eliot, Joseph, iii, 303.

Eliot, Samuel Atkins (1798-1862), iv, 385; v, 296, 308, 521.

Eliot, Samuel Atkins (1862), v, 308, 465.

Eliot, Thomas Dawes, iv, 554, 565, 570, 580-581.

Eliot family, v, 296, 298, 307, 308.

Elizabeth, queen of England, i, 2, 7.

Elizabeth Islands, i, 364; ii, 11.

Elizabethton (Tenn.), strike, v, 225.

Ellingwood, Ebenezer, iii, 49.

Elliot, John Wheelock, v, 551.

Elliott, Howard, v, 160, 408, 411.

Ellis, Dwight, iv, 381.

Ellsworth, Oliver, iii, 374, 388.

Emancipation Proclamation, iv, 534-535, 561.

Embargo Act (1807), iii, 431, 532; iv, 63, 108; (1813), iii, 463, 497.

Emergency Fleet Corporation, v, 388.

Emigration, within New England, i, 214, 496, 497; iii, 441; to Middle West, iv, 355; v, 133, 148.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo, iv, 202, 252, 271, 274-278, 329; v, 148, 151, 211, 296; quoted, ii, 173; portrait, opp. iv, 202.

Emerson, Rev. William, ii, 573.

Emerson, William Patten Robie, v, 557.

Emmanuel College (Boston), v, 241.

Emmanuel College (Eng.). *See* Cambridge University.

Employer's liability, iv, 607, 611.

"Empress of China" (vessel), iii, 534.

"Empress of the Seas" (clipper ship), iv, 460.

Endecott, Governor John, i, 309, 473, 485; ii, 292; governor of Salem, i, 19, 98, 99, 195, 261, 274, 386, 524; offices, 103, 113, 256, 500, 535; governor of Mass., 112, 173, 174, 483; cut cross from flag, 176, 207; character, 277, 480, 481; views, i, 167, 309; portrait, opp. i, 484.

Endicott, Henry B., v, 602, 625, 626, 627.

Enforcement Act (1909), iii, 432, 542.

Engineer troops, in World War, v, 616, 620.

Engineering, instruction, iv, 186, 190, 360.

Engines, manufacture, iv, 362.
England, planting of colonies, i, 1-6, 11-12, 16-17, 32-33; struggle with Spain, 2, 3, 7; religious controversies, 6-10, 605; Parliamentary government, 9-11, 605; prerogative, 11; ii, 22, 127-151, 464, 517; iii, 342; social conditions, i, 49-52; centers of emigration, 56-57; colonial policy, 228, 440, 469-488, 507, 517, 557-566, 568, 573, 603-605; ii, 17, 19-20, 414, 464, 473, 475-478, 495, 515, 522, 530, 535; war with Netherlands, i, 242, 245; emigration, 387; iii, 510; iv, 143, 145, 146, 161, 162, 169; government, i, 605; European difficulties, i, 469; ii, 66; French relations, i, 493, 510; ii, 419; colonial assistance in war, i, 495, 501; wars with France, i, 509, 518; ii, 4, 419, 431; iii, 430; government, i, 605; public debt, ii, 476; colonial expense, 476; public opinion toward colonies, 515, 519, 522; Federalists pro-British, iii, 412; impressment of seamen, iii, 430-432, 436; interference with commerce, 430-432, 436; neutrality disregarded, 431, 436; military posts retained, 436; Indians aroused, 436; Oregon question, iv, 298; in Civil War in U. S., 533; submarines, v, 387; in World War, v, 606.
Enon. *See* Wenham.
"Enterprise" (U. S. brig), iii, 484.
Epileptics, State care, v, 56, 57, 556.
Episcopal Church of America, iv, 257, 267, 356; v, 461; Trinity Church (Boston), ii, 125; missions, v, 139. *See also* King's Chapel.
Episcopal Theological School, v, 280, 461, 463.
Episcopalians, Trinity Church (illus.), opp. v, 462.
Erie Canal, iv, 74, 442.
Erie, Lake, battle, iii, 484.
Erskine Agreement (1809), iii, 435.
Erskine Traffic Bureau, v, 64.
Erving (Mass.), iv, 361.
"Essex" (U. S. frigate), iii, 60, 430, 471, 472, 482, 483, illus., opp. iii, 478.
Essex (Mass.), pastors, i, 593; spinning bee, iii, 319; fisheries, 545; canal, iv, 422; shipbuilding, v, 388; park, 576.
Essex County (Eng.), i, 56, 59, 60, 215.
Essex Company, v, 383.
Essex County (Mass.), settlement, i, 122; ii, 106, 110, 112; convention (1774), 550; iii, 184; effect of Revolution, 252; wealth, 348; jail, v, 278.
Essex Institute, iv, 249; v, 287.
"Essex Junior" (U.S.S.), iii, 483.
Essex Junto, iii, 201, 412, 415, 428, 429, 431, 432, 433, 551.
"Essex Result," i, 592-594; iii, 184.
Estaing, Charles Hector, Count d', iii, 49, 122-124, 332.
Ether, v, 549.
"Étude," v, 500.
Eustis, General Henri Lawrence, iv, 526.
Eustis, Governor William, iii, 429, 467, 468, 473; iv, 77, 284.
"Evangelist," v, 491.
Evarts, William Maxwell, legal career, iv, 561-562.
Evelyn, John, i, 558-559.
"Evening Bulletin," iv, 80.
Everett, Arthur Greene, iv, 240.
Everett, Governor Edward, iv, 134; v, 520; governor, iv, 48, 86-88, 293; politics, 83, 283, 499, 501, 509; orator, 115, 212; diplomat, 123, 284, 298; Harvard College, 131, 284; interests, 179, 183, 299; v, 271; Secretary of State of U. S., iv, 283; U. S. Congress, 283, 288, 289, 482, 485, 504; abolitionist, 321; portrait, opp. iv, 86.
Everett (Mass.), water, v, 86.
Evans, Laurence B., v, 636, 646, 657.
Ewall & Jackson, iv, 447.
Exchange Coffee House (Boston), banquets, iii, 435.

Excommunication, i, 311, 397; ii, 53; iii, 327.
Exeter (N. H.), settlement, i, 206; in Mass., 206; in Revolution, iii, 107; visited by Washington, iii, 417.
"Expectation" (pink), i, 455.
Exports, agricultural, i, 33; paucity, 34, 433; statistics, ii, 412. *See also* Commerce; *names of commodities.*
Expositions: Atlanta and Nashville (1896), iv, 244; Buffalo (1901), iv, 244; Chicago, iv, 227, 240, 244; v, 389; Omaha, iv, 244; Philadelphia, 242, 244; Paris, 244; St. Louis, 244; San Diego, 245; San Francisco, 245.
Express service, development, iv, 429.
Extradition of fugitives, i, 229, 256.

FAIRFIELD (Conn.), i, 222.
Fairhaven, in Revolution, iii, 124; shipbuilding, v, 388.
"Falcon" (H.M.S.), iii, 31.
Fall River, founding, i, 528; in Revolution, iii, 122; Americanization center, iv, 151; foreign-born residents, 163; population, 281; industries, 409, 414; v, 373, 374; water power, iv, 410; notables, iv, 554; v, 22, 122, 472; schools, 253; fire, 596.
"Falmouth Gazette," iii, 553.
Falltown. *See* Bernardstown.
Falmouth (Mass.), i, 528; iv, 10.
Falmouth (Maine). *See* Portland.
Fame by comparison, v, 23.
Familists, i, 196.
Faneuil, Benjamin, i, 530.
Faneuil, Peter, ii, 225; portrait, opp. iii, 530.
Faneuil Hall, erection, ii, 225; town meetings, 237, 241, 251, 555; iii, 408; Tea Party, ii, 509; Committees of Correspondence convention, 546; banquets, iii, 417, 447, 481; public meetings, 437; iv, 118, 124, 321, 322, 328, 334, 476, 486; v, 124; court held, iii, 446; bazaar, iv, 330.
Farley, Mrs. Elizabeth (Choate), iii, 318, 329.
Farley, Robert, iii, 329.
Farm and Trades School (Thompson's Island), iv, 388.
Farmer, Fanny Merritt, v, 498.
Farmington (Conn.), i, 222.
Farmers, conditions, i, 273; iv, 397; secondary occupations, i, 273; holdings, 419.
Farms, abandoned, v, 429.
Farms. *See* Agriculture; State farm.
Fast days, i, 111, 254; ii, 285, 287, 521, 525; iii, 158, 475; v, 172.
Faulkner, Harold U., "Political History of Massachusetts (1829-1851)," iv, chap. iii, pp. 74-100.
Faunce, Walter H., v, 3.
"Fearless" (clipper ship), iv, 460.
Feathers, savage robes, i, 144; arrows, i, 153.
Federal Building (Boston), (illus.), opp. v, 356.
Federal party, failure, iii, 240, 427, 443; pro-British, 243, 435; strength, 408, 418, 423-424, 426, 430, 432, 444, 456, 459, 475, 498, 564, 577; iv, 45; personnel, iii, 411, 441, 442, 448, 457; policies, 414, 419, 422, 425, 427, 429, 432, 435, 437, 449, 452, 455-459, 468, 472, 475, 559, 563; organization, 445; trickery, 427, 456; decline, 467; iv, 77.
Federal Reserve System. *See* Banking.
Federalists, federal constitutional convention, iii, 378, 380, 388-391.
Feeble-minded persons, v, 58, 59, 556.
Feehan, Bishop Daniel B., v, 472, 533.
Fellows, General John, iii, 127; iv, 370.
Fenway Court, (illus.), opp. v, 220.
Fenwick, Bishop Benedict Joseph, v, 516, 520, 521, 523.
Fenwick, George, i, 170, 217, 228.
Fernald, Charles Henry, iv, 394.
Fernald, Walter Elmore, v, 556.
Fertilizers, fish, i, 71, 147, 424; iv,

406; inspection, 387; experimentation, 394.
Feudalism, in America, i, 194, 557.
Ferries, Boston-Charleston, i, 104; rates, 104; Charlestown-Cambridge, 346; central control, 432; larger streams, ii, 415.
Fiduciaries, v, 45.
Finance, i, 410-440; ii, 192-219; iv, 288-291; v, 329-367, 402; crises, iv, 431.
Finance Commission, Boston, v, 81.
Fine arts, eighteenth century, ii, 391; schools, iv, 188; v, 155; nineteenth century, iv, 225-249; v, 154-157, 219; civic commissions, iv, 246; twentieth century, v, 219. *See also branches of art.*
Fines, punishment, i, 277, 437; towns, i, 437.
Finland, emigration, iv, 161, 165, 169.
Fichte, Immanuel Hermann von, iv, 269.
Field, Cyrus West, iv, 368.
Field, Kate, v, 218.
Fields, Mrs. Annie (Adams), v, 218.
Fields, James T., iv, 222; v, 486, 487, 490, 497.
Filene, Edward A., v, 474, 634.
Filene, Lincoln, v, 474.
Fillmore, President Millard, iv, 129.
Fire, Indian methods, i, 138; making, 154; borrowing, 264; colonial customs, 263.
Fire engines, i, 263; ii, 248.
Fire prevention, i, 263; ii, 248; State authorities, v, 30; metropolitan, 73; Boston, 91.
Fire societies, ii, 248.
Firearms, sale to Indians, i, 85, 238, 498, 512, 524, 535, 543; manufacture, ii, 407; iii, 140; iv, 362, 364. *See also* Cannon.
Fireback (illus.), opp. i, 40.
Firelocks, exercise, iii, 10.
Fires, setting, i, 299; Boston, ii, 248; iv, 245, 596; v, 356, 389; conflagrations, 379.
Firmin, Giles, i, 338; v, 540.
First National Bank of Boston, v, 344, 347-348.
Fish, export, i, 34, 45, 424; ii, 402; iii, 45, 445, 449, 460, 461, 530, 543; handling on Sunday, v, 46; aquarium, 88.
Fisher, Mary, i, 402, 482.
Fisheries, primal industry, i, 4, 17, 32, 34, 47, 87, 424, 442-445; ii, 159; honest trade, i, 14; natural resources, 27, 32, 363, 443; stations, 19, 76, 195, 204, 443; Maine waters, 200; Indian methods, 151; monopoly, 193-194, 442, 445; French monopolies, 200; regulation, i, 237, 445; weirs, i, 415; iv, 365; Indian rights, i, 421; Canadian waters, i, 455, 503, 514-515, 517; ii, 402; iii, 362, 489, 531; iv, 162; protection by war vessels, ii, 73, 80; French interference, ii, 77; development, ii, 401-405, 474; iii, 307, 529-532, 545; iv, 405; injured by war, iii, 44, 527; exemption from embargo, 45; foreign trade important, 367; shell-fish, 551; iv, 407; Atlantic Islands, 163; menhaden, 406; State authorities, v, 29.
Fishing, diversion, ii, 280.
Fisk, Harry G., v, 386.
Fiske, John, iv, 190; v, 211.
Fitchburg, railroad, iv, 428; school, 617; industries, v, 384, 390.
Fitton, James, v, 522.
Fitz, Reginald Heber, v, 550.
Fitzgerald, John Francis, v, 78, 184.
FitzGerald, Susan Walker, v, 228.
Fitzpatrick, John Bernard, v, 523, 526.
Flag, Dominion of New England, i, 583.
Flag, English, cross cut from, i, 173, 176, 207.
Flag, pine tree, iii, 33.
Flag, U. S., emblem of Republican party, (illus.), opp. iv, 508.
Flags, regimental, return to State

House after war, iv, 540; v, 173, 583, 629.
Flax, raising, i, 39, 318, 422; ii, 408; seed, i, 422; ii, 408; preparation, i, 370.
Fleming, William, ii, 309.
Flint, Thomas, iii, 48.
Florida, slavery in, iv, 325; suffrage, iv, 555; reconstruction, iv, 567.
"Flying Cloud" (clipper ship), iv, 436, 450-453, 468-471.
"Flying Fish" (clipper ship), iv, 454, 457, 468.
"Flying-Post," ii, 338.
Fogg Art Museum, iv, 247.
Foley, Margaret, v, 223.
Folin, Otto, v, 567.
Follen, Charles Theodore Christian, iv, 165, 294, 329.
Food: articles of diet, i, 148-152, 422-423, 294; ii, 390; iii, 285, 287; standards, i, 427; iv, 381; inspection, i, 427; marketing, ii, 232; scarce during the Revolution, iii, 44, 82, 83, 84; British rations, 53; dieting, iv, 272; pure food laws, v, 169; sale on Sunday, 46, 47; supply of Mass., 261; conservation, 261, 606, 624, 629. *See also* Cookery.
Football, i, 157; ii, 280.
Forbes, Allyn Bailey, "Social Life in Town and Country (1689-1763)," ii, chap. ix, pp. 257-288.
Forbes, General John, ii, 442.
Forbes, John Murray, iv, 506, 597; v, 158; portrait, opp. v, 158.
Forbes, Robert Bennett, iv, 438.
Force Bill (1833), iv, 120; (1890), 577.
Ford, Daniel S., v, 489.
Ford Hall, v, 460.
Ford, James, "Social Life (1630-1689)," i, chap. x, pp. 260-289; "Social Conditions and Social Changes (1789-1820)," iii, chap. xvii, pp. 501-522.
Ford Motor Co., v, 400.
Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation, v, 397, 398.
Foreign powers, neutrality, iii, 43; correspondence, 168.
"Foresters; an American Tale," ii, 317.
Forests, State officials, v, 30; public, v, 37.
Forks, not in use, i, 264; luxury, ii, 357; steel, iii, 287.
Forsyth Dental Infirmary, v, 558.
Fort Christina, i, 219.
Fort Constitution (N. H.), v, 581.
Fort Cumberland, ii, 430.
Fort Dummer, ii, 89.
Fort Duquesne. *See* Pittsburg.
Fort Edward, ii, 427, 438-439.
Fort Erie, iii, 486.
Fort Frontenac, ii, 428, 432, 442.
Fort George, ii, 442; iii, 485.
Fort Hill (Boston), i, 576, 601; iii, 120.
Fort Independence (Boston), ii, 222.
Fort Lawrence (N. S.), ii, 430.
Fort Le Boeuf, ii, 424.
Fort Lyman, ii, 427.
Fort Niagara, ii, 426, 428, 432, 444.
Fort Ontario, ii, 435.
Fort Oswego, ii, 428, 436, 442.
Fort Pickering, iii, 491; v, 581.
Fort Porter, iii, 492.
Fort Rodman, v, 581.
Fort Sewall, iii, 491; v, 581.
Fort Stanwix, iii, 129.
Fort Strong, iii, 491.
Fort Sullivan, iii, 492.
Fort Sumter, iv, 504, 506, 516.
Fort Ticonderoga, French and Indian War, ii, 303, 436, 440, 444; American Revolution, iii, 23, 129, 161.
Fort Wagner, iv, 536.
Fort Warren, iv, 526, 527; v, 576, 581.
Fort William Henry, ii, 427, 437-439.
Fortifications, support by customs duties, i, 238, 450; neglect, i, 597.
Fortress Monroe, iv, 507, 508, 510, 578.
Forts, garrison houses, ii, 74; Boston, 244.

"Fortune" (vessel), i, 72, 75.
Forums, v, 460, 532.
Foss, Governor Eugene Noble, v, 16, 180, 181-186, 187.
Foster, Anna, iii, 317.
Foster, Elizabeth, ii, 308.
Foster, Hannah, ii, 317.
Foster, Jedediah, iv, 35, 37.
Foster, John, i, 374.
Fourier, François Charles Marie, iv, 270.
Fourth of July, celebration, ii, 272.
Fox, George, i, 385, 401.
Fox, hauling the, ii, 281.
Framingham, founding, ii, 103; naming, 104; in Concord fight, ii, 579; school, iv, 180; reformatory, v, 52; industries, 383, 390; camp, 576, 579, 613.
France, colonial policy, i, 493; relations with England, 493, 510, 517; ii, 419; wars with England, i, 509, 518; ii, 419-451, 431; American Revolution, iii, 40, 122, 160, 170, 233; relations with U. S. (1797), 242, 423, 424, 426, 447; revolution (1789), 412, 419, 426, 436, 447; naval war, 423, 426, 471; Napoleonic war, 430, 435; consuls at Boston, 448; Civil War claims, iv, 594. *See also* French; Huguenots; New France; World War.
Franeker University, i, 347.
Francke, Kuno, iv, 166.
Frankfurter, Felix, v, 129, 474.
Frankland, Lady Agnes (Surriage), iii, 255, 308, 321.
Frankland, Sir Charles Henry, ii, 226; iii, 308.
Franklin, Benjamin, ii, 310, 311, 341, 379; plans for union, i, 256; ii, 423, 458, 466; iii, 93, 161, 167; offices, ii, 416, 423; in England, ii, 488, 521, 523; in Continental Congress, iii, 104, 163, 168, 169, 172, 234; in France, iii, 169, 170, 171, 238; federal constitutional convention, iii, 374, 377, 381, 388; Freemason, iv, 257; scientist, v, 149; bequests, v, 87, 253; anecdotes, ii, 415, 342; views, ii, 210, 435, 465, 466, 500, 511, 527, 536; iii, 94; writer, ii, 310, 312, 313, 318; portrait, opp. ii, 500.
Franklin, James, ii, 311.
Franklin County, settlement, ii, 103, 111; separation, iv, 347.
"Franklin" (brigantine), iii, 32, 60.
Franklin Fund, iii, 520; v, 87.
Franklin Park (Boston), v, 88.
Franklin Square House, v, 466.
Franklin Union, v, 88, 253.
Fraudulent conveyance law, v, 44.
Frederick the Great, iii, 1.
"Free Man's Oath," i, 265.
"Free Press and Advocate," iv, 82.
Free Public Library Commissioners, v, 29.
Freedmen's Bureau, iv, 555, 556, 580.
"Freedom" (sloop), iii, 35.
Freeman, Benjamin, iv, 446.
Freeman, Elizabeth (slave), iii, 508.
Freeman's Farm battle, iii, 130.
Freemasons, Grand Master of North America, ii, 172; opposition to, iv, 81, 84; strength, 357.
Freemen, church members, i, 77, 105, 169, 221, 389, 479, 569, 571; not church members, 77, 83, 206; oath, 83; Plymouth, 83; admission, 96, 104, 105, 108, 116, 169, 389; stockholders, 95, 102, 479; elective power, 96, 105, 108-109, 169, 389; legislative power, 96; Maine inhabitants, i, 201; New Hampshire freemen, 206; inter-charter, 594. *See also* Suffrage.
Free-soil party, rise, iv, 96-99, 297, 337, 338; principles, 126; policies, 473, 475, 482, 552; strength, 473, 477, 481, 488, 490; coalition with Democrats, 19, 473-478, 481-484.
Freetown, founding, i, 529; suffrage, ii, 116. *See also* Fall River.
French, Allen, "The Nineteenth of

April, 1775," ii, chap. xix, pp. 562-586.
French, Daniel Chester, iv, 243; v, 155.
French, Henry F., iv, 391.
French and Indian War (1754-1763), effects, ii, 141; financing, 214, 142; map of movements, opp. 434.
French immigrants, i, 62, 530; ii, 227; 260, 431; iv, 162; v, 138, 509; statistics, iv, 143, 147, 159.
Freneau, Philip, ii, 313.
Friends. *See* Quakers.
"Friendship" (schooner), iii, 48.
"Frolic" (H.M.S.), iii, 483.
"Frolic" (U.S. sloop), iii, 487.
Frontenac, Comte de, i, 514-515; ii, 65-67.
Frontiersmen, i, 533; ii, 123; iv, 362; v, 137.
Frothingham, Louis A., 23; in General Court.
Frothingham, Richard, opp. iv, 516.
Frothingham, Thomas G., "Bunker Hill and the Siege of Boston," iii, chap. i, pp. 1-26; "Massachusetts in the Civil War," iv, chap. xviii, pp. 516-542.
Fuel. *See* Coal; Gas.
Fuess, Claude M., "Massachusetts in the Union (1789-1812)," iii, chap. xiv, pp. 407-439; "Daniel Webster, Statesman," iv, chap. iv, pp. 103-138.
Fruitlands, iv, 277.
Fugitive Slave Act, iv, 98, 127, 128, 329, 474-480, 482, 486, 492, 554, 561.
Fuller, Governor Alvan T., v, 17, 24, 128, 194-196, 634.
Fuller, Mrs. Bridget, v, 540.
Fuller, Margaret, iv, 207, 275, 276; v, 211.
Fuller, Samuel, i, 73, 81; v, 539.
Fuller, Thomas, ii, 344.
Fulling mills, i, 87.
Fulton, Robert, iv, 112.
Funding Bill (1790), iii, 415.
Funerals, i, 275; ii, 278, 285, 484; iii, 298.
Fur trade, primal industry, i, 17, 33, 72, 76, 87, 443, 444; exports, 45, 264, 449, 461; share of Massachusetts Bay Co., 99, 413; stations, 19, 84, 85; intercolonial, 220, 235; Maine, i, 195, 200; ii, 72, 77; northern, i, 200, 204, 507-508, 597; Delaware, 219-220; Connecticut, 238; cause of war, i, 502; Hudson valley, 511; public management, ii, 72, 77, 87, 91; Pacific coast, iii, 535; China, 535.
Furniture, colonial period, ii, 357; iii, 282; eighteenth century, iv, 231; manufacture, 361, 408.
Fryeburg Academy, iv, 106.

GAGE, GENERAL THOMAS, governor of Mass., ii, 305, 523-524, 539, 543; iii, 2; v, 173; in Boston, ii, 523-526, 548, 552, 553, 562; iii, 2-20, 254, 321; proclamations, ii, 543, 551; Concord fight, ii, 563, 566, 580, 585; Bunker Hill battle, iii, 8, 15; resolve against illus.), opp. iii, 68; views, ii, 516; iii, 5, 16; portrait, opp. ii, 524.
Galatea Collection, v, 271.
Gallatin, Albert, iii, 432; iv, 291.
Gambling, i, 157; ii, 276; iii, 290, 292, 331, 332.
Game animals, State commission, v, 29.
"Game-Cock" (clipper ship), iv, 445, 446.
Games, i, 305; iii, 291.
Gannett, Mrs. Deborah (Sampson), ii, 317; iii, 306, 327.
Gardiner, Sir Christopher, i, 366, 392.
Gardiner, Lyon, i, 217.
Gardner, Augustus P., v, 185, 186, 623.
Gardner, Henry, ii, 552; iii, 65, 157.
Gardner, Governor Henry J., iv, 492, 494.

Gardner, Mrs. Isabella (Stewart), iv, 249; v, 220; portrait, opp. v, 220.

Gardner, Thomas, ii, 551; iii, 6.

Gardner, poor relief, iii, 514; chair-making, iv, 408.

Gardner State Colony, v, 57, 59.

Garfield, Harry Augustus, v, 188, 628.

Garfield, President James Abram, iv, 566, 603.

Garland, Francis P., v, 639, 658.

Garrison, William Lloyd, iv, 206, 217, 294, 314-324, 327, 328, 331-338, 492, 509, 611; v, 147, 148; suffrage movement, v, 221; views, iv, 126; portrait, iv, 314.

Gary, Elbert H., v, 392.

Gas and Electric Light Commissioners, Board of, v, 29.

Gas Commissioners, Board of, iv, 614.

Gas companies, State supervision, iv, 614; v, 29, 363; statistics, v, 363.

"Gaspee" (H.M.S.), ii, 506.

Gaston, Governor William, iv, 589, 599, 600, 602, 609.

Gates, General Horatio, iii, 130, 143, 144, 145, 146, 234.

Gay Head, i, 131.

Gedney, Mrs. Elizabeth, ii, 359.

"General Arnold" (vessel), iii, 58.

General Amnesty Act, iv, 569.

General Court, creation, ii, 99, 125; composition, 96, 105, 108-110, 173; ii, 12, 125-126; iii, 6, 8; sessions, i, 96, 108, 109; iv, 601; v, 13, 18, 633, 651, 655; legislative function, i, 96, 103, 105, 107-108, 119-121, 168; v, 632; stockholders' meeting, i, 99, 193; in New England, i, 99; iii, 456; elective power, i, 105-106; iii, 456; government by, i, 108, 388-389, 480; v, 38, 41; quorum, i, 110; iii, 90; majority, i, 110; judicial function, 111-112, 115, 185; ii, 12, 166; committees, i, 116, 118, 119; v, 12, 652; dissolution, i, 118; ii, 11; outside Boston, i, 173; ii, 152, 526, 544, 551; iii, 111, 164; inter-charter period, i, 574; ii, 4; lack under Dominion, i, 584, 598, 604; meeting place, ii, 235; caliber, 237; message of reply to governor, 456; last Provincial meeting, iii, 65; organ of the Commonwealth, iii, 68-74, 93, 160, 163; first use of "State," 108; first use of "God Save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," 117; oath of office, 198; choosing presidential electors, 427, 428, 433; opening day, 444; v, 2, 6; officers of Harvard College eligible, iv, 31; closing day, v, 2; ability of members, 22-25; longest session, 183; memorializing Congress, 36; records, 273; adjournment, 652. *See also* Assembly; Assistants; Council; House of Representatives; Senate; *also specific topics.*

General Court of Plymouth Colony, i, 83.

General Electric Company, v, 264, 384.

"General Pickering" (vessel), iii, 59.

"General Starks" (brigantine), iii, 56, 60.

General Theological Library, v, 289.

Genet, Edmond Charles, iii, 419, 447.

"Genius of Universal Emancipation," iv, 206, 314, 315.

Gentry, settlers, i, 49-54.

Geography, effect on man, i, 25; New England, 26-45; teaching, iv, 173, 175, 188; v, 257.

Geology, New England, i, 26-30; instruction, iv, 359, 360.

George I (Eng.), ii, 135, 272, 309.

George III (Eng.), ii, 171, 313, 514, 519, 520, 522; iii, 161.

George, Lake, ii, 427.

George's Island, ii, 222.

Georgetown, founding, i, 531.

Georgia, excluded from plan for union, ii, 460; British sympathy, 504, 546; boundaries, iii, 175, 179; sued by individual, 421; proslavery acts, iv, 317; reconstruction, 555, 567, 568, 574.

Germaine, Lord George, ii, 516.

Germans, immigrants, ii, 259; iv, 165;

v, 138; statistics, iv, 143, 147, 161, 169.
Germantown battle, iii, 131.
Germany. *See* World War.
Gerrish, Samuel, ii, 362.
Gerrymander, iii, 458.
Gerry, Governor Elbridge, ii, 547; iii, 165, 372, 375, 415, 461; politics, ii, 557; iii, 413, 427, 441, 458; Provincial Congress, ii, 551; iii, 68; military interest, 144, 146; Continental Congress, 162, 164, 165, 170, 174, 177, 233; governor, 47, 246, 458, 498; federal constitutional convention, 369, 370, 372, 373, 382, 384-386, 389, 390, 391, 396, 399, 403; Congress of U. S., 372; U. S. Representative, 408, 414; in France, 424; Vice President, 461, 475; portrait, iii, 164.
Gettysburg battle, iv, 537.
Gibbons, General Edward, i, 228, 503-505, 508; v, 508.
Gibbons v. Ogden, iv, 112.
Gibbs, John Mellen, v, 24.
Gibbs, Robert, i, 440.
Gilbert, Arthur W., "Massachusetts Agriculture (1820-1880)," iv, chap. xiii, pp. 372-399.
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, i, 2, 16, 32.
Gill, John, ii, 478.
Gill (Mass.), industries, iv, 362.
Gill, Moses, iii, 108, 455.
Gillett, Frederick H., v, 24, 194.
Gilman, Arthur, v, 208.
Ginn, Edwin, v, 498, 499.
Girard, Stephen, iv, 113.
Glanvil, Joseph, ii, 31.
Glass, windows, i, 263; manufacture, 265; ii, 410; iii, 361; iv, 361.
Glasser, Eli A., "Government and the Constitution (1820-1917)," iii, chap. i, pp. 1-34.
Glidden & Williams, iv, 447.
"Glory of the Seas" (clipper ship), iv, 466, 468, 470.
Gloucester (Mass.), founding, i, 58, 60, 97-98, 523-524; first schooner, ii, 401; fish industry, 402; iii, 531; iv, 406; in the Revolution, iii, 32, 83; privateering, iii, 56; Constitution of Mass., 194; War of 1812, iii, 491; shipping, iii, 531, 545; stage route, iv, 420.
Gloucestershire (Eng.), i, 57, 59, 60.
"Gloucester" (brig), iii, 56.
Glover, Mrs. Elizabeth, i, 343.
Glover, General John, iii, 21, 32, 120, 122, 127, 128, 129, 130.
Glover, Josse, i, 343, 349.
Glover, Mrs. Mary, ii, 35; iv, 156.
God, officially acknowledged, iii, 575.
Goddard, Mary Katherine, iii, 114.
Godfrey, Edmund, i, 199, 200, 472.
Godfrey, Thomas, ii, 309.
Goelet, Francis, iii, 331.
Goessmann, Charles Anthony, iv, 392.
Goffe, William, i, 478, 550; ii, 309.
Gold, expectation of finding, i, 32; from France in the Revolution, iii, 51; ratio to paper money, 79; non-acceptance, 84; discovery in California, iv, 444; standard for money, v, 173; deposit by banks, 351.
"Golden Eagle" (clipper ship), iv, 456, 457.
Goldthwait, Joel Ernest, v, 559.
Gompers, Samuel, v, 190.
Good, Sarah, ii, 38, 40.
Good Friday, ii, 302.
Good Government Association, v, 80.
Goodell, William, iv, 327, 335.
Goodhue, Benjamin, iii, 409, 414, 418, 434.
Goodhue, Bertram, iv, 245; v, 157.
Goodspeed, Charles E., v, 284, 495.
Goodwin family, i, 276; ii, 35.
Goodwin, Frank A., v, 65.
Goodyear Rubber Company, iv, 135.
Gookin, Daniel, i, 248, 373, 536.
Gordon, George H., iv, 512.
Gordon, George A., v, 457.
Gordon, General George Henry, iv, 526.
Gordon, William, iii, 120, 193.

Gore, Governor Christopher, ii, 179; iii, 413, 432, 457; iv, 107.

Gorgeana, i, 198, 199, 201.

Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, i, 6, 16, 73, 76, 101-102, 193, 194, 196-199, 201-203, 220, 366, 372, 386, 472, 564; ii, 158; heirs, i, 199, 509, 514, 558; writer, (illus.) opp. i, 194.

Gorges, Ferdinando (1629-1718), i, 197.

Gorges, Robert, i, 16, 17, 19, 79, 98, 101, 114, 191, 194, 195, 202, 372, 523.

Gorges, Thomas, i, 198.

Gorges, William, i, 198.

Gorham, Nathaniel, iii, 353, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 409; Mass. Constitutional Convention, 189; Federal Constitutional Convention, 370, 372-373, 379, 390, 397, 398, 403, 409; Congress of U. S., 372, 393; portrait, opp. 374.

Gorton, Samuel, i, 208, 209-211, 213, 238, 369.

Gosnold, Bartholomew, i, 6, 16, 32, 364, 528.

Goss, Mrs. Hannah, ii, 366.

Government, theory of, i, 186; iii, 200, 209, 230, 425; iv, 8; checks and balances, iii, 200, 202; centralization, 377, 381-391, 393; administrative agencies, v, 28-31; efficiency in, 31-33, 650; economy in, 31-34; unpaid boards, 77; representative, 123.

Governor, created, i, 96; ii, 11; member of Court of Assistants, i, 96, 119; member of General Court, 96, 110; ii, 12; term, i, 96, 172, 174; legislative function, 103, 110; iii, 185, 199; v, 17; veto power, i, 110-111, 170; ii, 8, 10, 11; iii, 201; iv, 5; v, 17; choosing, i, 96, 105, 106, 108-109, 174, 486; powers, i, 172; ii, 10-13, 131, 505; iii, 186, 200; v, 40, 650; salary, i, 166, 439, 599; ii, 12, 21, 131, 132, 134, 136-138, 153, 202-204, 249, 504; iii, 341; v, 171; attendants, i, 172; royal governors, 174, 583; ii, 11; declared absent, iii, 68; first State governor, 117, 209; eligibility, 198; iv, 17, 21; v, 170; reelection, iii, 200; elective function of General Court, 456; no resident of Maine, 552; veto overridden, v, 183; successor, 651. *See also names of persons.*

"Governor Morton" (clipper ship), iv, 446.

"Governor Russell" (U.S.S.), v, 582.

Governor's Island (N. Y.), iii, 126.

Governors, lists, i, 607; ii, 591; iii, 581; iv, 621; v, 689.

Grafton, founding, ii, 105; Mass. Constitution, iii, 197.

Grafton & Upton R. R., v, 401.

Graham, Sylvester, iv, 272.

Granby, iv, 360.

Grand Trunk Railway System, v, 411, 414, 415.

"Grand Turk" (brig), iii, 362, 496, 534.

Grangers, iv, 397.

Grant, Robert, "Bench and Bar in Massachusetts (1889-1929)," v, chap, iv, pp. 99-131.

Grant, Robert, v, 128, 195.

Grant, President Ulysses Simpson, iv, 537-539, 595, 596-599, 603, 604.

Granville (Mass.), ii, 111; iii, 197.

Grass Lake (Mich.), v, 156.

Grave digging, ii, 243; iii, 298.

Graves, Thomas, i, 414.

Gravesend (L. I.), i, 312.

Gray, Asa, iv, 185; v, 149.

Gray, Harrison, ii, 237, 536, 542; iii, 65, 272.

Gray, Chief Justice Horace, ii, 470; iv, 62; v, 119.

"Great Admiral" (clipper ship), iv, 467.

Great Barrington, ii, 111, 116; iv, 360; in Revolution, iii, 75.

"Great Republic" (clipper ship), iv, 436, 460, 464, 468.

Greece, independence, iv, 116; emigration, iv, 161, 167, 169.

Greeley, Horace, iv, 207, 317, 324, 597-598.
Green, Constance McLaughlin, "New England Confederation," i, chap. ix, pp. 226-259.
Greenback party, iv, 602, 605.
Greene, Charles G., iv, 85, 92.
Greene, Henry C. B., v, 535.
Greene, General Nathaniel (1742-1786), iii, 5, 20, 122, 129.
Greene, Nathaniel (1797-1877), iv, 78, 85.
Greenfield, ii, 111; iv, 361, 428; inn, iv, 365.
Greenhalge, Governor Frederick T., v, 172.
Greenleaf, Simon, iv, 50; v, 106.
Greenleaf, William, iii, 109, 111, 113.
Grenville, George, ii, 477, 489.
Greenwich (Mass.), ii, 110.
Green Mountains, iv, 347.
Greenwich (Conn.), i, 222.
Greylock Mountains, iv, 348.
Gridley, Jeremiah, ii, 172, 173, 176, 178, 468; iii, 219, 225.
Gridley, Richard, iii, 11.
Griffiths, John Willis, iv, 443.
Griggs, William, ii, 37.
Grimké, Angelina, iv, 327, 333.
Grimké, Sarah, iv, 327, 333.
Grinding process, v, 371.
Grinnell, Frank W., "The Bench and Bar in Colony and Province (1630-1776)," ii, chap. vi, pp. 156-189; "The Judicial System and the Bar (1820-1861)," iv, chap. ii, pp. 35-71.
Grinnell, Minturn & Co., iv, 450.
Grinnell (Iowa), college, v, 140.
Groton (Eng.), i, 160.
Groton (Mass.), i, founding, 420; Indian troubles, i, 416, 550; witchcraft, ii, 34; school, v, 241, 463.
Grout, Jonathan, iii, 410, 415, 416.
Guano Islands, coolies, iv, 457.
Guardians, of minors, iii, 334; of veterans, v, 45.
Guardians of Liberty, v, 187.
"Guerrière" (H.M.S.), iii, 480, (illus.) opp. iii, 478.
"Guiding Star" (clipper ship), iv, 460.
Guernsey Island, i, 582.
Guild, Curtis, Sr., v, 366.
Guild, Governor Curtis, Jr., v, 123, 177-180.
Guilford (Conn.), i, 222.
Guiney, Louise Imogen, v, 536.
Guiney, General Patrick R., v, 536.
Guinie, Adventurers to, i, 94.
Gun carriage, manufacture, iii, 141.
Gunpowder, militia allowance, ii, 245; in private hands, ii, 248; seizure in Revolution, 529, 548; from Durham to Bunker Hill, 530; scarcity, iii, 20; manufacture, iii, 41, 140; imports, iii, 41, 140.
Gunter, Thomas, ii, 409.
Guy Fawkes Day, ii, 234, 269, 501.
Guyot, Arnold, iv, 188.
Guyton, Mary, v, 211.
Gymnastics, German influence, iv, 165; public facilities, v, 77, 90.

"HABEAS CORPUS," denial, i, 595; remedy, iv, 2*; suspension (1862), 561, 569; right, v, 133.
Hadley, founding, i, 222, 531; Indian troubles, i, 548, 550; ii, 309; notables, ii, 309; poor relief, 368.
Hadley Falls, iv, 361.
"Hague" (frigate), iii, 59.
Hairdressing, i, 272, 368; ii, 358; Indians, i, 140-141.
Hale, Rev. John, ii, 49.
Hale, Edward Everett, "Religious and Social Reforms (1820-1861)," i, chap. ix, pp. 252-278.
Hale, Rev. Edward Everett, iv, 275; v, 153; 211, 463, 482, 490, 493, 528; portrait, opp. v, 490.
Hale, General Harry C., v, 618.
Hale, Sir Matthew, ii, 31, 41.
Hale, Matthew, v, 641, 643, 662.
Hale, Nathan, iv, 357, 358, 367, 423; v, 152.

Halifax (Mass.), founding, ii, 106.
Halifax (N. S.), founding, ii, 425; British troops transferred to, iii, 25; loyalists removed to, 25, 260; prisoners of war, 52; description, 260; commerce, iv, 304; explosion, v, 626.
Hall, Granville Stanley, iv, 190; v, 257, 264.
Hall, Samuel, iv, 440, 443, 445, 447-448, 454, 459, 468.
Hall of Fame (New York City), iv, 103; v, 550.
Hallet, John Allen, iii, 46, 60.
Hallett, Benjamin F., iv, 59, 70, 82, 85, 87, 92, 96.
Halley, Edmund, iii, 91.
"Hallowe'en" (clipper ship), iv, 468.
Hallowell, Edward N., iv, 535.
Hallowell, Norwood P., iv, 536.
Hamilton, Alice, v, 216.
Hamilton, Alexander, politics, iii, 241, 243, 412, 415, 416, 422, 426; military interest, 242, 426; federal constitutional convention, 369, 374, 377, 382, 387; financial policy, 415; iv, 288, 291; enemy of Aaron Burr, iii, 427, 429.
Hamilton (Mass.), monument, v, 220.
Hamlin, Charles S., v, 172, 181.
Hammond, John Winthrop, "Twentieth-Century Manufactures (1890-1930)," v, chap. xii, pp. 370-397.
Hampden, John, i, 162; iii, 214.
Hampden (Maine), iii, 493.
Hampden County, settlement, ii, 105, 111; separation, iv, 347.
"Hampden" (vessel), iii, 38.
Hampshire (Eng.), i, 56-58.
Hampshire County (Mass.), settlement, ii, 105, 110, 112; courts vacant in Revolution, iii, 76; cotton industry, iv, 281; division, 347.
Hampton (N. H.), fortification, i, 205; witchcraft, ii, 34.
Hampton Court Conference, i, 10.
Hancock, Mrs. Dorothy (Quincy), iii, 321.
Hancock, Governor John, ii, 472, 476, 502; iii, 79; offices, ii, 244, 250, 551; iii, 159; politics, ii, 153, 313, 472, 538; iii, 67, 78-80, 145, 398, 400, 441; rebel, ii, 528; iii, 79, 227; Provincial Congress, ii, 551; iii, 79, 159, orator, ii, 554; Continental Congress, iii, 93, 105, 115, 159, 160, 164, 165, 233; governor, iii, 116, 200, 201, 209, 419, 445; v, 511; military service, iii, 123; host, iii, 124, 332; Washington in Boston, iii, 417; death, iii, 420; views, ii, 234; iii, 446; ancedotes, ii, 565, 568; state papers, iii, 105, 114; characteristics, 217; autograph (fac simile), opp. 58, 116; proclamation (illus.), opp. 116; bill of exchange (illus.), opp. 352; house (illus.), 282; portrait, opp. 444.
Hancock, General Winfield Scott, iv, 603.
Hancock (Mass.), naming, iv, 349; founding, iv, 354.
Hancock County (Maine), naming, iii, 446.
"Hancock" (schooner), iii, 33, 59.
Handel and Haydn Society, iv, 166, 270.
Hanging. *See* Capital punishment.
Hankow (China), v, 464.
Hanover (N. H.), stage route, iv, 365; college, v, 544.
"Hannah" (brig), iii, 39.
"Hannah" (schooner), iii, 22, 32.
Hanover (Mass.), founding, ii, 106; in Revolution, iii, 162.
Hanus, Paul Henry, iv, 166; v, 235.
Harding, President Warren Gamaliel, v, 190-192.
Harbor Commission, iv, 614.
Harbor improvements, by U. S., iv, 291.
Harbor and Land Commissioners, Board of, iv, 614; v, 29, 30.
Hardware industry, rise, i, 46.
Hardwick (Mass.), founding, i, 531; ii, 105; Revolution, ii, 543.
Harlem Heights battle, iii, 128.
Harnden, William, iv, 429.

Harper's Ferry (W. Va.), raids by John Brown, iv, 496.
Harper's Monthly Magazine, iv, 157.
Harraden, Jonathan, iii, 59.
"Harriet" (sloop), iii, 534.
Harriman, Arthur N., v, 640, 641, 643.
Harrington, Caleb, ii, 570.
Harrington, Edward F., v, 22.
Harrington, Jonathan, ii, 570.
Harrington, S. E., iv, 374.
Harris, William T., iv, 190; v, 211.
Harrison, Benjamin (1740-1791), iii, 104, 168, 169, 176.
Harrison, President Benjamin, iv, 607.
Harrison, President William Henry, iii, 484; iv, 89, 121, 122.
Harrison, Peter, iv, 228.
"Harrison" (schooner), iii, 33.
Harrows, iv, 373, 374.
Hart, Albert Bushnell, "John Winthrop, Commonwealth Builder," i, chap. vii, pp. 159-188; "Charles William Eliot, Educator of the Community," v, chap. x, pp. 295-328.
Hart, Albert Bushnell, v, 641, 657, 662.
Hart, Thomas Norton, v, 77.
Hartford (Conn.), founding, i, 60, 84, 215; Dutch settlement, 84, 234; New England Confederation, 252, 472; witchcraft, i, 276; ii, 33, 34; Andros in, i, 585; militia, 365; in Revolution, iii, 107; visited by Washington, 416; asylum for defectives, 518; capitol, iv, 230.
Hartford Convention, iii, 443, 464, 561; iv, 109.
Hartford and Hanover stage route, iv, 365.
Hartford & New Haven R. R., v, 403.
Hartwell farm, Lincoln (illus.), opp. i, 264.
Harvard (Mass.), founding, ii, 105; poor relief, iii, 514.
Harvard College, founding, i, 22, 180, 284, 344, 366; early history, i, 184, 341-357; corn for, i, 236; New England Confederation consulted, i, 236; Indian dormitory, i, 248; public support, i, 253, 341, 344, 590; luxury of students, i, 272; whipping, i, 277; buildings, i, 331, 349; ii, 170, 391; iv, 49, 232, 236; v, 108, 156, 157, 279; statutes, i, 332, 341; presidents, i, 338, 346, 349-350, 352; ii, 24-25, 295, 324; iv, 131, 284; v, 299, 301, 540; Board of Overseers, i, 345, 352, 599-600; ii, 24, 25, 324, 333; iv, 192; v, 299; endowments, i, 348; ii, 170; iv, 191; libraries, i, 348; iv, 221; v, 279, 280, 291; naming, i, 349, 397; curriculum, i, 354-356; v, 256, 263, 311; in wars, i, 357; iv, 513; v, 609, 612, 621; seal, (illus.) opp. i, 354; history, i, 375; memorials, iv, 236, 243; payments in kind, i, 434; charter, ii, 23-25; fellows, ii, 24, 333; corporation, ii, 24; iii, 262; iv, 31; v, 299; vice-president, ii, 25; visited by English officers, ii, 84; lotteries, ii, 218; iii, 568; Commencement, ii, 271, 298; v, 577; dramatics, ii, 283, 304; Louisbourg cross, ii, 301, 422; religion, ii, 308; iv, 185; provision in Constitution of Mass., iii, 207; ranking students socially, iii, 216, 293; fining students, iii, 292; clothes of New England make, iii, 358; sources of the student body, iii, 551, 569, 579; v, 265; subsidies, iii, 368; gymnasium, iv, 166; iv, 185, 191; v, 256, 297-304; nineteenth century, iv, 185, 191; v, 256, 297-304; departments, iv, 237, 239, 247; v, 256, 260, 303; slavery sentiment, iv, 332; negroes, iv, 584, 585; twentieth century, v, 64, 256, 264; influence, v, 146; museum, v, 164; observatory, v, 215, 312; admission, v, 243; crimson, v, 298; deans, v, 303; Board of Preachers, v, 456, 465; publications, v, 497, 501; Cancer Commission, v, 561; earliest view, (illus.) opp. i, 346; Sever Hall, (illus.), opp. v, 300. *See also* Bussey Institute.
Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, v, 314.

Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, v, 260, 288; reading room in Baker Library, (illus.), opp. v, 258.
Harvard Graduate School of Education, v, 256.
Harvard, John, i, 327-330, 342, 346-348; iv, 243.
Harvard Law School, iv, 49, 192; v, 106, 135, 152, 214, 300, 313; building, v, 108; Langdell Hall portico, (illus), opp. v, 106.
Harvard Medical School, iv, 192; v, 151, 216, 297, 300, 302, 313, 317, 541, 543, 546, 557, 559, 621.
Harvard University, Theological School in, iv, 260; v, 300, 302, 313, 457, 501.
Harwich, founding, i, 528.
Hassanamisco. *See* Grafton.
Hatch, Freeman, iv, 456.
Hatch, Louis C., "Massachusetts in the Continental Forces," iii, chap. v, pp. 120-150; "Separation of Maine," iii, chap. xix, pp. 548-579.
Hatfield, founding, i, 531, 548, 550; schools, ii, 376.
Hatherly, Timothy, i, 89.
Hathorne, Daniel, opp. iii, 58.
Havana (Cuba), captured (1761), ii, 444.
Haverhill, founding, i, 57, 531; Indian troubles, ii, 199; taxes, 216; Province loan, 200; industries, ii, 411; v, 376, 379; visited by Washington, iii, 417; antislavery agitation, iv, 322; stage route, iv, 420; fire, v, 379; labor movement, v, 435.
"Hawk" (vessel), iii, 43.
Hawkes, Nathan M., iv, 7.
Hawkins, Sir John, i, 2.
Hawkins, Thomas, i, 503-505.
Hawley (Mass.), witchcraft, ii, 35.
Hawley, Joseph, ii, 178, 187, 188; iii, 66, 78, 95, 197.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, iv, 213, 215, 276, 367; v, 211; portrait, opp. iv, 210.
Hayes, President Rutherford Birchard, iv, 601.
Hayes, William C., v, 615.
Hays, Martin, in General Court, v, 22.
Haystack prayer meeting, iv, 356.
"Hazard" (vessel), iii, 35, 37.
Headcorn (Eng.), i, 59.
Health, State supervision, iv, 614, 617; v, 29, 30, 32, 450, 553, 627; neighborhood units, v, 88, 558; importance, 90, 92, 321; Boston, 88, 92; school children, 239; expenditures for, 335, 340; laws, 541, 542.
Healy, James, iv, 137, 231; picture by, opp. 118.
Hearst, William Randolph, v, 178, 482.
Heath, General William, ii, 315, 316, 582-583, 585; iii, 5, 131, 140, 149; politics, 398, 424.
Heating, houses, i, 263; iii, 287; meeting houses, i, 273; school houses, iii, 292.
"Hector" (vessel), iii, 38.
Hemp, raising, i, 39, 422; cloth from wild, 318.
Hendricks (Indian), ii, 423.
Hennessy, Michael E., "Social and Political Readjustments (1889-1929)," v, chap. vi, pp. 168-198.
Henry VII (Eng.), i, 1.
Henry VIII (Eng.), i, 1, 50.
Henry, prince of Prussia, v, 305.
Henry, John, iii, 541.
Henry, Patrick, ii, 250, 478.
Henshaw, David, iv, 77-80, 84-87, 92, 94, 283, 288, 367.
"Herald" (U.S.S.), iii, 471.
"Herald of the Morning" (clipper ship), iv, 445, 468.
"Herbert Fuller" (barkentine), v, 122.
Heresy, suppression, i, 179, 481.
"Hero" (vessel), iii, 51.
Herrick, Robert F., v, 125.
Hertfordshire (Eng.), i, 56, 59.
Hewes, Amy, "Early Eighteenth-Century Women," ii, chap. xii, pp. 355-383.
Hibbard, George Albee, v, 78.

"Hibbert Journal," v, 493.
Hibbens, Mrs. Ann, i, 312; ii, 34.
Hibbens, William, ii, 34.
Hickey, William M., v, 22.
Hicks's Tavern, New York, frequented by refugee loyalists, iii, 274.
Higginson, Francis, i, 362, 366.
Higginson, Stephen, iii, 413, 429, 437.
Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, iv, 220, 486; v, 148, 211, 271, 525, 528.
Hildreth, Richard, iv, 369; v, 151.
Hill, Aaron, iii, 425, 453.
Hill, General Jack, ii, 84.
Hillard, George S., iv, 47, 70.
Hilton, Edward, i, 17, 203.
Hinckley papers, ii, 314.
Hingham (Mass.), founding, i, 59, 525; train band, 185; population, 431; industries, ii, 411; schools, iii, 312; commerce, 534.
Hinsdale, iv, 360.
Hirst, Grove, ii, 362.
Historian's responsibility, v, 539.
Hitchcock, Edward, iv, 190, 369, 385, 390.
Hoar, Ebenezer Rockwood, iv, 68, 599, 600.
Hoar, George Frisbie, v, 176, 177, 221, 666; in U. S. Congress, iv, 577, 599, 608; v, 174, 176, 666.
Hoar, Leonard, v, 540.
Hoar, Roger Sherman, v, 636.
Hoar, Samuel, iv, 95, 295, 339, 475, 483.
Hoar, Sherman, v, 170.
Hobamack (Indians), i, 73.
Hobbs, Abigail, ii, 46.
Hocking, John, i, 86.
Hodder, Jessie D., v, 213.
Holbrook, Abia, iii, 312.
Holbrook, Governor (Vt.) Frederick, iv, 374.
Holcombe, Arthur N., "Massachusetts and the Federal Constitution," iii, chap. xiii, pp. 366-403.
Holden, founding, ii, 105; schools, iii, 312.
Holidays, ii, 271-275, 285-286; v, 14, 35, 37. *See also names of holidays.*
Holland, rivalry with England, i, 4, 475; colonies, 4, 5, 84; Pilgrims in, 13, 67-68, 260; fishing, 32; war with England, 242, 245, 500; colonial policy, 493; alliance with U. S., iii, 51, 171; emigrants, iv, 143, 162; v, 138; arbitrator, iv, 301.
Holland (Mass.), naming, iv, 349.
Holland Tunnel, v, 89.
Holley, Myron, iv, 335.
Hollingsworth, Richard, i, 447.
Hollis, Thomas, ii, 333; iv, 260.
Holliston (Mass.), naming, ii, 104; founding, ii, 106.
Holmes, John, iii, 561-562, 567, 570, 571, 576.
Holmes, Nathaniel, iii, 312.
Holmes, Obadiah, i, 398, 481, 529.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Sr., iv, 185, 218, 367, 599; v, 302, 348, 551; writer, iv, 218; v, 479; portrait, opp. iv, 218.
Holmes, Chief Justice Oliver Wendell, iv, 50; v, 114, 119, 173.
Holmes vs. Walton, ii, 471.
Holten, Samuel, iii, 95, 165, 177, 179, 369, 399.
Holy Cross College, iv, 186; v, 241, 523; library, 284.
Holy Name Society, v, 531.
Holyoke, founding, i, 44; industries, iv, 361; v, 372, 381, 383, 384; pastors, iv, 369; v, 456, 470.
Homans, John, v, 565.
Homestead Commission, v, 30.
Hood, Frederick C., v, 395.
Hood, James M., iv, 446, 454, 460.
Hood Rubber Co., buildings (illus.), opp. v, 386.
Hooker, General Joseph, iv, 537.
Hooker, Thomas, i, 12, 114, 177, 215-216, 226, 362, 369, 376, 473.
"Hoop Petticoats Contrary to Nature's Law and the Law of God," ii, 310.
Hooper, Robert, iii, 308.
Hooper, Samuel, iv, 554, 555.
Hooper, Stephen, iii, 413.

Hoosac River, iv, 360.
Hoosac Tunnel, iv, 75, 366, 423, 595, 603, 615; v, 329.
Hoosac Tunnel & Wilmington R. R., v, 401.
Hoosac Tunnel Bill, iv, 602.
Hoover, President Herbert, v, 625.
Hopedale, v, 372, 381.
Hopkins, Daniel, iii, 109, 115, 312.
Hopkins, Governor (Conn.) Edward, i, 167, 228, 256.
Hopkins, Mark, iv, 135, 368; v, 145; portrait, iv, 180.
Hopkins, Matthew, ii, 30.
Hopkins, Stephen, i, 128.
Hopkinson, Francis, ii, 309, 313.
Hopkinson, Joseph, iv, 112.
Hopkinton, founding, ii, 103, 104; Frankland estate, iii, 255, 308.
Horncastle (Eng.), i, 59.
"Hornet" (U. S. sloop), iii, 481, 483, 487, 488.
Horse-marine, iii, 544.
Horses, early imports, i, 86, 424; on Sunday, ii, 242; racing, 280; quality, 389; raising, 392.
Horticulture, iv, 394.
Hoskins, Halford Lancaster, "Trade and Shipping," i, chap. xvi, pp. 442-466.
Hosmer, Abner, ii, 577.
Hosmer, Harriet, v, 219.
Hosmer, Joseph, ii, 575.
Hospitals, iv, 274; v, 50, 51, 330, 545, 555, 559; Spectacle Island, ii, 268; House of Industry, iii, 516; social service, v, 562; in war, iv, 528; v, 621. *See also* Health units; *also specific names of institutions.*
Houghton Mifflin Co., v, 497.
Housatonic (Mass.), iv, 361.
Housatonic River, iv, 360.
Housatonic townships, ii, 111.
"House Beautiful," v, 487.
House furnishings, i, 264; ii, 357; iii, 282.
House of the Good Samaritan, v, 558.
House of Industry, iii, 515.
House of Representatives (Mass.), provincial, ii, 12, 14; control of public money, ii, 87; apportionment, ii, 126, 203, 237, 444; iv, 14, 23, 92, 572; v, 1; speaker, ii, 22, 126, 131, 286; iii, 80; adjournment, ii, 131, 148; assembling, ii, 131, 136; unofficial assembling, ii, 150; a parliament, ii, 148; instructing representatives, ii, 238, 249, 492; v, 35; prorogued, ii, 482; governing alone, ii, 551; Revolutionary, iii, 68, 183; powers, iii, 200; eligibility, 203; iv, 18; pay, iii, 444; iv, 14; expenses, iii, 444; iv, 28; v, 15; districts not represented, iii, 555; quorum, iv, 15, 28; v, 15; chamber loaned, iv, 332; v, 1; new chamber, 1; joint conventions, 2; procedure, 3-10; committees, 2, 3, 6; Speaker, 4-6, 11, 16; impeachment by, 14; salaries, 15, 16, 183; recesses, 16; reelection of members, 19, 22; ability of members, 23; counsel, 42; women members, 10, 227; journals, 273; Ways and Means Committee, 336; chamber, (illus), opp. v, 2. *See also* Assembly; Deputies; General Court.
House of Representatives (U. S.), members from Mass., v, 690.
House of Representatives (U. S.), apportionment, iii, 382, 383, 464; term of office, iii, 384; appropriation bills, iii, 389; voting, iii, 382, 387; Mass. election districts, iii, 418; fixed number of members, iii, 391; Speakers, iii, 418, 428; iv, 284; Mass. contingent, iii, 474; gag on petitions, iv, 326, 327, 339; exclusion for insurgent States, iv, 556, 564, lists of members from Mass, iv, 623; v, 690.
Houses, dugouts, i, 262; log cabins, 262; framed, 262-263; iii, 282; brick, i, 263; iii, 282; cost of building, i, 271; interiors, iii, 282; two-room, 310; one-story, 503; provided by State, iv, 1; Georgian type, 228; legal requirements, 351; pictures of

old houses, i, 370; ii, 264, 320, 346; 364; iii, 234, 282; iv, 236.
Houses of correction, ii, 267.
Houston, Edwin J., v, 394.
Houssatonnock. *See* Sheffield.
How, Elizabeth, ii, 38, 40.
Howard, General Oliver Otis, iv, 580.
Howe, George Augustus, Viscount, ii, 441.
Howe, Mrs. Julia (Ward), v, 205, 207, 221; writer, iv, 220, 541; portrait, opp. v, 206.
Howe, Admiral Lord Richard, iii, 123.
Howe, General William, iii, 13-16, 18, 20, 24-25, 131, 256, 260.
Howe, Octavius T., "Massachusetts on the Seas in the War of the Revolution," iii, chap. ii, pp. 30-60.
Howe, Samuel Gridley, iv, 520, 522; v, 49, 148; educator, iii, 519; iv, 179; v, 556.
Howell, James F., v, 620.
Howells, William Dean, v, 487.
Howland, John, i, 68, 73.
Hubbard, Clifford Chesley, "Controversies over British Control (1753-1765)," ii, chap. xv, pp. 455-484; "Massachusetts State Government (1789-1820)," iii, chap. xv, pp. 440-468.
Hubbard, Samuel, iv, 54, 77.
Hubbard, William, i, 373, 376.
Hudson, Henry, i, 5.
Hudson (Ohio), college, v, 146.
Hudson Bay Company, iv, 298.
Hudson River, naming, i, 5; canal to eastward, iv, 366.
Hudson's Bay, ceded to England, ii, 85.
Hudson Valley, Pilgrims' patent, i, 67, 69; Mass. plantation, i, 511.
Huguenots, French colonies for, i, 2; in Massachusetts, 62, 279, 530; ii, 227; iv, 142; church, ii, 224; v, 511; in France, ii, 298.
Hull, Isaac, iii, 479.
Hull, John, i, 435, 464; ii, 367.
Hull, John C., v, 11.
Hull, Joseph, i, 227.
Hull, General William, iii, 150, 474, 478.
Hull (Mass.), founding, i, 261, 528; population, i, 431.
Humphrey, Heman, iv, 368, 369.
Humphrey, John, i, 112, 344.
Hunt, Thomas, i, 73, 533.
Hunt, William Morris, iv, 241.
"Hunter" (vessel), iii, 38.
Hunting, iii, 300.
Huntington, Collis P., v, 561.
Huntington, Samuel, iii, 176.
Hurlbut, Henry F., v, 124.
Husking parties, ii, 281.
Hussey, Obed, iv, 375.
Hustis, James H., v, 406, 408, 412.
Hutchinson, Mrs. Anne, i, 177-179, 208, 310-311, 395-397, 482; v, 199, 540; statue, opp. i, 310.
Hutchinson, Elisha, i, 599; ii, 5, 45, 246.
Hutchinson, Francis, i, 180.
Hutchinson, Israel, iii, 120, 127, 129.
Hutchinson, Governor Thomas, ii, 479, 493, 523; offices, 142, 147, 149, 150, 237, 244, 245, 423, 457, 491; governor, 150-153, 166, 503, 507, 539; iii, 341; chief justice, ii, 175, 182, 184, 468, 469; iii, 225; estate, ii, 226, 312, 479; in England, iii, 272, 275; views, ii, 57, 490; characteristics, i, 483; ii, 150, 152; writings, 150, 310, 480, 507; v, 273; collection of documents, ii, 312, 479; portrait, opp. 182.
Hutchinson, William, i, 209, 395.
Huxley, Thomas Henry, iv, 187.
Hyatt, Alpheus, v, 264.
Hyde Park, v, 70, 78, 86, 381.
"Hyder Ali" (vessel), iii, 495.

IBERVILLE, PIERRE LE MOYNE, SIEUR D', ii, 76.
Ice, iv, 368, 440.
Idle River (Eng.), i, 60.
Illinois, settlement, v, 139.
Illinois College, founding, v, 147.
Immigration, iv, 142-169; regulation, i, 183, 257; iii, 509; iv, 144; restric-

tion, i, 183; iv, 142, 168; seventeenth century, i, 470, 498; iv, 142; v, 509; purpose, i, 493-494; outfits, 413; undesirables, 286; iv, 144; nineteenth century, 143-169, 282; v, 432, 527; head tax, iv, 144; State authorities, iv, 144, 150; v, 30; visitors, iv, 158; eighteenth century, v, 509; inspection of immigrants, (illus.) opp. iv, 152.
Imports, commodities, i, 248, 445; English goods, 449; ii, 413, 474; iv, 285; nonimportation of English goods; ii, 253, 484, 495, 504, 524, 540, 549; iii, 83, 222, 319; violators of boycott (illus.), opp. ii, 276, 480.
Imposts. *See* Customs duties; Taxes.
"Inca" (U.S.S.), v, 582.
"Independence" (brigantine), iii, 35, 59.
Independence, iv, 346; early movement, i, 101-102, 469-478, 481, 484, 492-495, 507, 558-559, 561-563, 567, 587, 589; ii, 2; iii, 87; provincial period, ii, 4-5, 13-14, 19, 87, 123-128, 134, 140-141, 144-148, 151-153, 161, 210, 249-250, 253, 399, 534; iii, 90-93, 153, 212; effect of European alliances, 49, 51; constitutional connection with England affirmed, 66; Independence, Declaration of, jury trial, ii, 164; anticipated, 253; in Continental Congress, iii, 103-105, 163; proclamation, (illus.) opp. 104; proclaimed, 105-113; authenticated copies, 114-115; broadsides, 109; drafting, 233; adoption, 234; signers, 233; attitude of Continental Congress, 94, 161, 223, 224, 233; advocated by Massachusetts, 95-103, 162; advocated by Virginia, 233; proclamation of rebellion, 161; treaty, 170; inevitable, 212, 219, 230; agrarian interests, 252; condition of progress, 506.
Independence League, v, 178.
"Independent," v, 494.
"Independent Chronicle," iii, 425, 448.
Independent (Greenback) party, iv, 602.
Independent party, iv, 602.
Independent voters (Mugwumps), iv, 590; v, 170, 320.
Independents (Puritans), i, 21, 79.
India, missions, iv, 356; commerce, iv, 440.
Indian Commission, ii, 89.
Indian language, transliteration, i, 537, opp. 538; names, iv, 349.
Indianapolis, fine arts, v, 155.
Indians, i, 127-157; pestilences, i, 70, 128, 371, 416, 552; Plymouth Colony, 70, 72-75, 533-534; treaties, 73, 231-232, 233, 534; ii, 78, 85; kidnapped, i, 73, 193, 533; enslaved, 73, 183, 247, 268-269, 317, 360, 533, 535; ii, 262, 265; Christianizing, i, 75, 89, 130, 131, 228, 247, 248, 253, 361, 370, 376, 535-540; ii, 87, 265, 435; currency, i, 84; firearms, 85, 238, 498, 512, 524, 535, 543; ii, 164, 228; numbers, i, 128, 129, 130, 363, 416, 421, 552; iii, 355; slavery, i, 132; artifacts, (illus.) opp. i, 154; land purchased, i, 205, 208, 209, 213, 219, 221, 393, 394, 421, 523, 526, 528, 530-531, 571; ii, 86; iii, 354; killed, i, 205, 539; conspiracies, 241, 243; allies of colonies, 242, 500, 539, 551, 553; education, 248, 249, 537; apprentices, 248; ii, 228, 265; civilizing, i, 248-249; hired servants, 268, 317; intermarriage, 279, 302; massacres, 218, 311, 397, 535, 548-550, 585; ii, 377; intoxicants, i, 319; ii, 380; writings in Indian, i, 312, 537; dreaded, 417, 420, 535; real property, 421; corn taken from, 534, 535; injustices, 541-543; English justice, 543; white captives, 549; ii, 309; respect for women, i, 549; hostilities, 585; ii, 4, 88-91, 131, 422, 424; truck houses, 72, 77, 86, 87, 91; warnings of raids, 80; restraint, 227, 263; poor, 265; authorities, 315; intoxicants, 381; witnesses, 228; counterfeit, 241, 510; iii, 550; allies

of French, ii, 437, 439, 442, 443, 444; in Revolution, iii, 125; rising incited by England, 436; portrayed by artists, iv, 249; histories of, 209; map of tribes, opp. i, 130. *See also* Fur trade; *also names of tribes and wars.*

Individualism, of colonies, i, 244; social force, iv, 81.

"Indus" (vessel), iii, 430.

Industrial Accident Board, v, 120.

Industrial Aid Society, iii, 520.

Industrial School for Boys, v, 52, 277.

Industrial School for Girls, v, 52.

Industrial training, iv, 617.

Industrial Workers of the World, v, 437.

Industry. *See* Labor; Manufacturing.

Infantile paralysis, v, 559.

Influenza, v, 627.

Informers, fees, ii, 228.

Ingalls, Edmund, i, 525.

Ingalls, Francis, i, 525.

Ingersoll, Charles Jared, U. S. Congress, iv, 132.

Ingersoll, Jared, ii, 312.

Ingersoll, Nathaniel, ii, 42.

Inhabitancy, exclusion, i, 121, 286; ii, 243, 258, 267; iv, 142; admission, i, 122, 286; paupers, 286; iv, 143; statutes, i, 286; iii, 516.

Inheritance, i, 283, 430; ii, 169.

Initiative. *See* Legislation.

Ink, manufacture, v, 390.

Inns, regulations, i, 274-275, 428, 433; ii, 276; innkeepers, i, 318; ii, 313, 373; iii, 326, 416; frequenting, ii, 261; characteristics, 415; near a church, iii, 299; merchants in, iv, 364; admission to, 584.

Insane, in homes, ii, 369; v, 56; pauper institutions, iii, 515, 516; v, 52; institutions, iv, 174; v, 59; State care, 50, 51, 52, 54-59, 169; extradition, 45; prisoners, 52, 54; local responsibility, 55; annual expenditure, 335.

Insanity, instances, i, 167; State supervision, iv, 614; v, 29, 30, 32, 556.

Insolvency Law (1838), iv, 89, 90.

Insurance, English companies, iii, 48, 528; private undertaking, 48, 307; marine, 49, 528; v, 356; legislation, iv, 607; v, 358, 359; life insurance, 169, 357-359; State authorities, 29-32, 358; guaranty fund, 30; supervision of rates, 30; motorists, 60, 64; fire insurance, 91, 356, 359, 360; State tax, 333; State regulation, 358; reserves, 358; fraternal, 359; savings banks, 359; workmen's compensation, 359, 654; motor vehicles, 360; statistics, 361; by state, 653.

"Insurgent" (U. S. frigate), iii, 59.

Intelligence, statistics, v, 246.

Interest, rate of, iii, 364. *See also* Banks.

International Institute of Politics, v, 255.

Interstate Commerce Commission, railroad plan, v, 413.

Intoxicants, selling, i, 183, 318, 433; ii, 232, 263, 373; iv, 88, 600, 606, 609, 610; beer, i, 274, 427; ii, 232, 372; sale to Indians, i, 319; ii, 360; distilling, ii, 405, 414; political issue, iv, 591; v, 169; local-option licensing, iv, 600, 602, 609; seller ineligible for public office, iv, 606; prohibition, iv, 608, 610; v, 37, 227, 477; nuisances, iv, 609; screen law, iv, 609; inspection, iv, 610; manufacture, iv, 610; sale with food, v, 170; opposition to prohibition, v, 35. enforcement of prohibition, v, 170. *See also* Drinking; Rum; Temperance; Whiskey.

Investment. *See* Corporations.

Iowa College, v, 140.

Iowa, missionaries, v, 140.

Ipswich, naming, i, 56; founding, 56, 58, 526, 572; county court, 115; fires, i, 299; offenders, i, 313; pastors, 338, 593; description, 416; Colony tax, 436; protest against Acadian expedition, 504; tax protested, 593-594; Mass. taxes, ii, 215; iii, 349; in the Revolution, 57; admiralty

court, 39; Essex Convention (1778), 184; tea banned, 318; schools, 314; iv, 184; nonimportation of British goods, iii, 318; population, 408; stage route, iv, 420; canal, 422.
Irish Charitable Society, Boston, ii, 268.
Irish, settlers, i, 62; ii, 227, 258, 408; iv, 157; servants, i, 268; witch, ii, 36; iv, 156; immigration, 142, 144; v, 508, 517, 522, 523; statistics, iv, 143, 146, 156, 169; v, 73; opposition to, iv, 488-492; v, 504, 517; in Civil War, iv, 526; v, 526; lawyers, 102.
Iron, deposits, i, 40, 265; ii, 406; iii, 41; iv, 361, 416; imports, iv, 416.
Iron industry, early, i, 35, 40-41, 87, 184, 461, 462; ii, 407, 484; iv, 361; products, (illus.) opp. 40; imports, i, 462; ii, 407; eighteenth century, ii, 407, 415; iii, 40, 359; nineteenth century, iv, 409; improvement of processes, iv, 374.
Iroquois Indians, against French, i, 506, 518; ii, 455; colonial alliance against, i, 235, 506, 515; confederacy, 512, 585, 597; negotiations with, 512; ii, 423, 456, 457; barbarities, (illus.) opp. i, 512; raids, 513; alliance with, 518, 519; ii, 65, 66-69, 72, 433, 455; neutrality, 77, 80-81, 84-85, 89; suzerainty over, 85; Johnson influence, 425, 432; castles, 432.
Isabella Gardner Museum, iv, 249.
Islands, stock raising, ii, 407.
Isles of Shoals, i, 201, 204, 363.
Italians, statistics, iv, 147, 156, 159, 169; v, 73; lawyers, v, 102.

JACKSON, PRESIDENT ANDREW, use of veto, iii, 386; War of 1812, iii, 487; presidency, iv, 13, 80, 87, 120, 121, 288, 290, 302, 305; commemoration, iv, 504.
Jackson, Charles, iv, 47, 50.
Jackson, Francis James, iii, 435.
Jackson, Henry, iii, 122, 132, 149.
Jackson, John, ii, 365.
Jackson, Jonathan, iii, 201, 413.
Jackson, Michael, iii, 128.
Jackson, Robert E., iv, 457, 459, 465, 466.
Jackson, General Thomas, iv, 532.
Jackson, William, iii, 416.
Jackson & Ewell, iv, 459.
Jackson College, v, 257.
"Jackson Republican," iv, 80.
Jacksonville (Ill.), college, v, 147.
"Jacob Jones" (vessel), iii, 495.
Jacobs, George, ii, 38, 40.
James I (Eng.), i, 9-10, 14, 385; ii, 30; portrait, opp. 10.
James II (Eng.), i, 404, 511, 513, 580, 582-583, 604; ii, 175, 327.
"James Baines" (clipper ship), iv, 465, 468-470.
James-the-printer (Indian), i, 537.
James, Henry, v, 211.
James, William, iv, 190; v, 264.
Jamestown (Va.), i, 5, 12, 95.
Japan, submarines, v, 387.
Jarvis, Charles, iii, 413, 418, 558.
"Jason" (vessel), iii, 59.
"Java" (English frigate), iii, 481.
Jay, John, iii, 168, 238.
Jay treaty, iii, 420, 423, 436-439, 448.
Jaynes, Clement T., iv, 446.
Jeffrey's Creek. *See* Manchester.
Jefferson, President Thomas, iii, 231, 232, 240, 243, 428; Declaration of Independence, 104, 163; Continental Congress, 168, 169, 176, 231, 234; in France, 237, 239; Federal Constitution, 237, 401; in Senate, 245; Presidency, 245, 422, 427-433, 473; relations with Adams, 245; death, 249; Vice President, 423; writings, ii, 313; iii, 231, 247; views, ii, 171; iii, 414, 425; eulogy on, iv, 115.
Jeffreys, Chief Justice George, ii, 163.
Jenckes, Joseph, kettle, i, 40, 263.
Jennison, Nathaniel, iii, 508; iv, 37.
Jernegan, Marcus W., "The Province Charter," ii, chap. i, pp. 1-26.
"Jersey" (prison ship), iii, 53, 60.
Jerusalem, show, ii, 284.

Jesuits, in Mass., i, 81; exclusion, i, 276; ii, 77, 269; v, 507; influence on Indians, i, 513, 517; ii, 85-89; v, 506; harboring, ii, 269; educators, v, 523, 524.
Jewelry, Indian, i, 144; industry, v, 390.
Jewett, Victor F., v, 22.
Jews, i, 407; v, 473; statistics, iv, 143, 160, 162, 169; Sunday activities, v, 45, 46; lawyers, v, 102. Temple Israel, (illus.), opp. v, 458.
Joan of Arc, ii, 29.
Job Nesutan (Indian), i, 536.
Joffre, Marshal, v, 608, 612.
"Jonathan" (vessel), i, 202.
"John Bertram" (clipper ship), iv, 447.
"John Brown's Body," iv, 513.
John Crerar Library (Chicago), v, 154.
"John Gilpin" (clipper ship), iv, 454, 468.
John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co., building, (illus.) opp. v, 356.
"John Land" (clipper ship), iv, 459.
"John R. Skiddy" (vessel), iv, 442.
Johnson, President Andrew, iv, 555-557, 564, 566, 573, 577, 581, 592, 593, 594, 596; impeachment, iv, 65, 557-563, 593, 594, 604.
Johnson, Edward, i, 141, 262, 311, 371, 372, 496.
Johnson, Ethel M., v, 228.
Johnson, Isaac, i, 163, 413.
Johnson, Sir William, ii, 425, 426, 432, 434, 444.
Johnstown (Pa.), flood, iv, 608.
Jones, Christopher, i, 365.
Jones, General Edward Franc, iv, 517.
Jones, E. Stanley, v, 476.
Jones, Jacob, iii, 483.
Jones, Margaret, ii, 33.
Jones, Mrs. Mary Ann (Faneuil), portrait, opp. ii, 360.
Jones, Rufus, v, 476.
Jordan, Michael H., v, 22.
"Joshua Bates" (vessel), iv, 442.
Joslin, Elliott Proctor, v, 560.
Josselyn, John, i, 311, 367, 373.
Judd, Sylvester, iv, 214.
Judson, Adoniram, iv, 356.
Judges, appointment, ii, 11, 181, 547; iii, 64, 186; v, 645, 647; salaries, ii, 12, 153, 186, 505; iii, 186; v, 119; lists, ii, 182; iii, 581; iv, 621; tenure of office, ii, 171, 181, 186; iii, 186, 199, 205; iv, 21, 59, 92, 116, 482; v, 118, 645, 650; costume, ii, 175; iv, 36; v, 115; fitness, ii, 183; impeachment, ii, 187; iii, 206; admiralty, ii, 186; popular election, iii, 75, 206; iv, 59; dual office, iii, 7; charge to the jury, iv, 68; overruling, v, 128. *See also* Courts.
Judicial Council of Mass., ii, 164; v, 117.
Judiciary. *See also* Assistants, Court of; Courts; *also names of courts, and specific topics.*
Julian, George W., portrait, opp. iv, 558.
"Julius Caesar" (vessel), iii, 59.
Juries, eligibility, Jury service, i, 171, 185; refusal to serve, ii, 188; fact finding, iv, 20, 40; influencing, iv, 38.
Jurisdiction, use of term, iii, 87.
Jurymen, non-freemen, i, 122; selection, ii, 545; iii, 64.
Justice, iii, 366; v, 99, 100.
Justices of the peace, in Plymouth, i, 82; marriages performed, i, 595; courts, ii, 100; oaths taken, ii, 100; town duties, ii, 100, 247; v, 55; removal, iv, 30.
Juvenile Delinquency Law, v, 51.

KANSAS, slavery question, iv, 484-487, 493-494; v, 148; settlement, iv, 487; slavery riots, iv, 493; industrial court, v, 442.
Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854), iv, 484, 487, 489.
Kant, Emanuel, iv, 269.
"Kearsarge" (U.S.S.), v, 608.

Keayne, Robert, i, 111, 184.
Keith, George E., Co., factory, (illus.), opp. v, 434.
Keller, Helen, v, 209.
Kelly, Hall J., iv, 299.
Kemble, Frances Anne, iv, 367, 370.
Kemble, Thomas, i, 280; ii, 379.
Kendall, Amos, iv, 322.
Kennebec Company, iii, 550.
Kendall, James, iv, 258.
Kennebec Indians, ii, 86-90.
Kennebec region, early period, i, 6, 15; trading posts, 78, 85, 195; Plymouth Colony land, 195; settlement, ii, 86.
Kennebec River, boundary, i, 194, 196, 199, 202, 203, 511, 513; ii, 77; military route, ii, 432.
Kennebunk River, boundary, i, 199.
Kenniston-Goodridge murder, iv, 110.
Kent (Eng.), i, 57, 58, 60, 61.
Kentucky Resolutions, iii, 425, 452.
Kerosene, iv, 397.
Keyser, Thomas, i, 183.
Kidd, William, ii, 19.
Kimball, Gilman, v, 565.
Kindergartens, iv, 166, 189; free, iv, 194; v, 209; training, v, 234.
King, Cyrus, iii, 570, 571.
King George's War, ii, 142, 212, 421.
King Philip's War, i, 130, 131, 253, 512-513, 541-554; towns abandoned, i, 416; tax, 436; bonus, ii, 107; books, i, 374.
King, Rufus, ii, 179; iii, 123, 372, 374, 375; iv, 117; politics, iii, 123, 179, 369; federal constitutional convention, 369-372, 377, 382, 384, 386, 387, 390, 395, 397, 398, 403; portrait, opp. iii, 368.
King, Thomas, i, 530.
King, William, iii, 552, 561, 562, 574, 576.
King William's War (1689-1697), ii, 4, 7, 18, 64-76, 193.
King's Chapel, i, 404-405; iv, 267; v, 464; building, i, 43, 592; ii, 391; iv, 228; Book of Common Prayer, i, 405; iv, 257; v, 464; record book, i, 579; liberal, iv, 256; library, v, 285.
"Kingfisher" (clipper ship), iv, 460.
Kingsfield. *See* Palmer.
Kingston, ii, 106, 407; v, 398.
Kips Bay (N.Y.C.), iii, 127.
Kirke, Percy, i, 579-580.
Kirtland (Ohio), v, 143.
Kitchen (illus.), opp. ii, 370.
Kittery (Me.), i, 199, 200-201, 204, 205-206.
Knap, Elizabeth, ii, 34.
Knapp, Isaac, iv, 316, 368.
Knapp-White murder, iv, 51, 110.
Knight, Madam Sarah (Kemble), ii, 379.
Knights of Labor, v, 378, 433.
Knights of Saint Crispin, iv, 610; v, 378.
Knower, Thomas, i, 486.
Know-Nothing party, iv, 76, 488-496; v, 524. *See* American Party.
Knox, General Henry, iii, 23, 126, 128, 129, 131, 133, 144, 147, 148, 149, 242, 426; Secretary of War, iii, 150, 411; in Mass. council, iii, 150; land, iii, 550; portrait, opp. iii, 132.
Kossuth, Ferencz, iv, 130.
Krusi, Herman, Jr., iv, 188.
Ku Klux Act, iv, 569.
Ku Klux Klan, iv, 568.

LABOR, v, 429-452; guilds, i, 427; labor conditions, iv, 418, 449; strikes, iv, 419; v, 435, 436, 440, 443, 626; laws, iv, 605, 611; v, 171; State authorities, 30, 32, 227, 295; unions, 378, 433-438; agreements broken, 435; court interference in disputes, 652. *See also* Arbitration; Children; Day's work; Population; Slavery; Servants; Women.
Labor Day, iv, 611.
Labor Reform party, rise, iv, 591, 595, 610; policies, 610.

Labor supply, slave trade, iii, 376; immigration, iv, 76, 145, 409.

Labrador, fisheries, iv, 163.

Lace, making, i, 319, 429.

"Laconia" (steamship), v, 600.

Laconia Company, i, 106, 203-204, 206.

Ladd, Mrs. Anna (Coleman), v, 219.

"Lady Washington" (vessel), iii, 535.

Lafayette, Marquis de, iii, 122; iv, 365.

Lakeville State Sanatorium, v, 59.

Lambstown. *See* Hardwick.

Lamps, whale-oil, i, 263; kerosene, iv, 397.

Lancashire (Eng.), i, 56, 59.

Lancaster (Mass.), founding, i, 530; ii, 105; Indian troubles, i, 549; ii, 377; schools, iv, 179; v, 52.

Land, alienation, i, 121, 604; depopulated, 128; purchase from Indians, 205, 208, 209, 221, 421, 523, 526, 528, 530-531, 571, 586; ii, 86; iii, 354; communistic, i, 411; fencing, 419-420; commons, i, 420, 589, 599; ii, 101, 103, 395; iii, 356; iv, 351; records, i, 430; speculation, 571, 577, 587, 598; iii, 375; sale by woman, 334; eminent domain, iv, 1, 32; value increased by accessibility, 422; quit rents, i, 587-590. *See also* Boundaries.

Land Bank, iii, 209, 217.

Land grants, by General Court, i, 108, 523; by towns, 121-122, 417; minister's, 204; iv, 350; school, i, 205, 418; iv, 351; home lots, i, 286, 301, 419; iv, 350; for public service, 166, 419, 570; shareholder's, i, 413, 417, 418; servants, 413; individual holdings, 417-419; town tracts, 586; ii, 395; iii, 356; bonus for military service, ii, 107, 110, 450; iii, 142; churches, ii, 233; procuring immigrants, ii, 259; poor, 397; clothier, 407; Maine, iii, 551; colleges, iv, 390.

Land titles, i, 586-590, 599-600; ii, 14, 98, 395-397; iii, 549; quit-rents, i, 587-590; ii, 193; Land Court, v, 112, 113, 117.

Lands, public: Crown lands, i, 191, 421; ii, 299; Mass. tract in New York, iii, 179, 353; Mass. tract in Maine, 353, 570, 577; State authorities, v, 30; about Boston, 329; appropriation of natural resources, 647.

Landscaping, iv, 240.

Lane Theological Seminary, v, 141.

Lanesborough (Mass.), iv, 354, 361.

Langdell, Christopher Columbus, iv, 50; v, 106, 152, 302.

Langtry, Albert L., v, 182.

"Languedoc" (vessel), iii, 332.

La Poterie, Abbé de, v, 510.

Larcom, Lucy, iii, 512.

Lathrop, John, i, 60, 88.

Lathrop, Mrs. Julia (Hawthorne), v, 535.

Lathrop, Samuel, iv, 82, 83.

Latimer, George, iv, 295, 339.

La Tour, Charles St. Etienne de, i, 235, 471, 502-505, 508.

Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, i, 176, 197, 226, 262, 347, 446; ii, 343.

Laurens, Henry, ii, 511; iii, 146, 171, 238.

Lauriat, Charles E., Co., v, 495.

Lawrence, Abbott, iv, 94, 303; v, 384.

Lawrence, Amos, v, 384.

Lawrence, Amos A., iv, 487, 494, 499, 501, 502, 504, 509; v, 148, 149.

Lawrence, James, iii, 481, 483, 484.

Lawrence, Samuel Crocker, iv, 519.

Lawrence, Bishop William, v, 461, 638.

Lawrence (Kansas), founding, iv, 487; v, 148; invasion by proslavery posse, iv, 493.

Lawrence (Mass.), founding, i, 44; v, 373; Americanization center, iv, 151; industries, 414; v, 372, 373, 375; aid to Kansas, iv, 488; labor movement, v, 436, 443; militia, v, 574, 578, 587; cyclone, v, 578.

"Law Reporter," iv, 56.

Law schools, v, 106-110, 263.

"Lawrence" (destroyer), v, 397.
Lawrence Scientific School, v, 260, 300, 302, 313; deans, v, 302, 304.
Laws, Body of Liberties, i, 116-118; code of 1649, i, 118-119; ii, 156, 160; confirmation of existing, i, 592; ii, 14; common law, ii, 14, 158, 160, 470; iv, 48, 57.
Laws, coded: Mass. statutes, iv, 46; v, 42, 135; common law, iv, 48; U. S. criminal law, iv, 117; rights of nature, ii, 471; resolves, iii, 88; determining constitutionality, 452; emergency, v, 21, 36, 38; administrative regulations, 40, 655; special, 41, 43, 655; drafting, 42; libraries of, 272, 288; engrossed acts in Archives, 273; police measures, 647. *See also specific titles of statutes.*
Lawyers, settlers, i, 53, 82, 161, 425; ii, 156-157; early substitutes, 161-163; oath, 163, 167; barristers, 163, 173; iv, 36; v, 115; retaining, ii, 167; training, 171, 174; iv, 49; v, 152, 300, 302; admission to the bar, ii, 174; v, 100, 103-105; Suffolk County bar, ii, 174; Essex County bar, 174; costume, 175; iv, 36; v, 115; shysters, iv, 39; nineteenth century, v, 99-111, 152; women, 101, 214, 224, 227; firms, 100; specialists, 103; associations, 110.
Lawson, Deodat, ii, 38.
League of Nations, v, 630.
League of Nations, v, 36, 189, 193, 464, 499.
Lear, Tobias, iii, 416.
Leather industry, i, 44; ii, 405, 406, 411; iii, 360; iv, 361, 362, 403; v, 389; articles, 390.
Leather, standards, i, 427; tariff, v, 394.
Lechford, Thomas, i, 369; ii, 161.
Lechmere, Thomas, ii, 258.
Lectures, courses, iv, 271.
Leddra, William, i, 483.
Lee, Arthur, iii, 6, 169, 170, 171.
Lee, General Charles, iii, 20, 132, 143, 145.
Lee, Henry, iv, 283, 287, 506.
Lee, Richard Henry, iii, 103, 146, 161, 167, 232, 399, 401.
Lee, General Robert Edward, iv, 532-534, 537, 539, 556.
Lee (Mass.), in Revolution, iii, 75; name, iv, 349; industries, iv, 360.
"Lee" (schooner), iii, 22, 32, 59.
Legislation (Mass.) by General Court, i, 96, 107-108; ii, 10, 517; iii, 89, 199; v, 632; by Court of Assistants, i, 103, 105, 106; adherence to English, i, 117; ii, 13; criticized in England, i, 563; ii, 15; veto, i, 110-111, 170; ii, 8, 11, 12, 125, 147; v, 29, 39; by Council, i, 574; revenue, 592; approval of governor, 12; v, 39, 651; reactionary, ii, 16; Mosaic Law, i, 269; ii, 16, 159; form of enactment, 152; judicial restriction, 168-169, 470; law of God, 170; by barristers, 173; constitutional restriction, 177, 470; v, 632; by courts, ii, 248; "ultra vires," 471, 517; consent necessary, iii, 296; methods, v, 3-4, 6-10, 12-13, 17, 18-21; speedy, 8; annual output, 12, 19; initiative, 19, 37, 188, 632, 633, 634, 635; popular, 636, 641, 656; recall of a bill, 39; repeal, 43; drafting, 43; uniformity among States, 43. *See also specific topics.*
Legislation (U. S.), revision by council of jurists, iii, 386; veto, 386; iv, 5; roll-call voting, v, 21.
Legislature. *See* Assistants; Assembly; Continental Congress; Council; General Court; House of Representatives; Provincial Congress; Senate.
"Lehigh" (U.S.S.), v, 582.
Lehigh & Hudson River R. R., v, 415.
Leicester (Mass.), founding, ii, 103; naming, ii, 104; singing school, iii, 314; party at tavern, 332.
Leicestershire (Eng.), i, 57, 58, 60.

Leif Ericson, i, 166.

Lenox (Mass.), name, iv, 349; Christmas party, 357; industries, 361; resort, 367; school, v, 463.

Leominster, founding, ii, 105; industries, iii, 361; v, 391; foreign-born element, iv, 154.

Leonard, George, iii, 409, 415.

Leonard family, i, 550.

"Leopard" (H.M.S.), iii, 431.

Letang, Eugene, iv, 236, 247.

Letters of marque, in American Revolution, iii, 39, 45, 50, 55, 526; War of 1812, 39.

"Levant" (H.M.S.), iii, 488.

Levant Company, i, 94.

Leverett, Governor John (1616-1679), i, 477, 501, 507, 562; iii, 89; portrait, opp. i, 478.

Leverett, John (1662-1724), ii, 25, 295.

Levett, Christopher, i, 195-196, 202.

Levi, Harry, v, 473.

Lévis, duc de, ii, 439, 442, 443.

Lewis, Mercy, ii, 39.

Lewis, William H., iv, 585.

Lexington, founding, ii, 103; naming, 104.

Lexington battle, ii, 562-586; iii, 2, 326; reports, 6; humorous comment, ii, 313; anniversary, iv, 509, 519; v, 172; picture, opp. ii, 570.

Leyden (Holland), i, 13, 68, 76, 79, 88.

Libel, upon General Court, iii, 454.

"Libelle of Englysche Polycye," i, 476.

Liberal thought, ii, 1-3, 32; iii, 501, 505; iv, 201, 252, 254.

Liberal Republican party, iv, 597.

"Liberator," iv, 206, 294, 316, 328, 332, 335, 338; v, 153.

"Liberty" (sloop), ii, 472, 502.

Liberty, Winthrop on, i, 122-123, 186-187; charter rights, ii, 14, 158; ideal, 541; iv, 61; checks and balances, iii, 200, 202; based on virtue, 247.

"Liberty Bell," iv, 331.

Liberty of conscience, i, 21, 66, 81, 176-182, 208, 378, 382-408, 473, 482, 484-485, 563, 565, 567, 590, 599-600, 604; ii, 15, 269, 337-340; iv, 252-268, 355-357; v, 505, 509, 528; legislation, i, 208, 400; v, 133; charter provision, ii, 14; Constitution of Mass., iii, 187, 190, 195; iv, 9-13.

Liberty of speech, iv, 334; v, 624.

Liberty of the press, i, 378; ii, 130; iii, 199; iv, 334; v, 623; Adams case, iii, 454.

Liberty Loans. *See* Public debt.

Liberty party, iv, 90, 92-97, 335, 337, 338. *See also* Free-soil party.

Liberty Tree, ii, 186, 479, 480, 482.

Librarians, eminent, v, 291.

Libraries, iv, 154, 221, 238; v, 153, 267-291; open to the public, iv, 239; Mass. State Library, v, 174, 272, 275; proprietary, iv, 270; v, 274, 284-290; State authorities, 29, 268, 274-276; State aid, 275, 276; traveling, 277; inter-library loans, 277, 278; work for children, 278; instruction, 278; schools benefited, 278; books in foreign languages, 278; buildings, 269, 279; college-owned, 279-284; theological, 289; circulating, 290. *See also* Books; *also specific topics.*

Library Art Club, v, 277.

Library of Congress, librarian, v, 291.

Lieber, Francis, iv, 166.

Lieutenant governors, office, ii, 11; lists, 591; iii, 581; iv, 621; v, 689; declared absent, iii, 68; resident of Maine, 552; eligibility, iv, 21, 25.

Lighthouses, iv, 293.

Lighting arrangements, i, 263.

"Lightning" (clipper ship), iv, 465-466, 469.

Lincoln, Earl of, i, 52, 53, 98, 311, 319.

Lincoln (Eng.), i, 59.

Lincoln (Mass.), incorporated, ii, 110; in Concord fight, 571-572, 576; Hartwell house, (illus.) opp. i, 264.

Lincoln, President Abraham, estimates,

ii, 252; iv, 220; memorial, 238, 247; presidency, 501, 534, 539, 564, 592; calls troops, 506, 509, 519, 520, 524, 527, 530, 531; choice of general, 533; assassination, 540, 604; writer, i, 368; iv, 120, 206, 212.

Lincoln, General Benjamin, ii, 551; iii, 121, 130, 132, 133, 150, 398.

Lincoln, Mrs. Hannah (Quincy), iii, 318, 329.

Lincoln, Levi (1749-1820), iii, 189, 413, 427, 429; iv, 62.

Lincoln, Governor Levi (1782-1868), iv, 4, 59, 78, 80, 82-83.

Lincoln County (Maine), settlement, ii, 112.

Lincolnshire (Eng.), i, 12, 19, 59.

Linebrook Parish, iii, 319.

"Lion" (vessel), i, 207, 393, 536.

Lions, i, 367; ii, 283.

Literature, i, 319-322, 360-378; ii, 291-318; iii, 287; iv, 201-222; v, 150-151; Mather's estimate, ii, 344; English authors popular, iii, 287, 317.

Lithuania, emigration, iv, 161, 165, 169.

Little, Brown & Co., v, 498.

Little, George, iii, 471.

Little Harbor (N. H.), i, 17, 195, 202, 205.

"Little James" (vessel), i, 76.

Little, Moses, iii, 126.

Littleton, founding, ii, 103, 104; in Concord fight, 575.

Liver diet, v, 564.

Livermore, Mrs. Mary A., v, 205.

Liverpool (Eng.), emigration, i, 59; packet lines, iv, 440, 442-443, 460.

Livestock, i, 123; ii, 392; iii, 358; iv, 376; introduction of domestic animals, i, 68; exports, ii, 413; bounty to soldiers, iii, 345; health control, iv, 382, 395.

"Living Age," v, 488.

Livingston, Robert R., iii, 104, 163, 234; iv, 112.

Lloyd, James, iii, 434, 474, 543; iv, 283, 306.

Loan agencies, State supervision, v, 30.

Lobbying, repression, v, 171.

Locke, John, philosopher, i, 194, 557.

Locke, John, soldier, iii, 325.

Locke, Morris E., v, 616.

Locomotives, early type (illus.), opp. v, 402.

Lodge, Henry Cabot, iv, 460; v, 315; in U. S. Congress, iv, 577; v, 24, 170, 172, 182, 189, 193, 600, 601, 623, 629; politics, iv, 601, 606; v, 173, 179, 191, 193; death, v, 194.

Logan, Edward L., v, 24, 615.

Logan, John Alexander, portrait, opp. iv, 558.

Lomasney, Martin M., v, 22, 24, 182, 188, 638, 640, 644, 662, 664; portrait, opp. v, 664.

London, Eng., emigration, i, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62.

London Company, i, 5, 14, 18, 67, 77, 193, 410.

Londonderry (N. H.), founding, ii, 408.

Long, Crawford Williamson, v, 549.

Long, Governor John Davis, iv, 603, 604, 608; v, 41, 42.

Long, Richard H., v, 189, 190.

Long Island (Conn., N. Y.), geology, i, 29; settlement, 222, 246, 311, 397; cession to Conn., 234, 500; Indians, 243, 247.

Long Island battle, iii, 126.

Longfellow, Alexander Wadsworth, iv, 239.

Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, iii, 419; iv, 185, 217, 229, 328, 367; v, 310; writings, iv, 217, 444, 448; v, 151.

Longfellow, William Pitt Preble, iv, 235.

Longmeadow, founding, i, 531; pastor, iv, 369.

Looms, iv, 412; v, 372, 375.

Lord, Robert Howard, "The Catholic Church in Mass., v, chap. xvii, pp. 504-538.

Lord's Prayer, in Indian, i, 537.

Lords of the Admiralty, ii, 12.

Lords of Trade and Plantations, i, 254, 453, 561, 564, 568, 582, 587, 595, 597, 600, 603; ii, 5, 17, 19, 166, 171, 203, 218, 423, 464; iii, 91. *See also* Committee for Trade.
Church in Massachusetts," v, chap. xvii, pp. 504-538.
Loring, Augustus P., "The Fourth Constitutional Convention (1914-1919)," v, chap. xxi, pp. 632-670.
Loring, Augustus P., v, 24, 643, 644, 648, 657, 660, 669.
Loring, Edward Greely, iii, 206; iv, 283, 492, 495.
Loring, Ellis Gray, iv, 327, 367.
Louis XIV (France), ii, 309.
Louisiana, Acadian immigrants, ii, 430; protest against admission to Union, iii, 462, 472; northern negroes in, iv, 339; reconstruction, iv, 573, 574, 576.
Louisiana purchase, iii, 429.
Lovejoy, Elijah P., iv, 295, 327, 334; v, 153.
Lovell, James, ii, 554; iii, 145, 146, 164, 165, 170, 175, 177.
Lovell, John, ii, 225.
Lovell, General Solomon, iii, 36, 124.
Lovett, Robert Williamson, v, 559.
Lovewell, John, ii, 90.
Low, Charles P., iv, 452, 453.
Lowe Art Tile Company (Chelsea), iv, 238.
Lowell (Mass.), founding, i, 44; iv, 410, 414, 417; foreign-born element, 154; population, 281; industries, 289; v, 372, 373, 381; notables, iv, 383, 565, 593; v, 11, 22, 172, 226; stage route, iv, 420; in Civil War, 521; school, v, 226; hospitals, 546.
Lowell, Abbot Lawrence, Harvard College, v, 107, 256, 311; public services, v, 128, 195, 638, 641.
Lowell, Amy, v, 218; portrait, opp. v, 206.
Lowell, Francis Cabot, iv, 412, 414.
Lowell, Guy, iv, 247.
Lowell Institute, iv, 271; v, 250.
Lowell Institute School for Industrial Foremen, v, 255.
Lowell, James A., v, 188, 653.
Lowell, James Russell, ii, 547; iv, 187, 233, 269, 271; v, 487; abolitionist, iv, 296, 317, 328; writings, 219; v, 151; portrait, opp. iv, 218.
Lowell, John (1824-1897), iv, 62.
Lowell, John (1743-1811), iii, 189, 192, 200, 209, 413, 434, 453; iv, 62; Mass. Constitution, iii, 189, 192, 200, 209.
Lowell Manufacturing Company, iii, 512.
Lowell School of Design, iv, 241.
Lowell Textile Institute, v, 240, 262.
Lotteries, ii, 217, 276; iii, 274, 294, 446, 568; iv, 365; ticket (fac simile), opp. ii, 218.
Loudoun, Earl of, ii, 144, 435, 437, 438, 440, 441.
Louisburg (C. B. Id.), ii, 85; King George's War, 142, 421; cross, 301, 422; French and Indian War, 427, 438, 440; iii, 58.
Loyal American Associators, iii, 254.
Loyal Irish Volunteers, iii, 254.
Loyalists, iii, 251-296; conservatives, ii, 127; social elements, 182; iii, 311; feared, ii, 254; political power, 481; in cities, 526; misfortunes, 526; removal from Massachusetts, ii, 254; iii, 25; apathy, 2; Berkshire County agitation against, 76; signs burned, 111; return, 350; property confiscated, 264, 419.
Luce, Robert, v, 22, 23, 636, 643, 645, 662, 668.
Ludlow, Roger, i, 103, 174.
Ludlow (Mass.), v, 390.
Lumber, primal industry, i, 34, 47, 72, 76, 424; ii, 397; export, i, 41, 45, 88, 204, 264, 424, 445, 449, 461; ii, 397, 413; iii, 45; shortage, i, 424; embargo, iii, 83; Lumber, foreign trade needful, iii, 367; Maine, iii, 549, 555; depredations, ii, 399, 467; iii, 570; domestic trade, iv, 421; shipbuilding

supplied, iv, 442; in World War, v, 606. *See also* Trees.
Lummus, Henry T., v, 641, 643.
Lundy, Benjamin, iv, 206, 314, 327; v, 147; portrait, opp. iv, 312.
Lundy's Lane (Ontario) battle, iii, 485.
Lunenburg (Mass.), founding, ii, 105.
Lunenburg (N. S.), iii, 51.
Lunt, Henry, iii, 59.
"Lusitania," v, 599.
Lutterworth (Eng.), i, 58.
Luxury, i, 271, 295; ii, 231, 358; iii, 282, 308, 350.
Lyceums, iv, 271; v, 205.
Lyford, John, i, 76, 79-80, 392.
Lygonia, i, 196, 199, 201, 472.
Lyman, George H., iv, 517, 528.
Lyman, Phineas, ii, 427.
Lyman, Theodore, iv, 294, 321, 323; v, 296.
Lynde, Benjamin, ii, 171, 183.
Lynn, founding, i, 100, 261, 525; ii, 106; iron works, i, 265; shipbuilding, 448; description, 415; bridge, 432; Mass. tax, 436; shoe industry, iii, 360; v, 376, 379; population, iii, 408; public library, iv, 155; antislavery agitation, 322; in Civil War, 517; fire, v, 379, 578; electric plant, iv, 394; labor movement, v, 435; neighborhood center, 469.
Lynn Regis (Eng.), i, 525.
Lynn Village. *See* Reading.
Lynnfield, founding, i, 530; in Civil War, iv, 527.
Lyon, Mary, iv, 184, 359; v, 145, 200, 206, 209.
Lying-in Hospital, iv, 274.
Lyman School for Boys, v, 52.
"Lynch" (vessel), iii, 32.
Lynching, antilynching bills, iv, 572.

MACDONALD, Mrs. Helen A., v, 228.
Macdonough, Commodore Thomas, iii, 487.
"Macdonough" (destroyer), v, 397.
"Macedonian" (H.M.S.), iii, 483.
Machias (Me.), in the Revolution, iii, 31, 125.
"Machias Liberty" (sloop), iii, 31, 35.
Machine age, v, 370-385.
Machines. See specific name of a machine or process.
MacIntyre, William A., v, 471.
Mackerel, i, 237; ii, 404, 412; iv, 406.
Mackinac (Mich.), ii, 315.
Macleod, Frederick Joseph, v, 24.
Macomb, General Alexander, iii, 486.
Macy, John, "Massachusetts Literature in the Nineteenth Century," iv, chap. vii, pp. 201-222.
Madeiros, Celestos, v, 127.
Madison, President James, iii, 246, 381, 384-387, 402; presidency, 433, 435; iv, 292; views, iii, 382, 425.
Madras (India), ii, 422.
Magee, James, iii, 535.
Magistrates, dismissal, i, 107, 216; choosing, 108, 109, 187, 369; life-tenure, 113; concert with clergy, 114, 207; maladministration, 187; performing marriages, 279; salaries, 439; nomination by governor, ii, 517; iii, 64. *See also* Assistants, Court of; Deputy Governor; Governor.
Magna Charta, invoked, i, 592, 594; infringed, 123, 595.
Maine, exploration, i, 6, 16, 193, 195; Plymouth Colony in, 78, 195; Indians, 130; ii, 86; early settlements, i, 193-199, 509; first elected governor, 199; forests, 496; iii, 549; French contest for, ii, 65-91, 131; settlement from Mass., 75, 86, 112; population, 112; iii, 564; v, 419; Canadian boundary, iii, 420, 489; iv, 123, 301-303; claimed by England, iii, 489; territory, 548; transportation, 548, 550; land titles, 549; emigration westward, 565; map, opp. iii, 556. *See also names of persons and places; also specific topics.*
Maine Central R. R., v, 402, 414, 415.
Maine, District of: part of Mass., i,

199-201, 241, 488, 511, 513, 564; ii, 11; iii, 549; New England Confederation, i, 227, 256; Philip's War, 513, 553; forfeited to the Crown, 569; in Dominion of New England, 572; representation, ii, 12; War of 1812, iii, 490-493, 567; admiralty district, 548; grievances against Mass., 548-552; separation, 552-557, 561-579; counties, 554; Constitution of U. S., iii, 558.

Maine, Province of, i, 194, 196, 198, 199-201, 513; ii, 170.

Maine, State of; lands apportioned to Mass., iii, 570, 577; constitution, 573-576; name, 574; frame of government, 573, 575; courts, 577; War of 1812 claims, 577; outside capital, 578; first governor, iii, 576; World War, v, 615.

"Maine" (U.S.S.), v, 175.

Maine, University of, students from Mass., iii, 579.

Malcolm, Daniel, iii, 93.

Malden (Mass.), founding, i, 58, 529; referendum votes, v, 36; water supply, 86; rubber industry, 386.

Malden (Ontario), iii, 478.

Malvern Hill battle, iv, 533.

Manassas (Va.), battle, iv, 524, 533; national maneuvers, v, 583.

Manchester (Eng.), i, 57, 59.

Manchester (Mass.), founding, i, 58, 529; monument, v, 220; shipbuilding, 388.

Manchester (N. H.), iv, 414.

Manhattan Island. *See* New Amsterdam.

Manila Bay (P. I.), clipper ship in, iv, 447.

Manley, John, iii, 22, 32-34, 59.

Mann, Hermann, ii, 317.

Mann, Horace, iv, 174-183, 184, 186, 197, 284; v, 29, 55, 143, 144; portrait, opp. iv, 180.

Manners, iii, 286, 303, 502.

Manomet, i, 84.

Manomoit. *See* Chatham.

Mansfield (Mass.), ii, 110.

Manslaughter. *See* Murder.

Manual training, v, 234, 248.

Manufacturing, rise, i, 34, 43-44; ii, 405-411; household, i, 43-44; ii, 369-372; iv, 363, 411; English policy, ii, 17, 415, 505; iii, 358; encouragement of colonial, ii, 496; development, iii, 432, 498, 510; iv, 74, 281, 360-364, 407-417; v, 370-397; 429-432; panics, iv, 289, 431; inspection, v, 169; State supervision, v, 30, 32; map of craft industries by towns, opp. ii, 410. *See also* Tariff.

Maps, in Archives, v, 273.

Marblehead, shipbuilding, i, 265, 447, 448; v, 388; college site, i, 343; description, 415; founding, 529; ii, 159; name, 104; fish industry, 159, 402; iii, 529, 530, 545; loyalists, ii, 182; aid to Boston, 525; port of entry, 525; notables, 551; iii, 21, 22, 59, 165, 308; in the Revolution, 21, 32, 127, 129, 527; privateering, 56, 543; War of 1812, 491; shipping, 545; iv, 305; in the Civil War, 506; shoe industry, v, 376, 379.

March, John, ii, 82.

"Marco Polo" (clipper ship), iv, 467.

Maresquelle, Lewis de, iii, 40.

"Margaret" (vessel), iii, 535.

"Margaretta" (H.M.S.), iii, 31.

Mariana, i, 202.

Marine Corps (U. S.), on privateers, iii, 40, 50; in Revolution, 37; apprehension of slaves, iv, 340; recruits from Mass., v, 582.

Marine Park (Boston), v, 88.

Marks, Mrs. Josephine Preston (Peabody), v, 219.

Marksmanship, ii, 584; iii, 9, 281, 300.

Marlborough (Mass.), founding, i, 530; destroyed, 550; Dennison plant, v, 383.

Marprelate, Martin, tracts, i, 9.

Marriage, i, 278-281, 301-304; ii, 361-366; iii, 284, 289; v, 213; ring, i, 9; by magistrates, 117, 279; by min-

isters, 279, 595; ii, 363; racial intermarriage, i, 279; ii, 262, 302; iii, 295; iv, 339; child unions, i, 308; by justices of the peace, 595; settlement, ii, 364; widowers, iii, 281; contracts, 284; annulment, v, 112; evasion, 44. *See also* Desertion; Divorce.
"Mars" (vessel), iii, 35.
Marsh, Dexter, iv, 369.
Marshall, Emily, v, 200.
Marshall, Mrs. Hannah, ii, 365.
Marshall, John, chief justice of U. S., ii, 181; iii, 110, 119, 245; veto of laws, iii, 386; Secretary of State, iii, 241; in France, iii, 424; characteristics, iv, 43.
Marshall, Josiah, ii, 365.
Marshall, Colonel Thomas, iii, 130.
Marshfield, founding, i, 58, 60, 83, 414; in Revolution, ii, 553.
Marshpee, Indians, i, 131; district, ii, 110; town, ii, 110.
Marston, witch, ii, 35.
Martha's Vineyard, geology, i, 27, 29; missionaries, 89, 248, 361, 376, 536; Indians, 131, 539; description, 137; Gosnold, 16; part of Mass., ii, 11.
Martial law, ii, 11.
Martin, Luther, iii, 378.
Martin, Mrs. Susannah, ii, 38, 40.
Maryland, liberty of conscience, i, 407; Iroquois alliance, 518; paper money, ii, 214; Albany Congress, 423; French and Indian War, 426; cooperation against England, 525; Articles of Confederation criticized, iii, 168, 177, 178; Civil War, iv, 526. *See also* Baltimore.
Masefield, John, iv, 471.
Masks, facial, v, 219.
Mason, George, iii, 397.
Mason, James Murray, iv, 127, 326, 502.
Mason, Jeremiah, iv, 70, 107.
Mason, John (d. 1635), i, 19, 114, 191, 194, 196, 202-204, 206, 220, 444, 472; heirs, i, 204, 472, 508, 558, 563.
Mason, Jonathan, iii, 434.
Mason, Stevens Thomson, iii, 436.
Masonia, i, 203.
Massachuset Indians, i, 128, 130, 134.
Massachusetts, colonists, i, 12-22, 37, 49-63, 79, 89-90, 93, 96-100, 105, 260-262, 286, 295, 386-388, 390, 412-413, 425, 426, 442, 462, 468, 493; ii, 157, 159, 257-261; iii, 331; settlement, i, 19, 52, 66, 71, 99-100, 120, 163-164, 214, 386-388, 414-416, 493, 522-533; ii, 102-112, 549; iv, 349-355; v, 136; geography and topography, i, 25-31; climate, 31, 367; natural advantages, 31-47, 70, 442-443; frontier, 532; iv, 362; western portion, iv, 346-370.
Massachusetts, maps; relief map, i, inside cover; coast (1631), opp. 6; correpated English towns, opp. 58; Indian settlements, opp. 130; Bay Colony boundaries, opp. 222; Dutch map of colonial boundaries (1659), opp. 500; settled portions (1675), opp. i, 528; towns by date of founding, ii, inside cover; settlement 1620-1740, opp. ii. 102; 1801 survey, iii, inside cover; routes of transportation, iv, inside cover.
Massachusetts Bay, Governor and Company of the, i, 89, 93, 96-103, 412-413; iii, 89; stock certificate, (illus.), i, opp. 94; jurisdiction, iv, 345.
Massachusetts Bay Colony, social conditions in 17th century, i, 52-55; rivalry with Plymouth, 84, 86, 217; based on Plymouth experiment, 85, 89-90; boundary disputes, 86, 192, 200-201; absorption of neighbors, i, 89, 206, 241, 497; early history, 93-123, 492-494; seat of government, 99-102, 163; Cambridge Agreement, 99, 163; obligations to adventurers, 99, 413; government, 102, 114, 120-123, 187-188, 391, 470, 478-481, 494; ii, 122, 157; jurisdiction, i, 215, 218, 497; policy of expediency toward

England, 474; dependence upon England, 472, 475; iii, 88; policy toward neighbors, i, 495; in English wars, 495; inter-charter period, 568-580; ii, 3-7; foreign policy, i, 519; form retained in Revolution, iii, 65. *See also special topics.*

Massachusetts Bay, Province of the: foreign policy, i, 519; organization, i, 583-584, 602; inaugurated, ii, 15; debt, 80; revolution in government, 558; end of royal rule, iii, 26, 65. *See also special topics.*

Massachusetts Bay in New England, The Government and People of the, iii, 162.

Massachusetts, State of: first time so called, iii, 108; loyal to Union, iv, 588; reorganization of departments, 613; progress, 618; v, 168; credit standing, 367. *See also special topics.*

"Massachusetts" (brigantine), iii, 35, 60.

"Massachusetts" (vessel), i, 39.

"Massachusetts Abolitionist" (newspaper), iv, 332, 335.

Massachusetts Abolition Society, iv, 336.

Massachusetts Academy of Agriculture, iv, 389.

Massachusetts Agricultural College, iv, 186, 387, 390, 392; v, 240, 258, 261; presidents, iv, 391; alumni, v, 261; buildings, (illus.) opp. iv, 392; library, 283.

Massachusetts Agricultural Institute, iv, 389.

Massachusetts Antislavery Bazaar, iv, 330.

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, iv, 332, 335, 337.

Massachusetts Bank, ii, 410; iii, 363; v, 344.

Massachusetts Bar Association, v, 111.

Massachusetts Central R. R., v, 402, 425.

Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary, iii, 520; iv, 273; v, 546.

Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, iii, 520.

Massachusetts Cheese Manufacture Association, iv, 381.

Massachusetts Civic League, v, 290.

Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, iii, 520.

"Massachusetts Eagle" (newspaper), iv, 370.

Massachusetts General Hospital, iii, 520; iv, 273; v, 55, 546, 549, 562; buildings, iv, 229; (illus.), opp. v, 546; income, v, 357; in war, 621.

Massachusetts Historical Society, iv, 270; v, 286.

Massachusetts Horticultural Society, iv, 382.

Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Co., v, 357.

Massachusetts Hospital School (Canton, Mass.), v, 50, 59, 559.

Massachusetts Humane Society, iii, 520.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, iv, 186, 190; v, 258, 301; department of architecture, iv, 247; pageant, 249; educational scientists, 187; private support, v, 240; admission, 243; Lowell Institute school, 255; cooperation with Harvard University, 260, 313; library, 282; World War, 612; main court (illus.), opp. v, 258.

"Massachusetts Law Quarterly," v, 111.

Massachusetts Medical Society, v, 541, 542, 547, 553.

Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, v, 290.

Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, iii, 358; iv, 382, 394, 396.

Massachusetts Washington Benevolent Society, iv, 357.

Massasoit (Indian), i, 72, 73, 130, 134, 142, 145, 207, 528, 534, 540, 543.

Matanzas (Cuba), v, 581.

Matches, i, 263; iv, 362, 367.

Mather, Mrs. Abigail (Phillips), ii, 326, 334.

Mather, Cotton, i, 601, 602; ii, 293-298, 310, 323-350; iii, 519; witchcraft, ii, 35, 40, 47, 50-52, 54, 56, 297, 346; iv, 156; minister, ii, 278, 288, 302, 303, 330, 361, 362; Yale College, 333, 335; scientist, 323; v, 541; views, i, 546; ii, 39, 284, 285, 293-298, 332; writings, i, 56, 282, 360, 362, 366, 370, 371-372, 374, 375, 376, 601; ii, 20, 32, 48, 233, 292, 293, 296, 309, 310, 331, 340; fac similes, opp. 334, opp. 342; portrait, ii, frontispiece.

Mather, Mrs. Elizabeth (Hubbard), ii, 334.

Mather, Increase (1639-1723), ii, 301, 310, 334; agent in England, i, 374, 599-600, 602, 604; ii, 4-10, 12, 15, 327, 329; political activity, i, 473; ii, 24, 67, 327, 330; iii, 90; Harvard College, ii, 24, 333; witchcraft, 47, 51, 52, 55; minister, 276, 278, 324, 326, 330; writings, i, 373, 374-375; opp. 600; ii, 6, 47, 291, 310; views, i, 458, 494; ii, 275, 284; v, 505.

Mather, Increase, 2d, ii, 334.

Mather, Richard, i, 59, 182; ii, 324, 340.

Mather, Samuel, ii, 310, 379, 446; iii, 109.

Matignon, François, v, 512, 513.

Matinnicus, i, 363.

Matthews, Nathan, v, 71, 72, 75, 85, 90, 91, 92; v, 641; portrait, opp. v, 76.

Mauduit, Jasper, ii, 473, 477.

Maury, Matthew Fontaine, iv, 451, 459.

Maverick, John, i, 59.

Maverick, Samuel, i, 17, 122, 403, 484.

Maverick National Bank, v, 343.

May, Samuel J., iv, 294, 322.

May pole, i, 17, 85, 274, 524.

"Mayflower" (vessel), i, 15, 16, 60, 68-71, 77.

Mayflower Compact, i, 15, 82, 386; v, 642.

Mayhew, Jonathan, ii, 224, 479; iii, 93.

Mayhew, Thomas, i, 89, 129, 248, 376, 526, 536.

Maynard, Horace, iv, 581.

Mayo, Lawrence Shaw, "The Spirit of Massachusetts (1774-1775)," ii, chap. xviii, pp. 534-558; "The Massachusetts Loyalists (1775-1783)," iii, chap. ix, pp. 251-276.

Maysville, Washington, Paris and Lexington Turnpike Road Company, iv, 293.

McCall, Governor Samuel, v, 24, 185, 187-189, 601, 603, 604, 623, 634, 660; portrait, opp. v, 186.

McCarthy, Denis, iv, 157.

McCarthy, Thaddeus, i, 62.

McClellan, General George Brinton, iv, 533-534, 591.

McCormick, Cyrus H., iv, 375.

McCosh, James, v, 304.

McCulloch v. Maryland, iv, 112.

McHenry, James, iii, 240, 422.

McIntire, Charles, iv, 228.

McKay, Donald, iv, 231, 442, 449, 454, 457, 458, 459, 460, 463-466, 468, 469.

McKay, Gordon, iv, 416; v, 260, 376.

McKay, Lauchlan, iv, 458.

McKean, Thomas, ii, 481.

McKeen, Joseph, iii, 578.

McKim, Mead and White, iv, 239; v, 269.

McKinley, President William, v, 171, 173.

McLane Arrangement (1830), iv, 305, 306.

McLane, Walter, v, 22.

McLean Asylum for the Insane, iii, 520; v, 55.

McLeod, Alexander, iv, 122.

Mead, Mrs. Lucia (Ames), v, 229.

Mead, Edwin D., v, 490.

Mead, Edwin D., "John Adams, Na-

tional Statesman," chap. viii, pp. 212-249.
Mead, William Rutherford, iv, 234, 239, 244.
Meade, General George Gordon, iv, 537.
Meat packing, development, ii, 405, 406.
Medal, to George Washington, iii, 26.
Medfield, founding, i, 530; Indian troubles, 550.
Medfield, State hospital, v, 59.
Medford, shipbuilding, i, 38, 265; iv, 439, 440, 456, 460; v, 388; founding, i, 58, 100, 261, 525; Ten Hill farm, 166, 447; iii, 19; description, i, 415; bridge, 432; Indians, 135; schools, ii, 376. *See also* Jackson College; Tufts College.
Medical examiners, v, 552.
Medical School of Maine, v, 544.
Medical science, iii, 285; v, 152, 539-569; instruction, iv, 360; v, 263, 301, 540, 542, 543; library, v, 290. *See also* Physicians; Surgeons; *also names of diseases.*
Medway, founding, ii, 103.
"Melbourne" (clipper ship), iv, 469.
Mellen, Charles Sanger, v, 408, 409, 410.
Mellen, Prentiss, iii, 552, 577.
Mellon, James H., v, 22.
Melrose, water supply, v, 86.
Melville, Herman, iv, 367.
Melvin memorial (Concord), iv, 243.
Mendon, founding, i, 529; Mass. Constitution, iii, 204.
Menham (Eng.), i, 529.
Menotomy. *See* Arlington.
Merchant Adventurers of London, i, 6.
Merchants, aristocrats, i, 51, 570; iii, 408; settlers, i, 62; influential element, 567-571; iii, 307, 385, 539; wealth, i, 425; association, 576; political attitude, 560; ii, 127, 147, 149, 151, 181, 493, 504, 537, 543, 557; iii, 540; attitude of English, ii, 7, 514; loyalists, iii, 251.
Merchant's Society (Boston), ii, 252, 490, 493, 496.
"Mercury" (vessel), iii, 59.
"Mermaid" (frigate), ii, 430.
Merrimac. *See* Newbury.
"Merrimac" (U.S. sloop), iii, 59.
Merrimac Company, iv, 430.
Merrimac River, boundary, i, 19, 96, 98, 192, 194, 200-201, 203; ii, 11; fish, i, 416; water power, iv, 410, 414; canals, 421.
"Merrimack" (U.S.S.), iii, 471.
Merry Mount, i, 17, 274.
Metacomet (Indian). *See* Philip.
Metal goods, v, 382, 390. *See also* Mining; *also names of metals.*
Methodists, iii, 196, 505; iv, 139, 267, 356; v, 457; Boston, iv, 267; abolitionists, iv, 330; missions, v, 139; Deaconess Association, 458; theological seminary, 458.
Methuen, founding, ii, 106; French and Indian War, ii, 439; in Revolution, iii, 162.
Metropolitan District Commission, iv, 617; v, 32, 69, 331; Water Division, 69; Sewerage Division, 69.
Metropolitan district, v, 73, 331.
Metropolitan State Hospital, v, 59.
Mexican border, National Guard on, v, 188, 591, 602.
Mexican War (1846-1848), attitude of Mass., iv, 95, 126, 296, 337.
Mexico, commerce, iii, 544; war with U. S., iv, 95, 126, 552; indemnity, iv, 133; World War, v, 601.
Meyer, Marghareta, iv, 166.
Miantonomo, i, 208, 209, 218, 232.
Miantonomo (Indians), i, 208, 209, 218, 232.
Michigan (State), War of 1812, iii, 479, 484.
Michigan Central R. R., v, 158, 159.
Middleborough, founding, i, 528; iron works, ii, 407; Mass. Constitution, iii, 197; Mass. taxes, 349; population, 408.
Middlefield, iv, 355.

Middlesex Agricultural Society, iii, 358.

Middlesex Canal, iv, 421; lottery for, iii, 568.

Middlesex College of Medicine and Surgery, v, 544.

Middlesex County, settlement, ii, 103, 106, 110, 112; convention (1774), ii, 550; wealth, iii, 348; cotton industry, iv, 281; map (1801), iii, inside cover.

Middlesex School, v, 241.

Middleton, founding, ii, 106; weaving, iii, 319.

Middleton, Arthur, iii, 172.

Middletown (Conn.), i, 222.

Midwives, i, 310, 318; v, 210.

Mifflin, General Thomas, iii, 144.

Miles, General Nelson A., v, 580, 584.

Milford (Conn.), i, 222.

"Milford" (H.M.S. frigate), iii, 33.

Military defenses, colonial, i, 533; ii, 74.

Military science, European, iii, 1; American, iii, 3, 8; British, ii, 583; iii, 3, 8, 9, 13; British manual, iii, 10.

Military expenses, ii, 204.

Military stores, neglect, ii, 100; provision by Crown, i, 23; vegetables planted, ii, 438; supplies from France, iii, 39; provision in peace, 451.

Military training, York County, i, 201; exemption, 424, 447; requirements, ii, 245; festivals, 272.

Military service, enlistment bounties, ii, 429; colonial with English troops, 429, 434; ages, 429; in foreign armies, v, 599.

Militia election of officers, i, 116; iii, 72, 75; iv, 6, 512,; v, 571, 592; training, i, 201; v, 570, 576-578; 583, 588, 591, 596; ages, i, 229; v, 570; quota, i, 229, 252, 253, 365, 500, 549; ii, 73; iii, 177; draft, i, 240, 242-244, 549, 597; ii, 74; v, 571, 591, 614; unified for New England, i, 229, 596; ii, 18; iii, 358; arming, i, 438; ii, 100; v, 570, 588; selection of commander, i, 486; commanders, i, 503; ii, 18; organization, i, 548-549, 597; iii, 122; rising against Andros, i, 601; commander in chief, ii, 11, 76; v, 651; appointment of officers, ii, 11; iii, 138; unmilitary, ii, 74-75; v, 571; frontier defense, ii, 74, 79; muster, ii, 245; v, 610; equipment, ii, 245; v, 570; Boston, ii, 252, 480; iv, 358; refusal to muster against mob, ii, 480; rising against British, ii, 548, 562, 567-584; iii, 5; preparations for rebellion, ii, 523, 549, 553, 562; iii, 157, 158; Penobscot expedition, iii, 37; numbers, iii, 91; in Revolution, iii, 121, 122, 127-130, 135-136, 139, 142, 159, 324; commanders in chief, iii, 121; support out of federal taxes, iii, 466; detail to another State, iii, 466; War of 1812, iii, 477, 489; subject to national service, iii, 477; iv, 109; v, 572, 591; refusal to leave Mass., iv, 96; Civil War, iv, 504, 506-512, 516-520; in peace time, iv, 511; v, 571, 572; emergency service, v, 94, 190, 578, 587; records, v, 274; armories, v, 330, 576, 577, 586, 587; duty, v, 570; nineteenth century, v, 572; parades, v, 577; medal, v, 578; War with Spain, 578; twentieth century, 583, 651; maneuvers, 583; rations, 586; federalization, 588, 590; foreign service, 591; on Mexican frontier, 591; Mass. State Guard, 593, 602, 605; universal training, 610; map of movements (1690-1723), opp. ii, 66; record (1804), (illus.), opp. v, 572. *See also* Army, colonial; Army, Continental; National Guard; *also names of individual States, etc.*

Militia (Mass.), record (1804), (illus.), opp. v, 572.

Militia organizations, v, 574, 589, 590, 591, 595; First Regiment, 574, 575, 576, 578, 581, 616, 620; Second Regiment, 574, 579, 615; Third Regiment,

iv, 517, 518; Fourth Regiment, 517, 518; Fifth Regiment, 517, 519; v, 574, 577, 581, 615, 619; Sixth Regiment, iv, 507-509, 511, 517, 518; v, 574, 579, 580, 615, 619; Seventh Regiment, iv, 519; Eighth Regiment, 507, 517, 519; v, 574, 579, 580, 583, 586, 615, 619; Ninth Regiment, 574, 579, 615; First Corps of Cadets, 576, 595, 616; Second Corps of Cadets, 576, 590; Artillery, iv, 519; v, 585, 586, 590, 616; Cavalry, 577; Irish-American, 521, 525; National Lancers, 577; naval, 576, 577, 582, 587, 591, 595, 608; rifles, iv, 519.
Milk, supervision, v, 554, 557.
Millbury, population, iv, 281.
Miller, Mrs. Patience, v, 540.
Millers, rates, i, 429.
Million Purchase, i, 571, 577, 587.
Millis, Indian earthworks, i, 136.
Mills, in Maine, iii, 551, 578.
Mills. *See also* Textiles.
Milton, John, i, 340, 385; ii, 170.
Milton (Mass.), founding, i, 531; ii, 410, 411; Suffolk County congress, ii, 547, 548.
Miner, Alonzo Ames, v, 467.
"Minerva" (brig), iii, 60.
Mining, companies, i, 570; v, 163.
Ministry at Large, iv, 274.
Minneapolis (Minn.), library, v, 154; art institute, v, 155.
Minot, Charles Sedgwick, v, 566.
Minot, George Richards, v, 564.
Mints, Mass., Hull's, i, 435, 479.
Mint, U. S., established, iii, 415.
Minutemen, ii, 553, 562.
Minute Men (political), v, 187.
Miquelon Island, ii, 445.
Mishawum. *See* Charlestown.
Missionaries. *See* Indians; *also names of persons.*
Missions, foreign, iv, 356; v, 456, 531.
Mississippi, State of, abolitionists lynched, iv, 322; suffrage, 555; reconstruction, 567; Negroes' civil rights, 582-583.
Mississippi Valley, development, v, 158.
Missouri, slavery in, iii, 576.
Missouri Compromise (1850), iv, 127-129, 484.
Mitchel Field, v, 596.
Mitchell, John, v, 22.
Mitchell, Maria, v, 215.
Moguncoy. *See* Hopkinton.
Mohawk Indians, i, 129, 131, 233, 254, 512, 586; ii, 72, 80, 89-90, 432; Boston Tea Party, ii, 241, 510.
Mohican Indians, i, 130, 131, 218, 231-232, 247, 254.
Molasses, smuggling, ii, 146; Act of 1733, ii, 218, 405, 414; duties, ii, 218, 473, 475, 489; military ration, ii, 447, 448, 449.
Molineaux, William, ii, 409; iii, 511.
Monarchy, agitation for, iii, 368.
Monckton, Robert, ii, 426, 430, 443.
Monday Evening Club, v, 290.
Money, scarcity of coin, i, 433, 462; ii, 194, 402, 433; substitutes, i, 433-434, 436-437; ii, 201, 348; coinage, i, 435, 479, 558, 576; ii, 202; export, i, 435; ii, 413; pine tree shillings, i, 435, 462; foreign coins, 435, 462; ii, 201, 212, 422; regulating value, i, 596; counterfeiting, ii, 194; iii, 346; economic necessity, ii, 195; Spanish dollar, 201-202; exchange rates, 201, 207; iii, 344, 352; English reckoning, ii, 201; legal tender, 207, 212; iii, 81; silver basis, ii, 212; England drained of specie, 402; lack during Revolution, iii, 44; supplied by France, 51; gold ratio, 79; passing through British lines, 322; specie from foreign sources, 346, 534; intrinsic value, iv, 89; payment for public lands, 289; gold standard, v, 173; trading in specie, 364. *See also* Banking.
Money, paper: bills of credit, ii, 69, 129, 135, 139, 193-195, 198, 202-207; iii, 342-346, (fac simile) opp. ii, 218; tax payments, 194, 198, 209, 211; real estate security, 195, 200, 208;

premium for taxes, 198; depreciation, 198, 202, 204, 212; iii, 344; unredeemed, ii, 199, 205, 212; iii, 344; loan bills, ii, 200-204; inflation, 200-207; iii, 81, 85; old and new tenor, ii, 205, 211-213; middle tenor, 211-212; merchants' notes, 208; private bank notes, 209-210; redemption, 212; iii, 344; Continental fiat money, 79, 82, 327, 343, 346; Mass. loan notes, 81, 84, 342; currency of notee of all colonies, 81, 82; discount illegal, 82, 346; salaries at face value, 345; proposed for legal tender, 368; basis of intrinsic value, iv, 89; State bank notes, 288; Virginia scrip, 289; U. S. treasury notes, 610; v, 351; national bank notes, 341; National Monetary Commission, 349.
Monhegan, i, 76, 363.
Monis, Judah, i, 407.
Monk, Christopher, ii, 251, 555.
Monopolies prohibited, i, 428.
Monroe, President James, iii, 246, 489; iv, 292, 304.
Monroe Doctrine, germs, i, 507.
Monmouth battle, iii, 132.
Monson, founding, ii, 111; school, v, 50; hospital, v, 57, 59.
Montagnais Indians, i, 152.
Montague, Mrs. Mindwell (Lyman), ii, 357.
Montague (Mass.), founding, ii, 111; tannery, iv, 362; river route, iv, 364.
Montcalm, General Louis Joseph, marquis de, ii, 436, 438, 442, 444.
"Monthly Anthology and Magazine of Polite Literature," founding, iii, 505.
"Montgomery" (brig), iii, 496.
Montreal, expeditions against, i, 255; ii, 444.
Montresor's Island (N. Y.), iii, 128.
Monument Beach, shipbuilding, v, 388.
Moody, Lady Deborah, i, 311-312, 317.
Moody, Chief Justice William H., v, 119.
Moore, Edward C., v, 456.
Moore, Edward Caldwell, "Questions of Religious Freedom," i, chap. xiv, pp. 382-408.
Moore, George Foote, v, 457.
Mooshassuc. *See* Providence (R. I.).
Morals, i, 281, 315; ii, 364.
Moran, John B., v, 177, 178.
Morell, William, i, 17, 79, 194, 523.
Morgan, Clement G., iv, 585.
Morgan, John Pierpont, iv, 248; v, 633.
Morgan Memorial (Boston), v, 459; (illus.), opp. v, 458.
Morgan, William, iv, 81.
Morgan Memorial (Boston), v, 459.
Moriarty, G. Andrews, "Social and Geographic Origins of the Founders of Massachusetts," i, chap. iii, pp. 49-65; "The Royal Governors and the General Court," ii, chap. v, pp. 122-153.
Moriarty, James T., v, 662.
Morison, Samuel Eliot, "The Clipper Ships," iv, chap. xv, pp. 434-471.
Mormonism, spread, v, 143.
Morris, Lewis, ii, 171.
Morris, Robert, iii, 39, 169, 354.
Morse, Edward Sylvester, iv, 239.
Morse, Jedediah, ii, 316; iv, 261.
Morse, John Lovett, v, 557.
Morse, William, ii, 34.
Mortgages, tax on, iv, 604; investment in, v, 351, 353.
Morton, James Madison, v, 635, 639, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 663; portrait, opp. v, 100.
Morton, Governor Marcus, judge, iv, 54, 78; v, 114; offices, 78, 95; politics, 80, 82-88, 90, 93-94, 97, 288, 475; governor, 88, 91-92.
Morton, Nathaniel, i, 372.
Morton, Perez, ii, 254; iii, 69, 93; iv, 70.
Morton, Thomas, i, 17, 85, 274, 366, 373, 392, 524.
Morton, William Thomas Green, v, 549.
"Moses his Judicialls," i, 117.
"Mother Goose's Melodies," ii, 308.

Motley, John Lothrop, i, 366; iv, 209; v, 151.

Motor vehicles, legislation, v, 43, 45, 61; Sunday privileges, 46; State control, 60-65; distance condensed, 60; common carriers, 61, 422; State income from, 61, 62; registration, 65; accidents, 63, 120; statistics, 121, 422; effect on other industries, 380; tires, 386; industry, 390.

Motors, internal combustion, iv, 187.

Mott, Mrs. Lucretia (Coffin), iii, 336.

Moulton, Hannah, ii, 574.

Mount Auburn Cemetery, v, 565.

Mount Holyoke College, iv, 184, 191, 360; v, 201, 206, 265.

Mount Hope (R. I.), i, 253, 541, 551; iv, 351.

Mount Vernon (Va.), iv, 212.

"Mount Vernon" (privateer), iv, 463.

"Mt. Vernon" (U.S.S.), v, 608.

Mount Wollaston, i, 85, 524.

Moving pictures, censorship, v, 37; on Sunday, 45.

Mowbray, George W., iv, 366.

Muddy River, i, 287, 415, 423; ii, 103, 244.

Mugwumps. *See* Independent voters.

Mulattoes. *See* Negroes.

Mumford, James Gregory, v, 567.

Munitions Board, v, 607.

Munroe, James Phinney, "Last Chance for the Empire (1774)," ii, chap. xvii, pp. 514-531.

Munroe, William, ii, 565, 568, 569.

Murder cases, i, 104, 546; ii, 34, 263; iii, 550; iv, 51, 56; v, 122; Indians, i, 205, 546; jurisdiction, v, 112; records, 118.

Murdock, Kenneth B., "Cotton Mather, Parson, Scholar and Man of Affairs," v, chap. xi, pp. 323-350.

Murlin, Lemuel H., v, 235, 458.

Murphy, William Parry, v, 564.

Murrayfield, vote for independence, iii, 102.

Muscovy Company, i, 94.

Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), iv, 234, 238, 247; school, iv, 241; v, 219; library, 290; building, (illus.) opp. iv, 236.

Museums, iv, 239, 249; v, 154; Sunday activities, 46; private, 220; for children, 250.

Music, restrictions, i, 274; ii, 277; private entertainment, 283; accomplishment, 360; iii, 331, 502; public entertainment, ii, 360; iii, 293; v, 45; singing schools, iii, 295, 314; psalmody, 294; instruction, iv, 241; v, 265; collection, 271; publishing, 499.

Music Hall (Boston), convention in, v, 174.

Musical instruments, ii, 277, 360; iii, 502; manufacture, iv, 362; v, 396.

Musketaquid. *See* Concord.

Muskets. *See* Firearms.

"Mystery" (clipper ship), iv, 459.

Mystic (Conn.), i, 535.

Mystic (Mass.). *See* Medford.

Mystic River, shipbuilding, i, 38, 265, 447; boundary, 250; bridge, 432; sewerage, v, 331; docks, 421.

Mystic Side. *See* Malden.

NAHANT, Democratic victory, v, 181.

Nails, manufacture, i, 41; iii, 359.

Namasket, i, 128. *See also* Middleborough.

Nameoke. *See* New London.

Names, old-fashioned, iii, 285; Mrs., iii, 288.

"Nancy" (H.M.S.), iii, 22-23, 33.

Nanepashemet (Indian), i, 135.

Nantasket, i, 18, 19, 97, 261.

Nantucket, geology, i, 27, 29; whaling, 36; ii, 403; iii, 362, 528, 532, 545; iv, 404; notables, i, 316; iii, 336, 474; iv, 383; v, 215; Indians, i, 539; part of Mass., ii, 11; settlement, 112; in Revolution, iii, 527; smuggling, iii, 542; War of 1812, iii, 544.

Narragansett Bay, i, 137, 211.

Narragansett Indians, i, 73, 208, 211, 213, 218, 231-233, 241, 247, 253, 540, 548.
Narragansett River, boundary, i, 216, 217.
Narragansett Townships, ii, 107, 110.
Nashaway Indians, i, 530.
Nashua (N. H.), i, 130; iv, 414; railroad, iv, 427.
Nashua River, v, 86, 332.
Nashville (Tenn.), exposition, iv, 244.
Natick, fortification, i, 135; Indian settlement, 248, 537-538, 539, 553; Indian attack, 254; hospital, v, 458.
"Nation" (periodical), iv, 560.
National American Woman Suffrage Association, v, 202, 222.
National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, iv, 330.
National Anti-Slavery Society, iv, 320, 331, 335-337.
National Bar Association, v, 43.
National Cotton Mule Spinners, v, 435.
National Council of Education, v, 318.
National Defense Act (1920), v, 572, 594; National Defense Act (1916), v, 590.
National Democratic party, iv, 490.
National Educational Association, v, 318.
National Greenback party, iv, 605.
National Guard, v, 588, 591, 594, 602, 604, 605, 613, 619, 621; emergency duty, 596, 603; training, (illus.) opp. v, 594. *See also* Militia.
National Monetary Commission, v, 349.
National Republican party, iv, 77-80, 82, 83. *See also* Whigs.
National Shawmut Bank, v, 344.
National Tuberculosis Association, v, 217.
National Union party, iv, 593.
Nationalists, iii, 377, 380-391, 395, 398.
Nationalization of commodities and utilities, v, 412, 606, 612, 625, 628, 640.
Native American party, iv, 76, 94, 96, 97; v, 517, 521.
Natural history, iv, 194.
Naturalization. *See* Citizens.
Naturalization Act, iii, 425.
"Nautilus" (U. S. brig), iii, 484.
Naumkeag. *See* Salem.
Naumkeag River, i, 202.
Nauset, i, 70, 73, 130, 134, 147.
Naval Committee (1775), iii, 22.
Naval stores, natural resources, i, 443, 461; ii, 398; English need, i, 17; exports, ii, 413; legal encouragement, 415.
Navigation Acts (Eng.), enactment, i, 446, 451, 470, 475-476; ii, 17, 18, 414; disregarded, i, 449, 450-460, 485, 488, 562-564; enforcement, i, 452-457, 572, 577, 596; ii, 474, 495; trial under, i, 487; commerce destroyed, i, 596; colonial opposition, to, ii, 19.
Navigation Acts (U. S.), need, iii, 367, 394; opposition, iii, 376, 394; power of Congress, iii, 392-393.
Navy (English), protection of New England, ii, 71, 73, 83; French and Indian War, 422, 430, 438, 442, 443, 446; enforcement of Acts of Trade, 474-475, 505; Siege of Boston, 548; iii, 22, 31-33, 35; rations, 53; at Rhode Island, 121; War of 1812, 479.
Navy (Mass.), French wars, ii, 73; hired vessels, 73; enforcing Navigation Laws, i, 457; English veto, 16; Revolution, iii, 35, 37.
Navy (France), in American Revolution, iii, 49.
Navy (U. S.), beginning, iii, 21; blockade of Boston, 21-23, 32-34; hire of vessels, 32; development, 426, 471; insufficient, 473; War of 1812, iii, 473, 479; Civil War, iv, 529, 539, 540; adequate, v, 226; bonuses from Mass., 334; Spanish War, 582; reserves, 595, 607; World War, 607, 622.
Nazing (Eng.), i, 59.
"N. B. Palmer" (clipper ship), iv, 452.
Nebraska, slavery question, iv, 484.

"Nebraska" (U.S.S.), v, 608.
Needham, founding, ii, 103, 104.
Negotiable instruments, v, 44.
Negroes, slaves, i, 183, 268-270, 462; ii, 262; iii, 295, 506; Christians, i, 270; hired servants, 268; intermarriage, 279; ii, 262, 302; iii, 295; iv, 339; return to Africa, i, 439; numbers, 270; ii, 262; iii, 355; iv, 310; in Boston, ii, 227, 336; iii, 222, 296; restraint, ii, 227, 263; witnesses, 228; intoxicants, 263; notable, ii, 367; iii, 317; iv, 585, 329; in Continental Army, iii, 137, 297; conspiracy, 222; prisoners taken on high seas, 296; in church, iii, 299; representation in Congress, 300; seamen at Charleston, iv, 95, 295; unsettled problem, 202; status, 310, 339; mock election, 310; colonization, 315; soldiers, 535, 581, 583, 591; v, 619; franchise withheld, iv, 555; military protection, 556; suffrage right, 556, 571-578, 593, 594; civil rights, 556, 571, 583-587, 590; migration northward, 572; private schools, 579; aid to freedmen, 578-581; admission to public buildings, 584; social discrimination, 585; public schools, 585. *See also* slavery.
Neighborhood House Association, v, 469.
Nelson, John, i, 515-516; ii, 67, 70.
Nemasket, i, 73.
Neponset, i, 74; v, 388.
"Neptune's Car" (clipper ship), iv, 467.
Netmaker, John, ii, 274.
Neutrality, between colonies, i, 506; United States, iii, 419, 423; v, 599; disregard by Eng., iii, 431, 436, 472.
New Amsterdam, established, i, 5, 84; Pilgrims invited, 13; trade, 84.
New Bedford, industries, i, 44; iv, 414; v, 373, 374, 381, 396; shipbuilding, i, 448; abandoned, 416; whaling, ii, 404; iii, 362, 532; iv, 163, 404, 405; in the Revolution, iii, 31; War of 1812, 494; Americanization center, iv, 151; foreign-born residents, 162, 163; churches, iv, 163, 266; population, 281; textile school, v, 253; strike, v, 596.
New Braintree, district, ii, 110.
New England, Dominion of, i, 197, 254, 460, 517-518, 568-569, 572, 582-605.
New England, English territory, i, 6, 16; name, 16, 32, 364, 493; iv, 345; proposed division, i, 18; geography and topography, 26-31; climate, 31; attractions, 32-47, 363; iii, 301; plan for dominion, i, 197; "Emmanuells land," 257; united for war, ii, 66; described by Adams, iii, 301; secession proposed, 429; economic unit, v, 399, 409; map, i, inside cover; opp. i, 528. *See also names of colonies, places, also specific topics.*
New England, United Colonies of, i, 226-257, 365, 471, 497, 498-501, 505, 506, 548; iv, 346.
New England Anti-Slavery Society, iv, 294, 319, 320, 331, 337, 504.
New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, v, 317.
New England Asylum for the Blind, iii, 518.
New England Club (London) formed by exiled loyalists, iii, 272.
New England Coffee-house (London), iii, 272.
New England Conservatory of Music, iv, 241; v, 265.
"New England Courant," ii, 311.
New England Deaconess Hospital, v, 458.
New England Emigrant Aid Company, iv, 487, 494; v, 148.
New England Freedmens' Aid Society, iv, 580.
New England Historical Genealogical Society, v, 288.
New England Hospital for Women and Children, founding, iv, 274; v, 216, 546.

"New England Journal of Medicine," v, 547.
"New England Magazine," v, 490.
New England Mutual Life Insurance Co., v, 357.
New England Navigation Co., v, 403.
"New England Primer," i, 377; iii, 291, 313; v, 506.
New England R. R., v, 403, 418.
New England Rangers, iv, 358.
New England Society for Encouraging Manufactures, iv, 430.
New England Telephone & Telegraph Co., v, 620.
New England Transportation Co., v, 424.
New England Trust Company, v, 342.
New England Women's Auxiliary Association, iv, 522, 523.
New England's Women's Club, v, 211.
"New England's Crisis," i, 373.
"New England's First Fruits," i, 351-356, 369, 376, (fac simile) opp. i, 328.
New France, colonization, i, 1, 2, 4; Indian trade, 128; peace with Mass., 235, 505; rivalry with neighbors, 85, 256, 497, 510, 518; ii, 91; free trade with New England, i, 235, 505; alliance against Indians, 506; relations with Indians, 233, 518; ii, 437, 439, 442, 443, 444; wars, i, 510, 513, 518; ii, 4, 68, 71, 79, 212, 419-451; neutrality, 77, 517; extent, 420, 424; population, 420; Indian allies, 424; ceded to England, 445. *See also* Acadia.
New Glasgow. *See* Blandford.
New Hampshire, colonists, i, 17, 204, 205; iv, 354; Irish element, i, 63; Indians, 130; early colonies, 191, 202-206, 509; boundaries, 199, (map) opp. 222; name, 203; minister's land, 204; first popular government, 205; Mass. jurisdiction, 206, 241, 488, 513-514; natural resources, 496; Philip's War, 553; royal province, 569, 572; ii, 11; in Revolution, 18, 130; governors, 20, 76, 80; King William's War, 66, 80, 82, 85; ally in war, 66, 80, 82; Queen Anne's War, 89; Louisburg expedition, ii, 421; Albany Congress, ii, 423; French and Indian War, 427; loyalism, 496; preparations for rebellion, 529, 544; iii, 158; ban on tea, 537; siege of Boston, iii, 5, 12; agrarian movement, iii, 368; federal constitution, 370, 381, 407; proslavery agitation, iv, 332; seaboard population, v, 419.
"New Hampshire Patriot," iv, 78.
New Haven (Conn.), founding, i, 221; first church, 222; schools, ii, 308, 376; visited by Washington, iii, 416.
New Haven Colony, commerce, i, 218, 219-220; trading posts, 219, 233-234; founding, 221, 226; absorbed by Connecticut, 222; jurisdiction, 222; militia, 229, 365; ii, 18; corn for Harvard College, i, 236; Massachusetts duties, 239, 438; war with New Netherlands, 242, 245, 472, 500; war with Niantics, 243-244. *See also* New England Confederation.
New Jersey, Dominion of New England, i, 518, 598; English, 557; militia, ii, 18; slavery, 508; emigration, v, 138.
"New Jersey" (U.S.S.), v, 397.
New Jersey State Medical Society, v, 541.
New Jerusalem Church, v, 468.
New London (Conn.), i, 60, 222, 247.
New Marlborough, founding, ii, 111; industries, iv, 361.
New Meadows. *See* Topsfield.
New Netherland, jurisdiction, i, 219-220, 233-234; treaty (1650), 234, 245; Indian allies, 242; warred upon, 242, 245, 472, 485, 495, 497, 500-501; ceded to England, 246, 499; rivalry with neighbors, 256, 475, 493, 499-500; free trade, 477, 558; English commission of 1664, 484-488.

New Orleans (La.), battle, iii, 487; commemoration, iv, 504.
New Salem, founding, ii, 111.
New Sweden Colony, i, 219.
New Town. *See* Cambridge.
New York (city), mayors, i, 89; captured by Dutch, 253; intercolonial congress, ii, 68; in Revolution, iii, 107, 126, 144, 149; loyalists, 274; modern buildings, iv, 247; antislavery agitation, 322; packet ship lines, 440; draft riots, 536; tunnel, v, 89; banks, 343. *See also* New Amsterdam.
New York (province), Mass. rights in, i, 67, 511; English, i, 252, 501, 557; governors, 484, 582; ii, 68, 71, 76, 80, 85, 89, 426; French conflicts, i, 502, 518; ii, 4; Dominion of New England, i, 518, 597; Iroquois alliance, 519; charter, 583; Revolution of 1689, 602; island territory, ii, 11; militia, 18; ally in war, 66, 68-69, 72-73, 80; Queen Anne's War, 78, 80-81; Quebec expedition, 83; appeals to Privy Council, 168; bills of credit, 214; Albany Congress, 423; French and Indian War, 426; Quartering Act disputes, 495; imports from England, 504, 510; cooperation against England, 521, 525; boundaries, iii, 175, 178.
New York (State), Indians, i, 131; land owned by Mass., iii, 179, 353; v, 132; federal constitution, iii, 370, 378, 401, 407; national capital, 410; population, 434; slavery, 508; iv, 332; immigration, 144, 355; public education, 178; commerce, 305; v, 419; emigration, iv, 487.
New York & New England R. R., iv, 603; v, 403, 420.
New York & New Haven R. R., v, 403.
New York Central R. R., v, 405, roads absorbed, 159, 175, 401, 411, 415; mismanagement, 405.
New York, Ontario & Western R. R., v, 411, 415.
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R., v, 179, 400, 402, 405, 408, 413, 416, 417, 418; control of Boston & Maine R. R., 178, 407, 411, 416; properties absorbed, 400, 403-404, 411; territory served, 403; regional group, 415; electrification, 418; docks, 420; subsidiaries, 424.
"New York Tribune," iv, 558, 597.
New York, Westchester & Boston Ry., v, 410.
"New World" (vessel), iv, 443.
New Year's Day, ii, 301; v, 35.
New York Historical Society, iv, 135.
New York Stock Exchange, v, 365.
Newberry Library (Chicago), v, 154.
Newburgh Addresses, iii, 148.
Newbury, founding, i, 57, 426, 531; description, 416; allotment of land, 420; prosperity, 272, 424; witchcraft, ii, 34.
Newburyport, early residents, i, 62; industries, ii, 411; iii, 81; iv, 305, 417, 442, 460; privateering, iii, 56, 526; admiralty court, iii, 39; Mass. taxes, 349; Province loan, ii, 200; Mass. taxes, iii, 349; War of 1812, 475; academy, iv, 388; library, v, 276; visited by Washington, iii, 417; shipping, 432, 545; iv, 305; embargo, iii, 542; fort, iii, 491; fisheries, iii, 531; iv, 406; buildings, 229; stage route, 420; commerce, 437; public health, v, 542; Spanish War, 581; maneuvers, 584.
Newcastle (N. H.), ii, 529.
Newfoundland, discovery, i, 1; fisheries, 496; ceded to England, ii, 85; trade act, 494; emigration, iv, 162.
Newman, Samuel, i, 88, 528.
Newport (R. I.), founding, i, 209, 211; commerce, ii, 475, 504; in Revolution, iii, 121; buildings, iv, 228.
"Newport" (galley), ii, 73, 76.
"Newsletter" (Boston), i, 265.

Newsletter, broadside, (illus.) opp. i, 600.

Newspapers, early, i, 265; ii, 230, 311; iii, 109-112, 193, 287, 361; edited by women, 326; nineteenth century, 519; iv, 221; v, 152, 479; Maine, iii, 553, 563; collections, v, 285, 287; financial, v, 366. *See also* Liberty of the press.

Newton (Mass.), water supply, v, 86;

Newton, Isaac, hotel, iv, 365.

Newton, Thomas, ii, 43, 163.

schools, v, 461.

Newton Theological School, Institution, library, v, 289.

Niantic Indians, i, 212-213, 232, 241-242, 243, 246-247.

Niblo's Garden (New York City), banquets, iv, 121.

Nichewoag. *See* Petersham.

Nichols, Malcolm Edwin, v, 79.

Nicholson, General Francis, ii, 83-84, 275.

Nickerson, Thomas, v, 161.

Nicolls, Richard, i, 484, 486, 488, 510.

"Nightingale" (clipper ship), in harbor (illus.), opp. iv, 450.

Niles, Samuel, ii, 309.

Ninigret (Indian), i, 213, 242, 243, 246.

Nipmuc Indians, i, 131, 134, 548, 571.

Nitroglycerin, iv, 366.

Nixon, General John, iii, 126, 130.

Noddle's Island, i, 17, 261, 400; iii, 53, 120.

Nokake, i, 149.

Nonconformists, i, 561.

"Nonsuch" (frigate), iii, 90.

Nonesuch River, i, 196.

Norfolk (Mass.), prison colony, v, 52; State hospital, v, 59.

Norfolk County (Eng.), i, 56, 59.

Norfolk County (Mass.), ii, 103, 106; cotton mills, iv, 281.

Norridgewock (Me.), ii, 86-90.

North, Lord, i, 565-566; ii, 503, 516, 517, 519, 545; iii, 64.

North Adams, industries, iv, 360, 361, 362; railroad, 428; immigrants, 610.

North American Civic League for Immigrants, iv, 148, 152.

"North American Review," iii, 505; iv, 47, 221, 270, 286; v, 480.

North Andover, school, v, 463.

North Attleboro, v, 390.

North Carolina, settlement, i, 2, 194; Fundamental Constitutions, ii, 582, 587; French and Indian War, 426; boundaries, iii, 175; in Union, 177; bills of credit, 343; federal constitution, 389; proslavery acts, iv, 317; reconstruction, 555, 567, 574; carpetbaggers, 582; industries, v, 385, 386.

"North Dakota" (U.S.S.), v, 397.

North Reading State Sanatorium, v, 59.

North Yarmouth (Maine), admiralty court, iii, 39.

Northampton (Mass.), abandoned, i, 416; founding, 531; schools, ii, 376; iv, 165, 389; v, 207; probate records, iv, 347; pastor, 369; railroads, 428.

Northampton State Hospital, v, 59.

Northamptonshire (Eng.), i, 57, 59, 60, 61.

Northbridge, mills, v, 372.

Northeastern University, v, 109, 260, 262; Law School, 109, 214, 263.

"Northern Light" (clipper ship), iv, 455.

Northern Pacific R. R., v, 160.

Northfield, Indian troubles, i, 518, 548; founding, 531; ii, 103, 111; name, ii, 104.

Northumberland (Eng.), i, 57.

Northwest Ordinance (1787), v, 133-136, 164.

Northwest Territory, v, 132, 133, 134.

Norton (Mass.), founding, ii, 103; revision of constitution, iii, 71; schools, v, 209.

Norton, Arthur O., "Harvard College," i, chap. xii, pp. 325-357.

Norton, Charles H., v, 371.

Norton, Charles Eliot, iv, 190, 233, 237, 571; v, 283, 490.

Norton, John (1606-1663), i, 312, 338, 372, 473, 478, 484.

Norton, John (1651-1716), i, 373.

Norton, Mrs. Mary, i, 275.

Norton Female Seminary, v, 209.

Norwegians, immigrants, iv, 162.

Norwich (Eng.), i, 59.

Norwich (Mass.), in Revolution, iii, 162; railroad, iv, 427.

Notaries, appointment, iii, 6; removal, iv, 30; women, v, 650.

Notes. *See* Public debt.

Nottinghamshire (Eng.), i, 60.

Nourse, Mrs. Rebecca, ii, 38, 40, 53.

Nova Albion, i, 363; iv, 345.

Nova Scotia, French in, i, 5; Scotch in, 505; English claim, 385; part of Mass., ii, 11; ceded to England, 85; excluded from colonial union, 460; commerce, iii, 48, 125; attacked during American Revolution, 51, 125; shipbuilding, iv, 467; map (1723), opp. ii, 66. *See also* Acadia.

Nowell, Increase, i, 112, 348, 419.

Nowell, Samuel, i, 474; ii, 5.

Noyes, Joseph, i, 275.

Noyes, Nicholas, ii, 42, 54.

Noyes, Oliver, ii, 298.

Nullification, militia duty, i, 241-245, 472; English laws, 563; ii, 15; Alien and Sedition Acts (1798), iii, 452; Conscription Act, 466; Embargo Act, (1811), 435; Tariff Act (1828), iv, 117.

Nurses, iv, 528; v, 546, 621.

Nut Island (N. Y.), *See* Governor's Id.

Nuts, i, 42.

OAKES, THOMAS, ii, 4, 6, 20.

Oakham, district, ii, 110.

Oaths, allegiance, i, 83, 485, 563; iii, 87; fidelity, i, 171, 393; iii, 87, 88; on Bible, i, 591, 595; attorneys, ii, 163, 167; democratized, iii, 74; allegiance to U. S., 112; officials of Mass., 198; iv, 6; v, 510; loyalist's declaration, iii, 262.

Oberlin College, founding, v, 148; librarian, 154; students, 204, 206.

Oberlin Rescue Case, v, 148.

O'Brien, Hugh, v, 535.

O'Brien, Jeremiah, iii, 31, 35.

O'Brien, Robert Lincoln, v, 481, 483.

"Observer" (antislavery journal), v, 153.

O'Connell, Joseph Francis, v, 180.

O'Connell, William, Cardinal, v, 189, 472, 529; portrait, opp. v, 528.

Office holding, eligibility, i, 185; iv, 606; loyalists, iii, 262; dual, iv, 7, 31; religious test, 116; women, v, 10.

Officials (Mass.), extortion, i, 588; appointing, ii, 8, 11-12, 517; iii, 64, 73, 74; v, 40, 606; salaries, i, 439; ii, 12, 14, 19, 21; iv, 54; v, 40; popular election, iv, 21, 25; v, 651; plurality vote, iv, 24; intimidation, 606; pensions, v, 54, 169; removal, 40, 48, 171, 193, 652; retirement board, 30. *See also* Civil service.

Officials (U. S.), tenure of office, iv, 558, 561.

Ogden v. Saunders, iv, 112.

Ohio Company of Associates, v, 137.

Ohio, immigration from New England, iii, 565; iv, 355; v, 137-142; charter, iv, 291; State constitution, v, 138.

Old Colony R. R., v, 403, 418, 425.

Old Colony Trust Associates, v, 348.

Old Colony Trust Co., v, 347.

Oldham, John, i, 76, 79-80, 535.

Old Jewry meeting-house, London, frequented by exiled loyalists, iii, 272.

"Old South Historical Series," v, 490.

Old State House, courts in, ii, 175, 223; Council Chamber, 91, 175, 223, 235; first use of term, iii, 108; royal arms removed, 163.

O'Leary, Bishop Thomas, M., v, 472, 532.

Oliver, Andrew, ii, 177, 186, 304, 431, 479, 480, 491, 508.

Oliver, Mrs. Bridget. *See* Bishop, Mrs.

Oliver, Chief Justice Peter, ii, 153, 184, 187, 188, 256; portrait, opp. ii, 188.
Oliver, Thomas, ii, 547.
Olmstead, Frederick Law, iv, 240, 435.
Olney, Richard, v, 99, 172; portrait, opp. v, 100.
Omaha (Neb.), exposition, iv, 244, 245.
Oneida Indians, ii, 432.
Onondaga Indians, ii, 432.
Onset, shipbuilding, v, 388.
Opium, smuggling, iv, 440.
Optical goods, industry, v, 389.
Oranges, rarity, iv, 357.
Orchards, Boston, ii, 361; statistics, 394; experimentation, iv, 394.
Orderly book, extracts, ii, 449-450; fac simile, opp. ii, 450.
Ordnance and supplies, captured from British, iii, 23; brought from Ticonderoga, 23; from France, 40.
Oregon (territory), iv, 298-301.
Oregon Colonization Society, iv, 299.
O'Reilly, John Boyle, iv, 157, 243; v, 536; portrait, opp. v, 536.
O'Reilly, Bishop Patrick T., v, 472, 532.
Organs, v, 387.
"Oriental" (clipper ship), iv, 446; second, 459.
Orleans (Mass.), War of 1812, iii, 490.
Orphans, i, 278, 280.
Osburn, Sarah, ii, 38, 40.
Osgood, Samuel, iii, 103, 165, 166, 411.
Osterville, shipbuilding, v, 388.
Oswego (N. Y.), school, iv, 189.
Otis (Mass.), iv, 349, 361.
Otis, Harrison Gray, ii, 179; iii, 446, iv, 42; v, 520; politics, iii, 413, 424, 427, 431, 432, 437, 455, 456, 465, 467, 468, 542, 566; iv, 316; U. S. Senator, 283, 286; proslavery, 295, 316, 321; portrait, opp., iii, 424.
Otis, James, Sr., ii, 469, 491.
Otis, James, Jr., ii, 249, 313, 378; lawyer, 145, 172-174, 178; iii, 225; politics, ii, 149, 176, 472, 473, 481, 490; writs of assistance, 158, 169, 175-177, 227, 312, 468; offices, 244, 250, 472; writer, ii, 177, 312.
"Otter" (vessel), iii, 536.
"Outlook," v, 494.
Overtime Bill, v, 178.
Oxford (Mass.), i, 62, 530; ii, 103, 258.
Oxford University, i, 325, 342; graduates, i, 88, 328, 338-339, 388.
Oxen, draught animals, ii, 389; iii, 357.

"PACIFIC" (vessel), iii, 256.
Pacifism, iv, 319.
Page, Mabel, v, 123.
Page, Marie Danforth, v, 220.
Page, Walter Hines, v, 487.
Pageants, iv, 249.
Paine, Thomas, ii, 313; iii, 161.
Paine, Robert Treat, iii, 314; Continental Congress, ii, 547; iii, 154, 164, 165, 174, 228; Mass. Constitutional Convention, iii, 189, 190, 209, 233; judge, iv, 41; portrait, opp. ii, 528.
Painting, eighteenth century, iv, 230; nineteenth century, 231, 241, 248.
Palfrey, John Gorham, iv, 96, 97, 208, 297, 475, 483.
Palmer, Mrs. Alice (Freeman), iv, 193; v, 317.
Palmer, Edward, i, 280.
Palmer, George Herbert, iv, 190, 194; v, 284, 317.
Palmer (Mass.), ii, 111; iii, 100; iv, 361.
Palmer Memorial Hospital, v, 458, 561.
Panics, financial, iv, 288, 289; v, 343, 344, 350, 352.
Pannaway. *See* Little Harbor.
"Panoplist," iv, 254, 261.
Paper, manufacture, ii, 410; iii, 360; iv, 361; v, 393, 430, 438; machinery, 372; for currency, 383; wall paper, 390.
Parades, on Sunday, v, 47.
Pâris, Admiral François Edmond, iv, 464.
Park, Edwards A., v, 140.
Parker, Alice, ii, 40.

Parker, Francis W., iv, 189.
Parker, Herbert, v, 635, 641, 645, 648, 657, 658, 659, 666.
Parker, Chief Justice Isaac, i, 100; iii, 4, 552, 578; iv, 43, 47, 49.
Parker, Joel, iv, 50; v, 106.
Parker, John, ii, 568-570; iv, 205.
Parker, Mary, ii, 40.
Parker, Theodore, iv, 186, 205, 266, 272, 275, 330, 479, 486, 505; v, 148; library, 270.
Parker House, v, 111.
Parkman, Ebenezer, iii, 310.
Parkman, Francis, iv, 209; v, 151, 296; portrait, opp. iv, 210.
Parkman, George, iv, 56.
Parkman Memorial, iv, 243; v, 88.
Parks, Metropolitan District, iv, 618; v, 29, 73, 332; Boston, 88, 90, 332.
Parley, Peter. *See* Abbott, Jacob.
Parmenter, Frederick A., v, 126.
Parole of convicts, v, 30, 41, 55.
Parris, Governor (Maine) Albion Keith, iii, 561, 563, 565, 576.
Parris, John, ii, 36-37, 42, 53.
Parsons, Hugh, ii, 33.
Parsons, Mrs. Mary Louis, ii, 33.
Parsons, Moses, iii, 319.
Parsons, Chief Justice Theophilus, ii, 173, 179; iii, 116, 184; iv, 41, 42, 43, 44, 50; Mass. Constitutional Convention, iii, 189, 190, 192, 200; decisions, 295, 477; "Essex Result," 184; politics, 398, 413, 429.
Parsons, Theophilus, Jr., iv, 574; v, 106, 302.
Partnership, laws, v, 44.
Partridge, George, iii, 165, 166, 409, 415.
Partridge, Lelia, iv, 189.
Partridge, Oliver, ii, 457, 481.
Partridge, Ralph, i, 83, 88.
Passaconoway (Indian), i, 133.
Passamaquoddy Indians, iii, 126.
Passamaquoddy Islands, iii, 562.
Passenger Cases, iv, 113.
Patents, i, 428.
Patrons of Husbandry, iv, 397.
Patterson, General John, iv, 370.
Patuxet. *See* Plymouth.
Paupers. *See also* Poor.
Pawmett. *See* Truro.
Pawtucket Falls, iv, 414, 421.
Pawtuxet (R. I.), settlement, i, 210.
Paxton, Charles, ii, 276, 468, 501; v, 115.
Paxton, founding, ii, 112.
Payquage. *See* Athol.
Payson, Thomas E., iv, 386.
Peabody (Mass.), Russian element, iv, 154.
Peabody, Elizabeth Palmer, iv, 189; v, 209.
Peabody, Joseph, iii, 539.
Peabody, Robert Swain, iv, 234, 244, 247.
Peabody, William Rodman, v, 606.
Peabody Home for Crippled Children, v, 559.
Peace, world-wide, v, 189, 229, 499.
Peace Conference (1861), iv, 505, 506.
Peace movement, iv, 319.
"Peacock" (H.M.S.), iii, 483.
"Peacock" (U. S. sloop), iii, 487.
Pearson, Edward J., v, 411, 416.
Pearson, Henry Greenleaf, "Preliminaries of Civil War," iv, chap. xvi, pp. 473-497; "Massachusetts to the Front (1861)," iv, chap. xvii, pp. 499-513.
Peck, Samuel, iv, 579.
Peddlers, iv, 429.
Pejepscot Bay, i, 197.
Pelham, ii, 110, 259; iv, 354.
"Pelican" (H.M.S.), iii, 484.
Pell's Point Battle, iii, 128.
Pelletier, Joseph C., v, 124, 193, 637, 662.
Pemberton Island. *See* George's Island.
Pemaquid (Me.), founding, i, 196, 363; Indian troubles, 513; ii, 66, 76; county seat, i, 511, 516, 585; fort, ii, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 71, 79.
Pemberton Fund, iii, 519.
Pembroke, founding, ii, 103, 104, 106.

Pencils, iii, 292.
Pendleton Act, v, 47.
"Penguin" (H.M.S.), iii, 488.
Penhallow, Samuel, ii, 310.
Pentient Female Refuge and Bethesda Society, iii, 520.
Penn, William, i, 373; ii, 5, 35.
Pennacook Indians, i, 128, 130, 153.
Pennsylvania, Indians, i, 131; paper money, ii, 214; Albany Congress, 423; governors, 426; iii, 388; Indian wars, ii, 426; federal constitution, iii, 374, 377; population, 434; abolition of slavery, 508; iv, 320-322; education, iv, 178; immigration from New England, 355.
"Pennsylvania Gazette," ii, 311.
Penobscot (Maine), i, 85, 89, 195, 497, 505, 511, 516, 585; in the Revolution, iii, 36; illegal trading, 542; War of 1812, 544.
Penobscot Expedition, iii, 36-38, 60.
Penobscot Indians, ii, 86, 88, 90.
Penobscot region, early, i, 15; Plymouth Colony, i, 85; St. Casin, i, 585.
Penobscot River, boundary, i, 199; iii, 489; name, i, 363.
Pens, manufacture, iv, 362.
Pensions, army, iii, 147; Revolutionary War, 147, 327; public employees, v, 169; old-age, 36.
Pentagoët (Maine), i, 516.
People's Party, iv, 554, 632.
Pepper trade, iii, 537.
Pepin, Chauncey, v, 22.
Pepperell (Mass.), founding, ii, 110.
Pepperrell, Sir William, i, 283, 421, 424, 426, 427, 444.
Pepperrell papers, ii, 315.
Pequod Indians, i, 217, 246-247, 253, 268, 553.
Pequod River, boundary, i, 211.
Pequot War, i, 217-218, 226, 534-535; books about, i, 373.
Percy, Earl, ii, 563, 564, 581-585; iii, 24, 321.
Periodicals, iv, 221; v, 485-494, 501; index, 291; medical, 547.
Perkins, Charles E., iv, 248; v, 159.
Perkins, Mrs. Damaris, ii, 373.
Perkins, George E., v, 61.
Perkins, Holten B., v, 619.
Perkins, James, iii, 538.
Perkins, Joseph, iii, 519.
Perkins, Mrs. Sarah, iv, 363.
Perkins, Thomas Handasyd, iii, 535, 538; v, 520.
Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind, iii, 518, 539; iv, 274; v, 239.
Perpetuities, iv, 89.
Perry, Commodore Oliver Hazard, iii, 484.
Person, inviolability, i, 118.
Personal Liberty Act (1855), iv, 492, 495, 502, 503, 506, 561.
Perth Amboy (N. J.), terra cotta, iv, 238.
Peru, piracy, iii, 482; Tacna-Arica dispute, v, 230.
Pestilences, among Indians, i, 128-129, 135.
Peter, Hugh, i, 116, 268, 317, 345, 349.
Peter, Tar, i, 447.
Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, v, 564.
Peters, Andrew James, v, 79, 93.
Peters, Andrew J., "Boston—the Municipality (1890-1930)," v, chap. iii, pp. 68-96.
Petersburg (Va.), siege, iv, 538.
Petersham, founding ii, 110.
Petitions, refusal by Congress, iv, 326, 332; fees accompanying, 8.
Petroleum, illuminant, i, 25; iv, 397.
Pew, General William A., v, 579, 584.
Pfaff, Charles, v, 581.
"Phantom" (clipper), iv, 456, 457.
Pharmacy, Board of Registration in, iv, 614; v, 389.
Phelan, James J., and Donald G. Robbins, "Public Finance of Massachusetts (1890-1930)," v, chap. xi, pp. 329-369.
Phelan, James J., v, 602, 606, 626.

Phelps, Amos Augustus, iv, 332, 335.
Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart, v, 207, 211, 218, 490.
Phelps, Oliver, iii, 353.
Phi Beta Kappa fraternity, not democratic, iii, 447.
Philadelphia (Penn.), founding, ii, 35; imports from England, 504, 510; co-operation against England, 521; fast day, 525; Continental Congresses, 544; iii, 156; British in, iii, 131; bank, 363; federal constitution, 370; national capital, 418; Johnson convention, iv, 556; literary center, v, 156; freight differential, 419; militia, 572.
"Philadelphia News Bureau," v, 366.
"Philadelphia Weekly Mercury," ii, 311.
Philbrick, John D., iv, 192, 198.
Philip (Indian), i, 130. *See also* King Philip's War.
Phillips, Alonzo D., iv, 367.
Phillips, Samuel, iii, 41, 140; iv, 177.
Phillips, Wendell, iv, 115, 213, 475, 509, 555, 556, 573, 595; abolitionist, 294, 295, 324, 327, 334, 337, 338, 486, 502; v, 148; portrait, opp. iv, 334.
Phillips, William, iii, 107, 108; iv, 358.
Phillips Andover Academy, iii, 504; iv, 177; v, 241.
Phillips v. Savage, ii, 169.
Phillis (slave), ii, 263, 367.
Phips, Lady Mary (Spencer), ii, 49.
Phips, Spencer, ii, 435, 466.
Phips, Sir William, i, 599-600; ii, 4, 7, 9, 15-16, 20, 21, 41, 49, 67-69, 71-73, 330, 435; iii, 90, 285; portrait, opp. ii, 18.
"Phoebe" (H.M.S.), iii, 483.
"Phoenix" (brig), iii, 60.
Photography, on Sunday, v, 46.
Physicians, settlers, i, 53-54, 310, 425; ii, 33; v, 539; numbers, i, 318; v, 545; in wars, iv, 518, 528; v, 621; registration, 29, 543; instruction, 216; women, 216; standards, 263, 545; in epidemic, 627. *See also* Medical science.
Pianos, introduction, iii, 502; manufacture, v, 386.
Pickering, Edward, v, 264.
Pickering, John, iii, 79, 189.
Pickering, Timothy, iii, 39, 411, 554, 584; in Cabinet, iii, 240, 411, 424; politics, iii, 246, 411, 413, 435, 542; U. S. Senator, iii, 429, 434, 540; secession plot, iii, 429, 432, 456, 476.
Pickering fireback, (illus.) opp. i, 40.
Pickering papers, ii, 315.
Pierce, Edward L., iv, 578-579.
Pierce, President Franklin, iv, 130, 216, 482.
Pierce, John, i, 67, 72, 76.
Pietists, ii, 339.
Pigwacket Indians, ii, 90.
Pike, John, v, 524.
Pillsbury, Albert E., v, 635, 636, 642, 647, 650, 657, 658, 660, 668.
Pilgrims, i, 12-15, 60-61, 66, 68, 76, 79, 81, 84, 89-90, 260, 361, 365, 384, 412, 421. *See also* Plymouth Colony.
"Pilgrim" (vessel), iii, 50, 60.
Pillory, i, 314; iii, 300.
"Pilot," iv, 157, 489.
Pinckney, General Charles Cotesworth, iii, 242, 377, 382, 385, 394, 423, 424, 433.
Piracy, by French, i, 459; against French, 517; elimination, 596; ii, 19; Barbary States, 317; iii, 471; in the Revolution, 30; Peru, 482.
Pirates, i, 511; ii, 19, 278, 301, 302, 361.
Piscataqua. *See* Kittery (Me.); Portsmouth (N. H.).
Piscataqua River, i, 196, 199, 202, 203, 204.
Pitcairn, John, ii, 566-570, 580.
Pitt, William, Sr., ii, 90, 304, 305, 440, 488, 495, 515.
Pitts, John, ii, 245; iii, 103.
Pittsburgh (Pa.), Fort Duquesne, ii, 426, 432, 440, 442; party convention, iv, 556.

Pittsfield, founding, ii, 111; iv, 349; courts vacant, iii, 74-77; in Revolution, 100, 161; Mass. constitution, 183, 187; Washington Benevolent Society, iv, 357; country club, 358; industries, iv, 360-363; v, 372, 385; school, iv, 360; resort, 367; railroads, 428; town center, (illus.) opp. iv, 350.

"Pittsfield Sun" (newspaper), iv, 370.

Plainville, library, v, 276.

Plantations. *See* Towns.

Plattsburg (N. Y.), iii, 486; v, 609.

Playgrounds, v, 77.

Plimpton, George A., "French and Indian Wars," ii, chap. xiv, pp. 419-451.

"Plough" (vessel), i, 196.

Plough Patent, i, 196, 199.

Plows, i, 423; iv, 373, 374; illustrations, opp. iv, 374.

Plumer, William, iii, 414, 429.

"Pluto" (brigantine), iii, 60.

Plymouth (Eng.), Pilgrims, i, 68; prisoners of war, iii, 52.

Plymouth (Mass.), founding, i, 15, 60, 70; description, 70-72, 88; early history, 70-74, 87-88, 386, 422; fortifications, 72, 74, 80, 534; early explorations, 193; shipbuilding, 265; in Revolution, ii, 547; iii, 57; admiralty court, iii, 39; effect of embargo, 432; War of 1812, 506, 544; fisheries, 531; bicentenary, iv, 114; industries, 305.

Plymouth Colony, agreement with London Company, i, 14, 67, 77-78, 410-412; assent by king and bishops, 14; voyage in "Mayflower," 15, 68-70; Mayflower Compact, 15, 69; settlement, 15-16, 60-61, 70-73, 207, 226, 260-261; v, 137; authority over Cape Ann, i, 18-19; fishing outposts, 19; division of property, 14, 67, 72, 75, 77, 411, 417; dissensions, 18, 69; Indians, 70, 72-75, 533-534, 536, 539, 540; population, 71, 87, 261, 414; agriculture, 71, 73, 87, 422-423; Pierce patent (1620-1621), 72, 76, 192 (illus.), opp. 78; undertakers, 77-78; trading enterprises, 77, 84-86, 89, 195, 217, 238, 497, 505; freeholders and purchasers, 77; Warwick patent (1630), 78, 82, 192, 569; wealth, 76, 85, 87-88; territory, 78, 86 (map), opp. 222; Kennebec station, 78, 195; government, 82-83, 392; statutes, 82-84, 315; ii, 15; currency, i, 84, 433; Mass. aggressions, 84, 86, 217, 238, 497; raid on Merry Mount, 85, 392; place in history, 85, 89; absorbed by Mass., 89, 255; ii, 11; Pequod War, i, 218; militia, 229, 252, 253, 365; Mass. duties, 239, 438; settlement law, 286; wickedness, 315; decline, 365-366; salaries of officials, 439; customs duties, 450; Philip's War, 544-552; in Dominion of New England, 572, 584; governors and deputy governors, 607; Quebec expedition, ii, 4, 68; ally in war, 66. *See also* New England Confederation; *also names of persons, towns, and specific topics.*

Plymouth Company (Eng.), i, 5, 17, 18, 190.

Plymouth County (Mass.), settlement, i, 78; ii, 103, 110, 112; convention (1774), ii, 550.

Plymouth Rock, i, 70.

Plympton (Mass.), ii, 103, 106.

Pocasset. *See* Portsmouth (R. I.).

Pocasset Indians, i, 547.

Pocumtuc Indians, i, 131, 233.

Poe, Edgar Allen, i, 364; ii, 311; iv, 201; letter, v, 271.

Poetry, criticism of life, ii, 293.

Pokanoket, i, 128.

Poles, immigrants, iv, 154, 161, 162, 169.

Police, State force, iv, 595, 600, 616; v, 29, 60, 596; Boston, iv, 614, 616; v, 69, 72, 73, 91, 94; Boston strike, 70, 93, 190, 593; removal, 48. *See also* Constables.

Politics, parties of the provincial pe-

riod, ii, 126, 138, 143, 145, 149, 490; economic factors, iv, 76; civilian employees, v, 76; study of, 228, 255.
Polk, President James, iv, 94, 125, 297.
Pollard, Mrs. Ann, ii, 373.
"Polly" (sloop), iii, 31.
Pomeroy, General Seth, ii, 427; iii, 12.
Pometacom (Indian). *See* Philip.
Pondville Hospital, v, 59, 561.
Pontiac War, ii, 476.
Pook, Samuel Hartt, iv, 445, 447, 455, 457, 463, 468, 469.
Poole, Elizabeth, i, 61, 317.
Poole, William Frederick, v, 154, 291.
Poor, i, 285; ii, 266; iii, 513-516; v, 49; care by town, i, 121, 285, 287-288; ii, 101, 224, 266, 268, 368; iii, 513-516, 596; iv, 144; v, 50, 51, 55; laws, i, 285; ii, 266; State aid, i, 288; v, 50, 51, 58; sold for servants, i, 465; buying food, ii, 232; statistics, 229, 268; iv, 145; families of absent loyalists, iii, 264; rich and poor, 513; private charities, 519; v, 459; disfranchisement, iv, 5, 29, 30; immigration restricted, iii, 509; iv, 143; State authorities, 144, 614; v, 29, 30, 32; free transportation out of Europe, iv, 144; Catholic charities, v, 533; hospital social service, 562; coordinating relief, 605.
Poor Widows Fund, iii, 519.
Pontoosuck. *See* Pittsfield.
Pope, General John, iv, 533.
Pope Day, ii, 269; v, 506, 510, 521.
Popham (Me.), i, 38.
Popham, Sir John, i, 6, 67, 191.
Population, racial elements, i, 62, 257; iv, 143, 146, 149, 167, 354; v, 72; native born, i, 480; near seaboard, v, 419; present-day, 491; map showing density, opp. ii, 410; map of distribution, v, inside cover.
Population, statistics: seventeenth century, i, 63, 100, 240, 261-262, 339, 414, 416, 525; eighteenth century, ii, 112, 262, 386-388; iii, 91, 355, 407; iv, 143, 282; nineteenth century, ii, 386; iii, 433; iv, 76, 282; v, 101; comparison with England, ii, 387; twentieth century, v, 95, 240.
Port charges, discriminatory, iii, 528, 533.
Port Royal (N. S.), i, 504; ii, 4, 67, 69, 70, 77, 82-83, 85.
Porter, David, Sr., iii, 60.
Porter, Commodore David, iii, 60, 482; portrait, opp. iii, 482.
Porter, William Townsend, v, 557.
Portia Law School, v, 109, 214.
Portland (Maine), pastors, i, 403; ii, 282; Indian troubles, i, 585; destroyed, ii, 7; iii, 125, 490; Fort Loyal, ii, 79; spinning party, ii, 282; fortification, iii, 491; conventions, 554; railroad, iv, 428.
Portland, Saco & Portsmouth R. R., v, 402.
Porto Rico, v, 582.
Ports of entry, i, 464, 518.
Portsmouth (N. H.), annexed by Mass., i, 206; founding, i, 261; witchcraft, ii, 34-35; peace with Indians, 85; in Revolution, 529; iii, 107; visited by Washington, 117; stage route, iv, 420; railroad, 428; shipbuilding, 454.
Portsmouth (R. I.), i, 208, 209, 211, 397.
Portugal, in America, i, 1.
Portuguese, immigrants, iv, 147, 161, 162, 169, 431.
Postal service, provincial, ii, 13, 416; mail stage (illus.), opp. iii, 510.
Postmasters General (U. S.), iii; incumbents, 411.
Potash, ii, 398.
Pottawatomie (Kansas) massacres, iv, 493.
Poultry, i, 378, 424; introduction, 68.
Pound, Roscoe, v, 99, 107.
Pownall, Governor Thomas, ii, 143-144, 165, 435.
Practice Act (Mass.), iv, 58.
"Prairie" (U.S.S.), v, 582.

Pratt, Bela, iv, 249.
Pratt, Benjamin, ii, 165, 172, 174, 175.
Prayer-Book, Anglican, i, 7, 8; ii, 286; King's Chapel, i, 405; iv, 257; collection, v, 271.
Preble, Edward, iii, 59, 471.
Preble, William Pitt, iii, 561, 563, 576.
Prence, Governor (Plymouth) Thomas, i, 72, 540.
Prentice, Mrs. Sarah (Sartell), iii, 317.
Presbyterians, i, 9, 10; ii, 224; iv, 267; v, 470; missions, 138.
Prescott, Benjamin, iv, 366.
Prescott, James, iv, 54, 110.
Prescott, William, ii, 551; iii, 5, 8, 11-12, 126.
Prescott, William Hickling, iii, 519; iv, 70, 129, 209, 221; v, 151.
"President" (U. S. frigate), iii, 488.
President of the U. S., election by governors, iii, 385; independence, 395; single term, 466; candidates from same State, 466; Mass. men, iv, 283; transmission of orders to Army, 557; disputed election, 601; list, v, 690. *See also names of Presidents.*
Presidential electors, selection, iii, 410.
Preston (Eng.), i, 57, 59.
Preston, Capt. Thomas, ii, 180, 251.
Price fixing, early, i, 102, 184, 428; in Revolution, iii, 84, 324, 345.
Prices, i, 271, 275, 431-432; ii, 206, 232; in Revolutionary War, iii, 324, 343.
Primaries. *See* Elections.
Primogeniture, i, 283.
Prince, Thomas, ii, 310, 335, 342; New England Library, i, 365; v, 270.
Prince School of Store Service, v, 208.
Princeton battle, iii, 129.
Princeton College, presidents, ii, 308.
Pring, Martin, i, 6, 16, 364.
Printing, development, ii, 410; iii, 360; by women, ii, 373; linotype, iv, 187; State printing, v, 33, 34.
Printing presses, i, 265, 284, 343, 372, 378; v, 497.
Prison ships, iii, 52.
Prisoners of war, slaves, i, 269; in British custody, iii, 33, 52; American treatment, 33, 53; transport from Nova Scotia, 48; exchange, 52; release by privateers, 39, 53; desertion by, 54.
Prisons, v, 51-55; iii, 455; workhouses, i, 284; ii, 267; bridewell (Boston), 223; houses of correction, 267; State authorities, iv, 595, 603, 614; v, 29, 30, 32; for women, iv, 600; v, 213; Advisory Board of Women as Overseers of, iv, 614; libraries, v, 277; expense, 333, 335.
Privateers, French, i, 72, 509, 459; ii, 63, 69, 73, 85; iii, 426, 448; commerce injured, 72, 79-80; colonial, i, 235; ii, 78; Dutch, i, 511; definition, iii, 30; Massachusetts, 34, 37, 49-52, 54-60, 362, 489, 526, 538, 539; treatment of prisoners, 33, 39; terms of contract, 34; compensation, 38; United Colonies, 38-45; marines, 40; crews, 50; plundering, 51; neutrality disregarded, 448; War of 1812, 489, 494, 543.
Privy Council, appeal to, ii, 14.
Privy Council (Eng.), disallowance of laws, ii, 167-168; court of last resort, 168.
Prize agents, iii, 38.
Prize money, iii, 42.
Prizes, British ships, iii, 22, 32-60; sale abroad, iii, 43.
Probation system, iv, 55; v, 169.
Proclamations, reading publicly, iii, 112.
Profanity, i, 277; ii, 275.
Profile Mountain (N. H.), iv, 130.
Progressive party, v, 183-187, 194, 225, 633.
Prohibition party, iv, 595, 600-602. *See also* Intoxicants.
Procter, John, ii, 38, 40, 56.
Property rights, legal protection, i,

118; iv, 60; women, i, 302; State payment of damages, iv, 604; v, 645; fraudulent conveyance, 44; eminent domain, 647; restriction of use, 648, 649.
"Protector" (frigate), iii, 35, 60.
Protestant Episcopal Church, founding, iii, 505.
Protestantism opposed to tyranny, i, 605.
Protestants. *See* Reformation; *also names of sects.*
Providence (R. I.), i, 208, 211, 393; Washington St., ii, 223; commercial conditions, 475; "Gaspee," 506; canal, iv, 422; railroads, 425, 427.
"Providence" (vessel), iii, 37.
Providence & Worcester Railroad, iv, 422.
Providence Plantations, i, 208-212; patent, i, 192, 211.
Provident Institution for Savings, v, 342.
Province House (Boston), i, 262; ii, 223; iii, 342.
Provincetown, Mass., landing of Pilgrims, i, 15, 69; founding, ii, 105, 109; fisheries, iii, 531; iv, 406; War of 1812, iii, 544.
Provincial Congress, iii, 65-68, 157, 163; proposed, ii, 546, 549, 551; assembled, 551; protests to Gage, 552; preparations for revolution, 552, 558; iii, 157; acts, ii, 109; officers, iii, 17; resolves (illus.), opp. 68; acts legalized, 73; appeal for support, iii, 230. *See also specific topics.*
Psalms, versified, i, 338, 361; in Indian tongue, 372; text book, iii, 313.
Psychiatry applied to lawbreakers, v, 37, 54.
Psychopathy, v, 57, 556.
Public conveyances, exclusion from, iv, 584-585.
Public debt (Mass.), bills of credit, ii, 69, 80, 205; Province, ii, 80, 204-205, 476; payment by England, ii, 422; military expenses, ii, 84, 145, 211, 433; iii, 81, 342; Revolutionary War, iii, 81, 342, 366, 415; loan notes, iii, 342, 352; after Revolution, iii, 351; amount, iii, 351-353; v, 34, 329, 336; federal assumption, iii, 353, 415; consent of voters, iv, 92; Civil War, iv, 590; v, 173; payment in coin, iv, 594; v, 367; redemption of bonds, iv, 600; credit standing, v, 367.
Public debt, municipal: Boston, ii, 243; taxes anticipated, 243; statistics, v, 338, 340; limitation, 339; exceeding limit, 339; payment from earnings, 340.
Public debt (U. S.), Revolutionary War, iii, 317, 415; iv, 290; funding, iii, 415; investors, 415; v, 351; payment with treasury notes, iv, 610; Liberty Loans, v, 349, 612; sale of bonds through banks, 350.
Public expenditures, warrant by governor, ii, 12, 20; v, 336; by governor independently, ii, 16, 23, 147, 148; by General Court, ii, 22, 131, 138-139; v, 336; for relief outside Mass., iv, 608; budget, v, 18, 40, 81, 84, 168, 336, 651; sectarian purpose, iv, 20, 25; v, 186, 637, 645; appropriation bills, 18, 336, 338, 645; State officials, 33; pay-as-you-go policy, 33, 83; broad projects, 331-333; amount, 333, 335; annual appropriation, v, 337; loans to private parties, v, 650. *See also specific purposes.*
Public expenditures, municipal: loaning money, ii, 243; statistics, v, 338, 340; budget, 339; accounting, 339.
Public funds, house of representatives to raise, ii, 22, 131; bills of credit issued, ii, 69, 80; iii, 342; Parliamentary grants, ii, 212, 214; raised by Provincial Congress, ii, 553, 558, 562; iii, 65, 81; investments, iii, 353; sale of land, iii, 353; lottery, iii, 446; right to borrow, v, 650.

See also Public debt; Taxation; *also other specific topics.*
Public funds, municipal: Federal surplus funds, iv, 291; statistics, v, 340. *See also* Taxes.
Public funds, national: surplus, distribution to States, iv, 290; distribution to towns, iv, 291.
Public Information League, v, 80.
Public meetings, exclusion from, iv, 584.
"Public Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestick," i, 265; ii, 311.
Public Opinion Law, v, 35, 38.
Public records, State official, v, 29.
Public trading, v, 640.
Public utilities, regulation, v, 169, 362-364.
Pudester, Ann, ii, 40.
Puerperal fever, v, 548.
Pulitzer prize, v, 219.
Pullman, James, v, 467.
Pumham (Indian), i, 209.
Pumps, v, 381.
Punishment, legal, i, 276-277; suspension, iv, 55; indeterminate, v, 55. *See also* Capital punishment.
Puppet show, ii, 284.
Purchase, Aquila, iii, 214.
Puritans, rise, i, 8-11, 49-50, 162-163; influence in Parliament, i, 11; colonists, 12, 21, 52, 56, 61; leaders, 52; asceticism, i, 160, 162, 274, 361; obloquy, i, 162; religion, i, 176, 179; self-centered, i, 233, 360-361, 378, 567; Parliamentarians, i, 235; virtues, i, 289; iii, 302; literature, i, 360-362, 376-377; comparison with Roman Catholics, i, 378; belief in witches, ii, 44; diluted by immigrants, v, 168.
"Purple Cow," v, 501.
Putnam, Ann, ii, 37-39, 45, 49, 54.
Putnam, Frederick, v, 264.
Putnam, General Israel, ii, 440; iii, 5, 12, 19, 20, 127; portrait, opp. 126.
Putnam, James, ii, 177, 179; iii, 219.
Putnam, Joseph, ii, 56.
Putnam, Perley, iii, 492.
Putnam, Rufus, iii, 147; v, 135, 138.
Putnam, Thomas, ii, 37, 54.
Pym, John, iii, 214.
Pynchon, John, i, 531; ii, 75.
Pynchon, William, i, 60, 103, 112, 238, 338, 372, 531, 584; ii, 106; iii, 88; portrait, opp. i, 420.

QUAFCACANQUEN. *See* Newbury.
Quakers, i, 249-250, 313-314, 400-401, 477, 482-484; ii, 337; v, 476; in Plymouth, i, 81; tolerant, 178; capital punishment, 276, 402, 483; branding, 277; marriage, 279; whipping, 314, 403; legislation, 403, 482; witches, ii, 34; in Boston, 224; support of Congregational church, 270; opposition to war, 476; attitude toward the Revolution, 525; attacks on British opposed, iii, 31; anti-slavery views, 560; iv, 314, 319, 320; settlements, 354.
Quartering Act (1765), ii, 495.
Quarterly Charity Lecture, iii, 519.
Quebec (city), founding, i, 5; expeditions against, i, 255; ii, 4, 68-69, 83, 193, 432, 440, 442; iii, 125, 161.
Quebec (province), boundaries, ii, 518; iii, 175.
Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), ii, 20-21, 78-85, 199.
"Queen of Clippers" (clipper ship), iv, 460.
Quelch, John, ii, 278, 361.
"Quero" (vessel), iii, 6.
Quincy (Mass.), quarries, i, 43; iv, 424; founding, i, 524; iii, 215; shoe industry, iii, 360; schools, iv, 193, 198; railway for granite, 424; library, v, 271; shipbuilding, v, 387; old house, (illus.) opp. iii, 234.
Quincy, Mrs. Dorothy (Flynt), iii, 221.
Quincy, Edmund (1681-1738), ii, 114; iv, 353.

Quincy, Edmund (1808-1877), iv, 294, 327, 334.

Quincy, Mrs. Eliza Susan (Morton), iii, 317.

Quincy, Josiah (1744-1775), legal career, ii, 180, 237, 250, 470; iii, 330.

Quincy, Josiah (1772-1864), General Court, iii, 462, 475, 521; U. S. Congress, 462, 472; mayor, iii, 521; v, 77; interests, iv, 179, 182, 183, 367; politics, 357, 358; views, iii, 462, 542; Harvard College, v, 147, 297.

Quincy, Josiah (1859-1919), v, 77, 172, 175, 667; Mass. Constitution, v, 188, 645, 662, 667.

Quincy, Samuel, ii, 175, 321, 330.

Quincy, General Samuel Miller, ii, 470; iv, 526.

Quincy family, iii, 329, 331.

Quinnipiac River, i, 221.

"Quo warranto," proceedings, i, 102, 564-565, 571; iii, 89.

RACIAL discrimination prohibited, iv, 575, 584. *See also* Negroes.

Radcliff, Philip, i, 184.

Radcliffe College, iv, 191, 617; v, 207, 256, 316; presidents, 208; questionnaire, 229.

Radicals. *See* Revolution.

Radio, v, 532.

Railroad carriages, device for hauling without rails, tracks, iv, 424; primitive, 424; exchange of freight cars, 429.

Railroad men, war service, v, 612, 620.

Railroads, transcontinental, iv, 187; horse power, 366, 423, 426; State management, 366, 602, 615; development, 89, 366-367, 423-429, 615; v, 157-162, 399-426; steam power, iv, 367; first in Mass., 424; grade crossings, 428; v, 61, 330, 362; electric power, iv, 428; v, 418; freight handling, iv, 429; State supervision, 610, 615; v, 362; freight rates, iv, 615; passes, v, 15, 171; special rates, 16; automobile competition, 61, 422; unification, 400, 412; nationalization, 412, 612; regional plan, 400, 410.

Railroads' War Board, v, 412.

Railways, first tramway, iv, 424; combination, 607; v, 410; elevated, iv, 608; v, 426; State supervision, iv, 615; v, 362; competition, 61; underground, 76, 89, 264, 426; Cambridge tunnel, 335, 426; development, 424, 425; labor problem, 443.

"Rainbow" (clipper ship), iv, 444.

Rainbow Division, v, 616.

Ralé, Sebastien, ii, 87-90, 303.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, i, 2, 3, 66.

"Rambler" (privateer), iii, 495.

"Rambler" (vessel), iii, 42.

Randolph, Governor (Va.) Edmund, iii, 374, 383, 397.

Randolph, Edward, i, 38, 269, 439, 448, 450, 453-458, 461, 462, 464, 465, 488, 512, 517, 561-566, 569, 572, 575, 577-580, 594, 600, 601, 603, 604; ii, 5, 12, 13, 534; iii, 89.

Randolph, Peyton, iii, 160, 231.

"Ranger" (vessel), iii, 532, 539.

Rangers, ii, 439-440.

Rantoul, Robert, iv, 92, 94, 99, 478.

Ratcliffe, Robert, i, 405, 578-579, 590.

Ratshesky, Abraham C., v, 473, 602, 626.

Rattlesnake symbol, "Join or die," ii, 525.

"Raven" (clipper ship), iv, 454.

Rawson, Edward, i, 574; portrait, opp. i, 576.

Ray treatment, v, 555, 561.

Rayon, v, 374.

Raynham, i, 531; ii, 105, 407; iii, 197.

Read, George, iii, 382, 387.

Read, John (1680-1749), ii, 171.

Read, Mrs. Olive (Pool), iii, 306, 310.

Reading (Mass.), i, 58, 526, 530; in Revolution, ii, 579; shoe industry, iii, 360.

Reading rooms, iv, 617.

Real estate, values, i, 271; statistics, v, 340.
Real estate. *See* Loyalists.
"Rebecca" (vessel), i, 265.
Rebel status, iii, 33.
Rebellion. *See* Civil War; Revolutionary War.
Rebels, amnesty, iv, 564, 569.
Receiver-general (Mass.), ii, 552; iii, 65, 69, 81, 157; appointing, iii, 73.
Reciprocity with Canada, iv, 306.
Reconstruction Bills, iv, 557, 564, 566-567, 573.
Recruiting, officers' pay, ii, 429, 434; duties, 429, 445; volunteering, 445; accounts, 445; bounties, iv, 536, 539; aliens, 539.
"Red Jacket" (clipper ship), iv, 445, 463, 467, 468, 469.
Redcoats. *See* English soldiers.
Red Cross Society, v, 213, 612, 613, 626.
Redpath, James, iv, 580.
Red Star Line, iv, 440, 460.
Reed, James, iii, 12.
Reed, James A., v, 124.
Reed, John (1781-1860), iv, 93, 97.
Reed, Joseph, iii, 22.
Reed, Thomas Brackett, iv, 578; v, 173, 188.
Referendum, in Plymouth Colony, i, 83; in Massachusetts, ii, 462; iv, 30; v, 28, 34-38, 169, 188, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 641, 647, 656; ballot boxes, iv, 610.
Reformation, in England, i, 2, 6-7; in Europe, 2. *See also names of sects.*
Reformatory for Women (Framingham), iv, 600; v, 213.
Reforms, iv, 270-274.
Regicides, i, 550.
Regis College, v, 241.
Registrar of Motor Vehicles, v, 4; attorney, v, 43.
Rehoboth, founding, i, 86, 88, 208, 528; name, ii, 102; school, ii, 376; population, iii, 468.
Regulating Act (1774), ii, 517, 549; (1777), iii, 324.
"Reindeer" (H.M.S.), iii, 488.
Release of right of claim, v, 125.
Religion, fear of error, i, 177, 237; standard, 179, 376; observances, 273; children, 307; iii, 281; revivals, ii, 307-308; worldliness encroaching, 324; sects, iv, 268; v, 455-473; influence, 455, 474; mysticism, 476. *See also* Church; Liberty of conscience; *also names of sects.*
Renssalaer Polytechnic Institute, iv, 360.
"Reporter" (clipper ship), iv, 459, 470.
Representative government, i, 83, 107, 109, 112; v, 133; districts, ii, 109; proportioned to money contributions, 458.
"Republic" (sloop), iii, 35, 46, 60.
Republic, preferable, iii, 185.
Republican party (Jeffersonian), policies, iii, 243, 448, 452, 565, 571; personnel, 413, 441; strength, 419, 427, 428, 456, 458, 461, 463, 564; weakened by Embargo Act (1808), 433; gerrymander, 458; decline, iv, 77. *See also* National Republican party; Native American party.
Republican party (modern), rise, iv, 494, 496, 500, 553; strength, 501, 588, 592-595, 600-608; v, 170-194; ticket (1860), opp. iv, 508; policies, 561, 574, 576, 589, 591-594, 597, 606; v, 53, 169, 182, 185; defections, iv, 592, 597; corruption, 596; Liberal Republicans, 597; women, v, 225.
Residence. *See* Settlement.
Resolve, legislation by, iii, 88, 90; v, 20.
"Resource" (vessel), iii, 60.
"Retaliation" (vessel), iii, 44.
Revels, Hiram R., iv, 583.
"Revenge" (vessel), iii, 42.
Revenue. *See* Taxation.
Revere (Mass.), water supply, v, 86.
Revere Beach, v, 45.
Revere, General Joseph W., v, 535.

Revere, Paul, craftsman, ii, 497, 503; iii, 40, 140, 359; iv, 231; courier, ii, 521, 550, 564, 567, 568; in Revolution, iii, 36, 121; Freemason, iv, 357; health officer, v, 542.

"Revolution" (vessel), iii, 55.

Revolution, American, declaration by Boston, ii, 253; proclamation by England, 306; remote causes, 467; early suggestions, 472; sedition in legislatures, 497-499; trial in England of inciters, 498; literature and argument, 499-501; English opinion, 514-531; preparations by colonies, 523, 562; public opinion, 543, 557; iii, 64; first offensive, ii, 576; general revolt, iii, 7; skirmishes over supplies, 7; declaration of the cessation of arms, 55; treaty of peace, 55, 420; conditions in 1779, 194; in Mass., 354; relics, iv, 505.

Revolution of 1689, i, 600-605; ii, 5-6, 15, 328.

"Revolution Justified," i, 589.

Revolution, social. *See* Sacco; Vanzetti.

Reynor, John, i, 80-81.

Rhoade, John, i, 511.

Rhode Island (province), Indians, i, 130-131; charter, 192, 211-214, 509, 569; ii, 18; iii, 182; early period, i, 207-211, 213, 226; territory, 211-214, 250; name, 212; religious tolerance, 249-250, 483; New England Confederation, 227, 256; war with New Netherland, 472; free trade, 477; Philip's War, 550-552; Atherton Company, 571, 587; in Dominion of New England, 583; militia, ii, 18, 20; King William's War, 66, 71, 421; ally in war, 80, 82; appeals to Privy Council, 168; bills of credit, 105, 214; iii, 343; Albany Congress, ii, 423; French and Indian War, 427; Stamp Act Congress, 481; commercial nonintercourse, 504; cooperation against England, 521, 525, 537, 544; in Revolution, iii, 5-6, 12, 122, 127, 158; map (1675), opp. i, 528. *See also* New England Confederation.

Rhode Island (State) agrarian movement, iii, 368; not in the Union, 370, 416; Constitution of U. S. ratified, 440; Dorr Rebellion, iv, 91, 94; boundaries, iv, 113.

"Rhode Island" (U.S.S.), v, 397.

Rhode Island Congregational Association, iv, 319.

Rhodes, i, 137.

Rice, Governor Alexander Hamilton, iv, 554, 600-602; v, 573.

Rice, Edmund, v, 580.

Rice, Luther, iv, 356.

Rice, William E., v, 392.

Richards, Ellen, v, 264.

Richards, John, i, 565; ii, 170.

Richards, Theodore, v, 264.

Richardson, Henry Hobson, iv, 234, 235, 239; v, 156.

Richardson, Josiah, iv, 449.

Richardson, Maurice Howe, v, 566.

Richardson, Samuel, iii, 315, 317.

Richmond (Mass.), iv, 349, 361.

Richmond (Va.), siege, iv, 533, 538.

Richmond's Island, i, 197.

Rifles, types, v, 579.

Rigby, Alexander, i, 196, 198-199.

Rigby, Edward, i, 199.

Rights, natural, iii, 185.

"Ringleader" (clipper ship), iv, 460.

Rioting, Stamp Act, ii, 148, 479; political danger, 181; impressment, 471; boycott of English goods, 497, 510; seizure of the "Liberty," 472, 502; Jay Treaty, iii, 448; proslavery, iv, 322, 332; closing of liquor shops, 610; police on strike, v, 593.

Ripley, General Eleazar Wheelock, iii, 485.

Ripley, George, iv, 207, 276.

"Rising Empire" (brigantine), iii, 35.

"Rivadavia" (battleship), v, 397.

Rivers, traffic, ii, 415; iii, 549; improvement by U. S., iv, 291.

Riverside Press, v, 497.

"Rivington's Gazette," iii, 274.
Roads, i, 431-432; ii, 390, 415; iv, 364, 419; voting on, i, 122; to Connecticut, 236; central control, 432; improvement, 432; iv, 359, 420; v, 60, 62; local administration, i, 432; injury from defective, ii, 100; property of town, 554; national funds, iv, 291-293; turnpikes, 364; benefits from highways, 397; State funds, v, 61, 63, 330, 332, 334, 422; State highways, 61; expense, 335, 340.
Roadside enterprises, v, 61.
Roadtown. *See* Colerain.
Roanoke (Va.), lost colony, i, 66.
Roberts Bros., v, 498.
Robertson, William, i, 483.
Robin, Claude C., iii, 332.
Robinson, Edward, iv, 238.
Robinson, Governor George Dexter, iv, 605, 606, 608, 612.
Robinson, John, i, 12, 13, 68, 412.
Robinson, Joseph, iii, 60.
Roblin, Stephen H., v, 467.
Roche, Monsignor Ambrose Francis, v, 638.
Roche, James Jeffrey, v, 493.
Rochester (Mass.), ii, 106.
Rockefellar Foundation, iv, 248.
Rockingham Memorial, iv, 108, 119.
Rockland (Maine), ships, iv, 463, 469.
Rockwell, Julius, iv, 369.
Rodney, George Brydges, Baron, iii, 51, 54.
Rogers, Bruce, v, 497.
Rogers, Mrs. Edith Nourse, v, 226.
Rogers, Ezekiel, i, 58, 526.
Rogers, John, iv, 242.
Rogers, John, v, 506.
Rogers, John Jacob, v, 226.
Rogers, Robert, ii, 439.
Rogers, Thomas, i, 327.
Rogers, William, iv, 532.
Rogers, William Barton, iv, 236; v, 258.
"Romance of the Seas" (clipper ship), iv, 468, 470.
Romney Marsh, i, 166, 530.
"Romney" (H.M.S.), ii, 472, 502.
Roosevelt, President Theodore, iv, 601, 606; v, 177, 179, 183, 184, 194; comparison to John Smith, i, 363; presidency, iv, 585; v, 176, 633; in U. S. Navy Department, iv, 604; appeal for pardon, v, 124.
Rope walks, i, 40.
Ropes, David, iii, 496.
Ropes, Joseph, iii, 496.
Ropes, Nathaniel, ii, 187.
"Rose" (H.M.S.), i, 575, 585, 601; iii, 89.
Ross, Denman, iv, 247.
Rose, Sir George Henry, iii, 540.
Ross, Samuel, v, 22.
Rotch, Thomas Morgan, v, 557.
Roux, François, iv, 464.
Roxbury Charitable Fire Society, iii, 520.
Rowe, John, ii, 284, 510, 536.
Rowlandson, Mrs. Mary, i, 144, 374, 549; ii, 377.
Rowley (Eng.), i, 57, 58, 526.
Rowley (Mass.), founding, i, 58, 526; woolen industry, 265, 318; marriage, 279; town government, ii, 113; football, 280; revision of Mass. charter, iii, 71.
Roxbury (Mass.), founding, i, 59, 100, 261, 525; ii, 106-107; emigration, i, 218; schools, 341; description, 414; Mass. tax, i, 435; industries, ii, 411; rioting, 548; in the Revolution, iii, 19, 24; Mass. Constitution, 198; part of Boston, v, 70; hospitals, 546; militia, 574.
Roxbury Canada. *See* Warwick.
Royal Academy (Eng.), iv, 230.
Royal Fencible Americans, iii, 255.
Royal Literary Fund, ii, 315.
Royal Society, ii, 345; members, ii, 323, 335.
Royall, Isaac, iv, 49; v, 106.
Royce, Josiah, iv, 190; v, 264.
Rubber, industry, v, 385, 430.
Ruddock, John, ii, 252.

Ruggles, General Timothy, ii, 176, 481, 543; iii, 66, 253, 254.
Rule, Margaret, ii, 50.
Rum, export, i, 45; ii, 413; manufacture, i, 275; iv, 417; beverage, i, 275; ii, 390; military ration, 428, 437, 447, 448; iii, 37; excise, 550.
Rumney Marsh, i, 415, 423; ii, 233, 244.
Running the gauntlet, ii, 164.
Rush, Benjamin, iii, 402.
Russell, General David Allan, iv, 526.
Russell, James, i, 588.
Russell, John, i, 400.
Russell, John E., v, 172.
Russell, Jonathan, ii, 378.
Russell, Governor William Eustis, iv, 607, 608; v, 170, 173; governor, v, 15, 61, 169-172.
Russell Club, v, 91.
Russia, emigrants, iv, 154, 156, 160, 169; v, 73, 102; treaty with U. S., iv, 298.
Rutland, i, 532; ii, 103, 104; iv, 352.
Rutland Railroad, v, 411, 415.
Rutland State Sanitarium, v, 59, 555.
Rutledge, John, iii, 374.
Rye (N. H.), ii, 529.

SABBATH DAY, observance, i, 273, 592; ii, 273-275, 279, 302; iii, 298, 446, 502; v, 45-47; penalties, i, 277; 280; ii, 242, 275; on military service, 436, 437; iii, 121.
Sacco, Nicola, v, 126, 194.
Sachs, Paul, iv, 247; v, 474.
Sack, John, iii, 345.
Saco (Me.), founding, i, 196, 198, 199, 201; fort, ii, 79; railroad, iv, 428.
Saco River, exploration, i, 193.
Saconnet Indians, i, 130.
Sacrément, Lac, ii, 427.
Safety, traffic regulation, v, 63, 120; industrial, 450.
Sagadahoc Colony (Me.), i, 5, 6, 15, 16, 66, 191, 199, 563; Lygonia, 196.
Sagadahoc River. *See* Kennebec River.
St. Castin, Baron de, i, 516-517, 585; sons, ii, 88, 90.
St. Clair, Alanson, iv, 335.
St. Clair, General Arthur, iii, 129.
St. Croix River, boundary, i, 511, 513, 516; ii, 64; iii, 420.
St. Eustasius (W. I.), iii, 47, 51.
Saint Gaudens, Augustus, iv, 242.
"St. George" (vessel), iv, 442.
St. Johns (N. B.), i, 235.
St. Johns (Newfoundland), i, 2.
St. John's Ecclesiastical Seminary, v, 527.
St. John's River, iv, 303.
St. Kitts Island, i, 510.
St. Lawrence River, boundary, i, 11; expeditions against French, ii, 68, 85.
St. Louis (Mo.), exposition, iv, 244, 245.
"St. Lucie" (vessel), iii, 44.
St. Patrick's Day, iii, 93.
St. Pierre Island, ii, 445.
St. Vincent de Paul Society, v, 531.
Salem (Mass.), founding, i, 19, 58, 98, 99, 261, 413, 523-524; under Endecott, 19, 58, 81, 98, 195; patent of 1628, 19, 98; early residents, 62, 207, 447; church, 81, 178, 207; court, 115; cross cut from flag, 176, 207; shipbuilding, 265, 447, 464; brickmaking, 265; hemp, 39; glass works, 265; schools, 341; iii, 312, 313; college site, i, 343; commerce, 425, 445, 446, 464; iii, 55, 56, 362; iv, 74, 305, 437; description, i, 416; allotment of land, 418; ii, 397; Mass. tax, i, 436; ii, 215; iii, 348; lawful port, i, 464, 518; protest against Acadian expedition, 504; name, i, 524; ii, 102; witchcraft, 36-49; General Court, 136, 544; loyalists, 182; old houses, ii, 370; iv, 229; common land, ii, 397; industries, 411; iii, 305; iv, 408, 419; capital city, ii, 525, 544; in Revolution, 553, 584; iii, 127; Provincial Congress, ii, 551; iii, 65; privateering, 56, 494, 538,

543; iv, 446; admiralty court, iii, 39; revision of State constitution, 71; antislavery movement, 295, 296; Stamp Act, 318; population, 355; visited by Washington, 417; injured by embargo, 432, 545; War of 1812, 491, 494, 496; commerce, 534-539, 545; fisheries, 545; stage route, iv, 420; railroad, 428; fire, v, 588.
"Salem" (U.S.S.), v, 397.
Salem Creek (N. J.), i, 219.
Salem Village. *See* Danvers.
Sales' people, primitive, iv, 364; training salespeople, v, 208.
Salisbury, Stephen, v, 382.
Salisbury (Mass.), founding, i, 57; privateering, iii, 57.
Salt, on table, i, 264; import, iii, 47, 361.
Salt works, early, i, 34, 204, 428, 570; Massachusetts Bay Company's interest, 100; in Revolution, iii, 47, 361.
Salter, John, ii, 228.
Saltpetre, iii, 81, 140.
Saltonstall, Dudley, iii, 37.
Saltonstall, Nathaniel, ii, 41, 75.
Saltonstall, Sir Richard, i, 103, 104, 183, 277, 338, 389; ii, 106.
Saltonstall, Richard, Jr., i, 471, 477.
Salvation Army, v, 470.
Samoset, i, 15, 73, 533.
Samplers, i, 319; iii, 313.
Sampson, A. & G. T., iv, 460.
Sampson, Deborah, ii, 317; iii, 306, 327.
Sampson & Tappan, iv, 449, 454, 457.
Samuels, Samuel, iv, 460, 462.
Sanborn, Franklin Benjamin, iv, 573; v, 49, 148.
San Diego (Calif.), exposition, iv, 245.
Sandisfield, founding, ii, 111; v, 353; industries, iv, 362.
San Domingo Republic, treaty, iv, 598.
Sandwich (Mass.), founding, i, 59, 83, 530; pinnace, i, 264; glass, ii, 410; iv, 231.
Sandys, Sir Edwin, i, 11, 14, 18.
San Francisco (Calif.), iv, 445, 447; v, 228; exposition, iv, 245.
Sanitary Commission, iv, 521-523.
San Juan Hill (Cuba) battle, v, 579.
Saratoga (N. Y.) battle, iii, 3, 130.
Sargent, Charles, v, 264.
Sargent, Henry Jackson, Jr., iv, 457.
Sargent, John Singer, iv, 249.
Sargent, Nathaniel Peaslee, iv, 35, 37.
Sassacus, i, 534.
Sassafras, i, 42.
Sassamon, i, 546.
Saturday night, part of Sabbath, i, 592; ii, 243; profanation, 273-275; in Lowell, iv, 418.
Saugus (Mass.), iron works, i, 40, 62; founding, 58, 525, 530; description, 415; Colony tax, 436; cigars, iv, 417.
Saugus River, bridge, i, 432.
Saugust. *See* Lynn.
Saunders, Admiral Charles, ii, 442, 443.
Saunderson, Henry Hallam, v, 466.
Savage, Hubijah, ii, 242.
Savage, James, i, 164.
Savannah (Ga.), in Revolution, iii, 133.
"Savannah" (vessel), i, 39.
Sawmills, i, 265; v, 605.
Sawyer, Roland D., v, 22.
Say and Sele, William Fiennes, Viscount, i, 52, 53, 203, 508, 566.
Saybrook (Conn.), founding, i, 217; fort, 238, 472.
Scalps, bounty, ii, 74, 90.
Scandinavians, immigrants, iv, 147, 161, 164, 169.
Scarborough (Maine), notables, iii, 372, 562.
Scarlet fever, v, 541.
Schaghticoke (N. Y.), ii, 77, 131.
Schenectady (N. Y.), massacre, ii, 67.
Schiller, Johann von, ii, 315.
Schneider, Mrs. Anna Weinstock, v, 225.
Schofield, Mrs. Emma (Fall), v, 227.
Schoodic River, iii, 421.
School elections, non-freemen, i, 122.

School of Religious Education and Social Service, v, 458.
Schoolhouse Commission, Boston, v, 77.
Schouler, William, iv, 516, 518, 531, 597.
Schurtz, Mrs. Marghareta (Meyer), iv, 166.
Schuyler, John, ii, 80, 89.
Schuyler, Peter, ii, 80-81.
Schuyler, General Philip, iii, 369.
Schuylkill River, i, 219.
Science, development, ii, 345; iii, 504; v, 149; 236; instruction, 242, 250, 254, 257, 258, 263; research, 262.
Scientists, v, 264. *See also names of individuals.*
Scire facias proceedings, i, 479, 565; iii, 89.
Scituate (Mass.), founding, i, 60, 82, 88, 414, 528; burned by Indians, 550; vote for independence, iii, 162; raided by English, 490.
"Scorpion" (schooner), iii, 60.
Scot, Reginald, ii, 30.
Scotland, sawmill units, v, 606.
Scots, immigrants, i, 62; ii, 227, 258; iv, 143, 146, 169, 354; servants, i, 62, 268, 462; paupers transported, iv, 144.
Scots' Charitable Society, ii, 268; iii, 519.
Scott, Dred (slave), iv, 64, 496, 561.
Scott, Margaret, ii, 40.
Scott, Roger, i, 277.
Scott, Sir Walter, iv, 131.
Scott, Sir William, iii, 472.
Scott, General Winfield, iii, 485; iv, 130, 482; presidency, iv, 130, 135.
Scottow, Joshua, ii, 286.
Scribner's Monthly Magazine, iv, 157.
Scrooby (Eng.), i, 12, 79, 88.
Scudder, Samuel, v, 264.
Scudder, Vida Dutton, v, 218.
Sculptors, iv, 242, 249.
Sea Islands (S. C.), iv, 579.
"Sea Witch" (clipper ship), iv, 445, 454.
Seabury, Bishop Samuel, iv, 257, 267.
Seals, iii, 536.
Seamen, alien, i, 475; iii, 50; impressment, ii, 471; iii, 54, 60, 430, 434, 473, 543; iv, 123; in the Continental Army, iii, 91; letter-of-marque crews, 50; numbers in 1717, 91; profession, iv, 437; Negroes, 95; Sunday work, v, 46.
Seamanship, iv, 441, 447, 448, 452.
Search and seizure, illegal imports, i, 18; warrant required, ii, 312, 470.
Sears, Willard T., v, 220.
Sebring, Isaac, iv, 357.
Seccombe, Joseph, ii, 280.
Secession, possibility, iii, 393, 506; iv, 119; New England conspiracy, iii, 429, 432, 433, 541; iv, 109; Burr's conspiracy, iii, 429; abolitionist view, iv, 126, 337, 503, 504; southern sentiment, 128, 504; peace conference (1861), 504, 505.
Secretaries. *See* Cabinet.
Secretary of the Commonwealth office, i, 11; v, 29, 32, 40; lists, ii, 591; proclamations read, iii, 112; popular election, iv, 25.
Secretary of the Navy, office established, iii, 426.
Sectarian Measure, v, 186, 188.
Securities. *See* Public debt.
Sedan chair, i, 235.
Sedgwick, J. Hunter, "Controversies with England," i, chap. xvii, pp. 469-489.
Sedgwick, Robert, i, 501, 507.
Sedgwick, Chief Justice Theodore, personal affairs, iii, 398, 415; iv, 41, 368; in U. S. Congress, iii, 410, 418, 427, 428; iv, 369; portrait, opp. iii, 418.
Sedgwick, William, v, 264.
Sedition Act, iii, 241, 425, 452.
Seekers, i, 394.
Seekonk. *See* Rehoboth.
Seelye, Julius H., iv, 190.
Seelye, Laurenus Clark, iv, 194.
Selectmen, non-freemen, i, 122, 171; freemen in majority, i, 171; number,

ii, 99; duties, i, 313; ii, 100; early provisions, ii, 113; Boston, 244.
Selman, Captain, iii, 32, 33.
Semmes, Raphael, iv, 457.
Senate (Mass.), powers, iii, 200; election districts, 203, 444; iv, 3, 21, 23, 116; v, 1; eligibility, iii, 204; iv, 18, 89; election, iii, 202; iv, 17; filling vacancies, 27; quorum, 28; v, 15; travelling expense, iv, 28; v, 15; chamber, 1; joint conventions, 2; salaries, 15, 16; recesses, 16; re-election of members, 22; counsel, 42; fellows of Harvard Univ., 299.
Senate (U. S.), choosing candidates, iii, 384; electing members, iii, 384; State representation, iii, 389; appropriation bills, iii, 389; voting, iii, 389; exclusion for insurgent States, iv, 556, 564; members from Mass., iv, 623, v, 690.
Seneca Indians, ii, 432.
Sentries, leaving post, ii, 437.
Separatists, i, 12.
"Serapis" (H.M.S.), iii, 59.
Sergeant, John, ii, 265.
Sergeant-at-arms (Mass.), v, 2.
Sermons, i, 273, 362; ii, 233, 291; iii, 298; Thursday lecture, ii, 234; before executions, i, 371; ii, 233; iii, 294; election sermon, ii, 272; v, 2, 505, 524.
Servants, disfranchised, i, 171, 183; immigrants, 183, 266, 268, 317; ii, 260; indentured, i, 266, 268, 284, 285, 439, 462; ii, 260, 367, 370; iv, 310; undutiful, i, 266-268, 318; agents, 266; Indians, 268, 317, 439; Negroes, 268, 439; wages, 270-271, 439; support, 285; ii, 260; debtors, i, 277; marriage, 303; land, 413; runaways, ii, 261; farm laborers, iii, 357. *See also* Slaves.
Servitude, penalty, i, 269, 277, 285.
Settlement laws. *See* Inhabitants.
Sewall, David, iv, 35, 37, 44.
Sewall, Elizabeth, i, 278, 282; ii, 362.
Sewall, Jane, ii, 367; iii, 330.
Sewall, Jonathan, iii, 218.
Sewall, Joseph, ii, 224.
Sewall, Mrs. Mary (Gibbs), ii, 300, 363.
Sewall, Chief Justice Samuel (1652-1730), i, 280, 599; ii, 170, 279, 298-303, 357, 360, 362-363; witchcraft, ii, 41, 49; offices, ii, 246, 301; moralist, ii, 276, 285, 286, 301; writer, i, 370; ii, 292, 298, 300; quoted, i, 270, 277, 282, 385, 404, 579, 591; ii, 167, 264, 273-275, 277, 278, 283, 285, 286, 357, 361, 362; iii, 298; portrait, opp. ii, 50.
Sewall, Major Samuel, ii, 238, 302.
Sewall, Samuel, ii, 364.
Seward, William Henry, politics, iv, 500; Secretary of State, iv, 571.
Sewerage, metropolitan district, iv, 614, 617; v, 29, 30, 69, 73, 264, 331; Boston, v, 86, 331.
Sewing, teaching, iii, 314; iv, 188.
Seymour, Horatio, iv, 595.
Shadrach (slave), iv, 479.
Shaker settlements, iv, 354; sect, iv, 357.
Shakespeare, William, i, 326-327.
Shaler, Nathaniel S., iv, 187, 383; v, 61, 304.
"Shannon" (H.M.S.), iii, 484.
Sharon, ii, 112; sanatorium, v, 555.
Sharp, Thomas, ii, 235.
Sharpshooters, iv, 527.
Shattuck, Samuel, i, 483.
Shaw, Anna Howard, v, 222.
Shaw, Henry, iv, 95.
Shaw, Chief Justice Lemuel, iii, 306; iv, 4, 48, 51, 54, 479; v, 362.
Shaw, Mrs. Pauline (Agassiz), v, 209.
Shaw, Quincy, iv, 239.
Shaw, Quincy A., v, 163.
Shaw, Mrs. Quincy Agassiz, iv, 194.
Shaw, Robert Gould, iv, 243, 535, 536.
Shaw, Samuel, iii, 536.
Shaw and Randall, iii, 537.
Shawmut. *See* Boston.
Shawomet. *See* Warwick (R.I.).
Shawsheen Village, v, 374.

Shays's Rebellion, iii, 150, 204, 306, 368, 441, 505.

Sheep, prices, i, 271; raising, 318, 423-424; ii, 392, 407; iv, 358, 377; protection, 387.

Sheepscott (Me.), i, 196.

Sheffield, Edmund, Baron, i, 18.

Sheffield, founding, ii, 105; in Revolution, iii, 75.

Shelburne, William Petty, Earl of, ii, 517.

Shelburne Falls, industries, iv, 362.

Sheldon, Edward Austin, iv, 189.

Shelton, George H., v, 615.

"Shenandoah" (ship), iv, 467.

Shepard, Charles U., iv, 389.

Shepard, Samuel, i, 349.

Shepard, Thomas, i, 57, 59, 114, 116, 345, 362, 369, 370, 376, 396.

Shepheard, Colonel William, iii, 129.

Shepley, Edward, iv, 236.

Shepley & Coolidge, iv, 236, 239.

Sherborn, i, 418; reformatory, v, 52.

Sherbrooke, General John Coape, iii, 492.

Sherburne (Nantucket), taxes, iii, 349.

Sherburne, General John H., v, 24, 616; portrait, opp. v, 614.

Sherburne, John H., v, "Massachusetts in the World War," v, chap. xx, pp. 598-631.

Sheridan, General Philip, iv, 539.

Sheriff, i, 595; iii, 112, 353; v, 593.

Sherlock, James, i, 595.

Sherman (Wyo.), Ames Monument, v, 161.

Sherman, James S., v, 180.

Sherman, John, iii, 300.

Sherman, Mrs., i, 111.

Sherman, Roger, iii, 104, 163, 172, 234, 378, 388.

Sherman, General William Tecumseh, iv, 538, 539.

Ship of state, iv, 61.

Shipbuilding, primal industry, i, 37, 184, 264-265, 424, 443, 446-448, 465; ii, 398; laws concerning, i, 38; development, i, 38-39, 363; ii, 399, 406; iii, 408; iv, 231, 407, 436-471; v, 387; schooner, ii, 401; Indians, i, 153-154; statistics, iii, 408, 528; Boston, 471; foreign competition, 528; Salem, 538; effect on house carpentry, iv, 227, 231; figureheads, 231; fine art, 434; freighters, 438-443; v, 607; clippers, iv, 439, 443-471; British, 439, 467; French, 464; German, 454; yachts, v, 388.

Shipping, carriers, i, 449; iii, 367; decline, iv, 74; steam navigation in N. Y., 112; packet liens, 440, 442-443, 447; combination with railroads, v, 403, 410, 411; twentieth century, 419.

Ships, whalers, i, 36; sale abroad, 38, 45, 448, 449; clippers, 38-39; iv, 231, 434-471; outfitting, i, 39; clearance, 136, 464; phantom, 219; statistics, 265, 476; ii, 400, 404, 412; iii, 91, 408, 528; ketches, i, 446; hired by La Tour, 503; seizure for illegal trading, 453, 464, 494, 502, 510; seizure for unlicensed fishing, 515; ii, 77, 472; search, 18; fires aboard, 248; rental to government, iii, 32; French in American Revolution, 40; seizure by French Directory, 423; confiscation in war, 423, 430, 434, 436; v, 601, 608; submarine, iv, 187; v, 387; canal boats, iv, 421; steamships, 441; mutiny on, 455; figureheads, 457; taxes, 604; commandeered in World War, v, 398; destruction in World War, v, 601. *See also* Navy; Privateers; Seamen; *names of vessels.*

Shipwrecked persons, i, 118.

Shipwrights, from England, i, 37, 447.

Shirley (Mass.), founding, ii, 110; Polish element, iv, 154; industrial school, v, 52.

Shirley, Governor William, ii, 141-143, 214, 421, 424-428, 430, 431, 432-436, 456, 463, 466, 469, 472; autograph, opp. ii, 444; portrait, opp. ii, 142.

Shoemakers, lodge, iv, 610.

Shoemaking, development, i, 44; iii, 360; iv, 281, 362, 403, 415; v, 376-

380, 430; panic (1837), iv, 289; nineteenth century, iv, 416, 431; machinery, iv, 416; v, 372, 376; tariff, 394, 395; labor, 434.
Sholan, i, 530.
Shops, Sunday opening, ii, 243; racial discrimination, iv, 584.
"A Short Introduction to the Latin Tongue (1773)," title page (fac simile), opp. iii, 282.
Shot. *See* Ammunition.
Shovelboard, i, 184.
Shrewsbury, ii, 104; turnpike, iv, 364.
Shrouds, common, i, 121; style, iii, 298.
Shrove Tuesday, ii, 285; iii, 291.
Shute, Governor Samuel, ii, 87-89, 129-133, 203, 302; iii, 90.
Shutesbury, founding, ii, 111.
Siboney (Cuba) battle, v, 579.
Signal Corps (U. S.), v, 582, 619, 620.
Silk, v, 374.
Silsbee, Nathaniel, iv, 283, 289, 306.
Silver, utensils, i, 264; bullion imported, 462; value, ii, 202, 205, 206, 208, 211, 212; iv, 35; legal tender, ii, 212; shipments, 212; nonacceptance, iii, 84.
Silver Bank, iii, 210.
Silver Purchase Act (1890), iv, 578.
Simmons College, v, 208.
Sims, Thomas, iv, 480.
Sims, Admiral William Sowden, v, 607.
Simsbury (Conn.), Indian raid, ii, 84.
Sioux Indians, iv, 209.
"Sir Launcelot" (clipper ship), iv, 468.
"Siren" (frigate), ii, 430.
Sisters of Charity, v, 523.
Skating rinks, exclusion from, iv, 584.
Skinner, Ernest M., v, 387.
"Skylark" (clipper ship), iv, 460.
Slater, Samuel, iv, 412.
Slattery, Bishop Charles L., v, 463.
Slattery, Charles Lewis, "Religious Forces," v, chap. xv, pp. 455-478.
Slaughter House Cases, iv, 571.
Slaughter houses, ii, 101, 373.
Slave trade, rise, i, 45, 268-269; Indians, 73, 183, 268, 533, 547; Negroes, 183, 268, 462; ii, 413; iii, 295-297; Boston, ii, 228; head tax, 263; opposition, ii, 263; iii, 296, 392, 559; Virginia against, 376; southern support, 376; power of Congress, iii, 392-394; iv, 125; taxation, iii, 393; denunciations, iv, 125; in District of Columbia, 127, 339; suppression, 303, 554; instances, 315; Chinese, 457.
Slavery, legal provisions, i, 118, 269, 439; ii, 262; iii, 295, 297; among Indians, i, 132, 549; statistics, 269-270; iii, 295, 296; prevalence, ii, 368; cessation in Mass., iii, 355, 508; iv, 38, 310; prohibition by States, iii, 506, 508; v, 147; political issue, iv, 94, 97, 99, 205, 293, 295, 311, 333, 337-341, 473-489, 492-497, 552; exclusion in western territories, 301, 311, 484-485; v, 134; benefits of, iv, 312; approval by slaves, 326; economically unsound, 340; ground of war, 503-506; abolished in U. S., 534, 553-555; denunciations, 125; State right, 125; compromise (1850), 127-129, 484; problem unsettled, 202; morally wrong, 206; abolition in District of Columbia, 553. *See also* Abolitionists; Antislavery movement.
Slaves, captives, i, 118, 269; bond servants, 118; Negroes, 183, 268-270; ii, 296; iii, 296, 355, 506; Indians, i, 183, 268-269, 360, 535; fugitive, 229, 262; iv, 329, 332, 339, 474-480, 486, 553; v, 134; return to native land, i, 439; numbers, i, 440; ii, 262; iii, 296; children of slaves, ii, 262; iii, 295; manumission, ii, 264; emancipation, iv, 320, 534, 554; contraband of war, 553, 598; acts to confiscate, 553, 554.
Sloane, Marion Parkhurst, v, 220.
Sly, John F., "Geographical Expansion and Town System," ii, chap. iv, 96-119; "Massachusetts in the National Government (1764-1774)," iii, chap. vi, pp. 153-179; "Massachusetts in

the National Government (1820-1861)," iv, chap. x, pp. 281-306.
Small pox, rebuke to pride, i, 282; funerals, ii, 114; innoculation, 228, 298, 344; v, 541; poor patients, ii, 268; on prison ships, iii, 53.
Smith, Mrs. Abigail (Adams), iii, 306, 314.
Smith, Francis, ii, 565-567, 571, 572, 574, 578-581.
Smith, Gerrit, iv, 331, 335.
Smith, Jeremiah, iv, 107.
Smith, John, i, 5, 6, 12, 16, 32, 70, 128, 362-365, 373, 493, 533; iv, 345; map by, opp. i, 6; portrait, opp. i, 362.
Smith, Oliver, iv, 389.
Smith, Payson, v, 235, 238.
Smith, Philip, ii, 35.
Smith, Ralph, i, 80.
Smith, Samuel Francis, iv, 220.
Smith, Theobald, v, 554, 566.
Smith, Walter, iv, 188.
Smith, William, ii, 576.
Smith & McCance, v, 495.
Smith Agricultural School (Northampton), founding, iv, 389.
Smith College, iv, 191, 232, 617; v, 206, 207; admission, 244; curriculum, 255; presidents, iv, 194.
Smiths, i, 286.
Smollett, Tobias, iii, 287, 317.
Smuggling, customary, i, 477; ii, 7, 19, 218, 475; iii, 542; molasses, ii, 146; wines, 502; opium, iv, 440.
Snake in church, i, 182.
Snow, Isaac, iii, 560-561.
Snow removal, v, 61.
Snowplow, on tramway, iv, 424.
Snowshoes, soldiers', ii, 79, 448.
Social Law Library, v, 288.
Social life, i, 262-289; in 16th century, 50-54; in 17th century, 262-289; in 18th century, ii, 123, 257-288, 356-383; iii, 280-303, 306-311; 501-522; distinctly American, ii, 356; in 19th century, iv, 397.
Social service, training, v, 208; Goodwill Industries, v, 459.
Social Service Library, v, 290.
Socialists, riots, v, 128.
Society for Encouraging Industry and Employing the Poor, ii, 268, 408.
Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, iii, 520.
Sohier, Edward D., iv, 56.
Soldiers. *See* Army; Pensions; Veterans.
Soldiers' Relief Societies, iv, 521.
Solemn League and Covenant, ii, 540.
Smyth, Egbert, v, 457.
Somers, Sir John, ii, 162.
Somerset (Mass.), shipbuilding, iv, 446, 454, 460.
"Somerset" (H.M.S.), ii, 564.
Somersetshire (Eng.), i, 57-58, 59, 61, 526.
Somerville, entrenchments, iii, 19; water, v, 86; railroad, v, 417; militia, 574.
Somerville, Mary, v, 216.
Sons of Liberty, ii, 509; iii, 93, 314.
South Adams, industries, iv, 361.
South America, commerce, iv, 440.
South Boston Citizens' Association, v, 183.
South Brimfield. *See* Wales.
South Carolina, settlement, i, 194; Fundamental Constitution, 582, 587; paper money, ii, 214; iii, 343; cooperation against England, ii, 525; iii, 161; western boundary, iii, 175; federal constitution, 374, 379, 380, 394; cooperation with New England, 394; tariff, iv, 118; nullification, 118, 120, 287; northern negroes in, 295, 339; proslavery, 322; suffrage, 555; reconstruction, 567, 574; mob violence, 569; negroes, 580; northern governor, 581; carpetbaggers, 581-582; industries, v, 375-376.
South Hadley (Mass.), ii, 110; industries, iv, 361; canal, iv, 421. *See also* Mt. Holyoke College.
South Vernon (Vt.), railroad, iv, 428.
Southborough, founding, ii, 105; school, v, 463.

Southbridge, industries, iv, 413; v, 389.
Southampton (Conn.), i, 222.
Southampton (Mass.), ii, 110.
Southern New England Railway, v, 411.
Southern States, shipping, iii, 376; taxation of exports, 376; cheap labor, 376; aid not needed by North, 392-393; need of union with East, 394.
Southern, U. S., agrarian interest, iii, 416; manufacturing, v, 375.
Southold (Conn.), i, 222.
Southwick, Cassandra, i, 312.
"Sovereign of the Seas" (clipper ship), iv, 458, 463, 468-470.
Soykonate Indians, i, 547.
Spain, rivalry with England, i, 2, 3, 7, 493; colonies, 1; ii, 420; slaves, i, 73, 533, 547; at war, ii, 444; iii, 49; neutrality, 43; treaties with U. S., 533; iv, 298; war with U. S., v, 8, 174, 177, 578-583.
Sparks, Jared, iv, 208; v, 298.
Specie circular, iv, 87, 289.
Spectacle Island, ii, 268.
"Speedwell" (vessel), i, 68.
Speer, Samuel, ii, 369.
Spencer, Herbert, iv, 187.
Spencer, founding, ii, 110; Mass. Constitution, iii, 204.
Spinning, children, i, 284; iii, 511; domestic, i, 266, 318, 425; ii, 370, 407; iv, 363; parties, ii, 282; iii, 302, 319; contest opp., ii, 276; instruction, 409; iii, 314; with both hands, 511; power machinery, iv, 412, 413.
Spiritualism, ii, 57-58.
Spoils system, Gov. Belcher, ii. 138.
Spoons, i, 264.
Sprague, Peleg, iv, 62, 321.
Springfield, early period, i, 60, 218, 238-240, 241, 338, 472, 531; ii, 105; assignment of land, i, 418; Mass. tax, 436; witchcraft, ii, 33; cannon made, iii, 40; industries, 40, 359; iv, 362, 363, 367; v, 372, 393, 394, 400; population, iii, 408; iv, 281; visited by Washington, iii, 416; Americanization center, iv, 151; schools, 175; v, 248; monuments, iv, 243; v, 579; registry of deeds, iv, 347; bridge, 364; railroads, 367, 429; in Civil War, 526; conventions, v, 178; banks, 345; hospitals, 546; armory, 579; explosion, 596; Court Square, (illus.) opp. iv, 350.
"Springfield Republican" (newspaper), iv, 221, 369, 558, 566-567; v, 153, 479, 485.
Squakeag. *See* Northfield.
Squanto, i, 73, 533, 534.
Squantum, shipbuilding, v, 388.
Squatters, communities, i, 120; Maine, iii, 549, 551.
Squire family, iii, 214.
Stacy, Thomas, i, 286.
"Stag Hound" (clipper ship)," iv, 449, 463, 470.
Stage-route systems, iii, 301; iv, 365, 420.
Stage Fort (Gloucester), v, 581.
Stamford (Conn.), i, 222.
Stamp Act, ii, 148-149, 219, 250, 312, 466, 477; iii, 360; presaged, ii, 473; rioting, 479, 494; resistance, 478, 482-484, 488, 492, 534; iii, 225, 318; repeal, ii, 489; iii, 93; stamp (illus.), opp. ii, 480.
Stamp Act Congress, ii, 148, 426.
Stanbery, Henry, iv, 561.
Standard of living, ii, 231; iii, 503.
Standish, Miles, i, 16, 19, 72, 73-74, 85, 274, 524, 534.
Stanley, William, v, 385.
Stanley, William, iv, 368.
Stannard family in Michigan, v, 156.
Stanton, Edwin M., iv, 560, 557, 558.
Stanton, Mrs. Elizabeth (Cady), iii, 336.
Stanton, Henry B., iv, 335.
Starbuck, Mrs. Mary (Coffin), i, 316.
Stark, John, iii, 5, 12.
Starrett, L. S., v, 381.
State Agricultural Experiment Station, iv, 393.
State Ballot Law Commission, v, 179.

State Board of Directors of Internal Improvements, iv, 366.
State Board of Education, v, 29, 175.
State Board of Retirement, v, 30.
State farm, v, 52, 56, 59.
State Guard. *See* Militia.
State House (Mass.), building, iv, 229; Hall of Flags, iv, 540; v, 1, 173; Commissioners of State House Construction, iv, 614; additions, 1; v, 330; (illus.), opp. iv, 236.
State Infirmary (Tewksbury), v, 59, 555.
State rights, territory, iii, 175, 178; representation, 379, 388, 389-391; federal veto, 382, 385; guard against tyranny, 300; sovereignty, 440, 453, 463; nullification of Federal law, 452; allegiance to the Union, 460; iv, 590; disapproval of war, iii, 475; as against human rights, iv, 576; political issue, 593; in war, v, 623.
State Street (Boston) named, iii, 108.
Staten Island, in Revolution, iii, 126.
States, friendliness the basis of union, iii, 366; not suable, 419-420, 421-422; creation, 462, 466; suicide by secession, iv, 554, 564; reconstruction after secession, 555, 556, 564-578, 581-583, 593. *See also specific topics.*
Statesman, defined, iii, 461.
"Statesman" (newspaper), iv, 78, 85.
Statistics, State bureau, v, 29.
Steam power, introduction, iv, 410; railroads, 426; compared to electricity, v, 372.
Stearns, Asahel, iv, 49.
Stearns, Frank W., v, 189.
Stearns, Mary, iii, 334.
Stearns, John, iv, 234.
Stearns, William Augustus, iv, 190.
Stebbins, Samuel, ii, 365.
Stedman, General Charles, iii, 15.
Steel, whalebone supplanted, i, 25; building construction, iv, 245; imports, iv, 416.
Steuben, Baron Friedrich von, iii, 138; v, 572.
Stevens, Thaddeus, iv, 178, 556-557, 564, 566, 568, 570, 577, 592; biography, v, 188; portrait, opp. iv, 558.
Stevenson, Marmaduke, i, 483.
Stewart, Charles (1778-1869), iii, 488.
Stiles, Ezra, ii, 570.
Stillson, Daniel, v, 380.
Stimson, Frederick J., "Massachusetts in Literature in the 17th Century," i, chap. xiii, pp. 360-378; "Massachusetts Literature in the Eighteenth Century," ii, chap. x, pp. 291-318.
Stockbridge, Levi, iv, 392.
Stockbridge, Mohicans, i, 131; ii, 265; founding, ii, 105; in Revolution, iii, 75; notables, 265; iv, 368, 369, 370; industries, iii, 360, 362; pastors, iv, 369.
Stockings, manufacture, ii, 409.
Stocks, punishment, i, 276, 280, 297, 314; required, 437; location, iii, 300. *See also* Banks; Corporations.
Stoddard, John, ii, 89; iv, 369.
Stoddert, Benjamin, iii, 426.
Stone, Captain, i, 534.
Stone, Colonel, iii, 6.
Stone, Edward, iv, 234.
Stone, Lucy, v, 204, 207.
Stone, resources, i, 43; domestic trade, iv, 421.
Stoneham, founding, ii, 106.
Stonington (Conn.), War of 1812, iii, 491.
Stony River, i, 414.
Storey, Moorfield, portrait, opp. v, 120.
Storrow, James J., v, 84, 88, 414; bequest, v, 88; World War, v, 601, 606, 627, 628.
Storrs, George, iv, 332.
Story, Mrs., iii, 323.
Story, Joseph, iv, 4, 45, 62, 112, 283; v, 520; Mass. Constitutional Convention, iv, 4; common law code, iv, 48; Harvard professor, iv, 49; v, 106; writings, iv, 47, 49, 50; portrait, opp. iv, 46.

Story, William, iii, 95.

Story, William Wetmore, iv, 220, 242.

Stoughton, founding, ii, 106; Suffolk County congress, ii, 547; industries, iii, 140.

Stoughton, Israel, i, 344.

Stoughton, William, i, 530, 563, 572, 584, 594, 603; ii, 17, 19, 41-43, 54, 71, 78, 163, 170, 236, 331; portrait, opp. i, 562.

Stoughton Poor Fund, iii, 519.

Stover, Willis W., v, 619.

Stoves, iv, 397; v, 390, 391.

Stow, founding, i, 529; notables, ii, 552.

Stowe, Calvin E., v, 142.

Stowe, Mrs. Harriet (Beecher), ii, 308, 318; v, 142.

Strang, Richard, iii, 36.

Stratford (Conn.), i, 222.

Stratton, Samuel W., v, 128, 195.

Strong, Governor Caleb, iii, 200, 372, 375, 408, 415, 455, 458, 464, 466, 475; iv, 369; Mass. Constitutional Convention, iii, 189, 190; federal constitutional convention, iii, 370, 372-373, 379, 390, 398, 403; U. S. Senator, iii, 408, 427; politics, iv, 358; portrait, opp. iii, 454.

Strong, William P., v, 161.

Strong man, ii, 39.

Strout, Jacob, iii, 53.

Stuart, Charles, iv, 332.

Stuart, Gilbert, iv, 230.

Stuart, James, iv, 234.

Sturbridge, founding, ii, 104.

"Sturdy Beggar" (vessel), iii, 60.

Sturgis, John Hubbard, iv, 234, 238.

Sturgis, Richard Clipton, iv, 247.

Sturgis, William, iii, 539; iv, 300.

Stuyvesant, Peter, i, 220, 241-242, 245; portrait, opp. i, 235.

Submarine boats, iv, 187; v, 387.

"Success" (frigate), ii, 430.

Sudbury, founding, i, 530; iv, 354; Indian troubles, i, 550; in eighteenth century, iii, 310; schools, iii, 313.

Sudbury River, v, 85.

Suffolk (Eng.), i, 56, 59.

Suffolk County (Mass.), settlement, ii, 106, 112, 236; wealth, iii, 348.

Suffolk County Congress, ii, 547, 548-550; iii, 155.

Suffolk Law School, v, 109, 263.

Suffolk Resolves, ii, 188, 548, 551, 553; iii, 155.

Suffolk system of banks, iii, 578.

Suffolk Trust Company, v, 343.

Suffrage, Plymouth, i, 83; freeman, i, 96, 105, 109, 121, 169, 175, 185; ii, 239; church members, i, 83, 105, 121-123, 170-171, 389, 479, 565, 605; delagation, 109, 169; control by courts, 116; in towns, 121-122, 171; ii, 239; non-freemen, i, 122, 171, 175, 560, 564, 603; proportion disfranchised, 170, 481; property qualifications, 171, 484, 599, 603; ii, 8-9, 15, 100, 123, 239, 366; iii, 68, 205, 410, 575; iv, 89, 90; Maine, i, 201; New Hampshire, 206; Rhode Island, 208; character qualification, ii, 9; disfranchisement penalty, i, 277, 311, 396; iii, 263; women, ii, 366; iii, 224, 334; iv, 605, 611; v, 10, 34, 172, 200-206, 221-225; loyalists, iii, 262; universal manhood, iv, 5, 29, 76, 94; literacy, 26; ineligibles, 5, 29; veterans of wars, 28; change of residence, 32; in southern States, 555, 564; negroes, 556, 571-578, 593, 595. *See also* Poll tax.

Suffragist party, iv, 601.

Sugar, export in war time, iii, 44.

Sugar Act (1764), ii, 146, 219, 414, 473-475; modified, 489.

Suits at law, seventeenth century, ii, 161-164; against Mass., iii, 420; against a State, 420; iv, 20; eighteenth-century practice, 39; arbitration, 65; damage suits, v, 120.

Sullivan, Governor James, Provincial Congress, ii, 552; military service, iii, 123; Mass. Constitutional Convention, iii, 189, 192; iv, 37; politics, iii, 79, 413, 537; governor, iii, 413, 420, 433, 457; attorney-general, iii, 413; iv, 42; Maine boundary agent, iii, 420; judge, iv, 35; writings, iii, 413.

Sullivan, General John, iii, 20, 122, 126, 129.

Sullivan, William, iv, 70, 358.

Sumner, Charles, editor, iv, 47; politics, iv, 96-98, 296, 501, 566, 596-599; interests, iv, 179, 182, 183; orator, iv, 213, 493, 574, 598; U. S. Senator, iv, 213, 283, 329, 478, 480, 486, 493, 552, 554-557, 559, 563, 567, 571, 573-577, 580, 583, 592, 593, 598; v, 172, abolitionist, iv, 329, 332, 337, 505, 553, 598; injured by Brooks, iv, 493; death, iv, 600; portrait, opp. iv, 574.

Sumner, Governor Increase, ii, 236; iii, 189, 427, 450, 451, 455; iv, 36.

Sumptuary laws, i, 173, 271-272, 295, 429.

Sunapee Lake, (illus.) opp. i, 31.

Sunday, amusements on, v, 37, 45; activities on, 46, 61. *See also* Sabbath.

Sunday school, iii, 300.

Sunderland, founding, ii, 103.

"Superbe" (H.M.S.), ii, 422.

Surgeons, iv, 528; v, 217, 621.

Supreme Court of the U. S., iv, 61; opinions, i, 231; personnel, ii, 189, 470; iii, 410; iv, 622; v, 119; term, iii, 387; jurisdiction, 422; iv, 62; interpreter of Constitution, iii, 425; construction of federal laws, 452.

Supreme Judicial Court of Mass., jurisdiction, ii, 165; iv, 66; v, 112, 113; personnel, ii, 470; iv, 36, 37, 41, 66; v, 114, 689; Maine sessions, iii, 551; established, 456; iv, 35; name, iii, 552; salaries, iv, 35, 45, 55; v, 119; procedure, iv, 39, 44; reports or decisions, 45; size, 89; v, 113; full court, 112; power on appeal, 127; records, 273; adviser of governor, 659.

"Surprise" (clipper ship), iv, 447, 468.

Surrey (Eng.), i, 61.

Surveyor of Woods, ii, 12, 399, 421, 467.

Suter, John, iii, 539.

Sutton, founding, ii, 103; naming, ii, 104; industries, iii, 140, 359; Mass. Constitution, iii, 204; notables, v, 138.

Swampscott, shipbuilding, v, 388.

Swamscott Falls (N. H.), i, 205.

"Swan" (vessel), i, 76.

Swanzea, founding, i, 529; Indian troubles, 547; division, ii, 108.

Swedenborg, Emanuel, iv, 268.

Swedenborgians. *See* New Jerusalem Church.

Swedes, i, 219-221, 233, 499; iv, 161.

Sweetser, General E. Leroy, v, 603, 619; portrait, opp. v, 614.

Sweetser, Theodore H., politics, iv, 593.

Swift, Mrs. Anne, iii, 322.

Swift, Joseph Gardner, iii, 474.

Swine, iv, 377.

Swope, Henrietta H., v, 215.

"Sword Fish" (clipper ship), iv, 454.

Symphony Hall, meetings in, v, 182.

Symonds, Samuel, i, 58.

Syrians, iv, 162, 167, 169.

TAFT, PRESIDENT WILLIAM HOWARD, v, 31, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 194, 633; views, v, 184.

Tailer, William, ii, 137.

Talbot, Moses, i, 86.

Talbot, Governor Thomas, iv, 600, 602, 611.

Talleyrand, Périgord, Duc de, iii, 242.

Tammany Hall, iv, 357.

Tapley, Harriet Silvester, "Women of Massachusetts," i, chap. xi, pp. 293-322.

"Tapnaquish" (H.M.S.), iii, 31.

Tappan, Arthur, iv, 315, 322, 331; v, 148.

Tappan, Lewis, iv, 333, 336; v, 148.

Tarbell, Edmund C., iv, 220, 248, 249.

Tariff, protection of industries, iii, 414; iv, 76, 109, 117, 286-287, 292, 364, 431, 606, 610; v, 393; nullification, iv, 118; gradual reduction, 120; for revenue, 431, 606.

Tariff bills, (1789), iii, 414; (1816), iv, 285; (1820), 285; (1824), 286; 1828), 117, 287; (1832), 120, 287; (1833), 287, 290; (1890), v, 169, 403; (1894), v, 404; (1897), v, 404; (1903), v, 404; (1909), v, 404; (1913), v, 185, 404; (1922), v, 405.

"Tartar" (vessel), iii, 35, 60.

Tattooing, i, 141.

Taunton (Mass.), iron works, i, 40; founding, 59, 61, 83, 526; v, 400; offenders, i, 315; Philip's War, 550; mandamus councillors, ii, 547; industries, iv, 415; v, 390; in Civil War, iv, 526.

Taunton, State hospital, v, 59.

Tax assessors, non-freemen, i, 171; selectmen, ii, 114.

Tax collectors, constables, ii, 196, 243; negligence, 196; iii, 353; fees, ii, 243; Federal Reserve Bank, v, 350.

Taxation, non-freemen, i, 101, 560; ii, 14; by assistants, i, 106, 173-174; deputies' power, 107; by General Court, 108, 389; ii, 12, 15, 148, 193, 248, 499; v, 336; by county courts, i, 116; town levies, 435; fishermen, 447; exemption, 418, 424, 436, 447; ii, 196; v, 36; by England, i, 440; ii, 15, 147-149, 473, 489, 495, 497, 499, 516; iii, 342; by Dudley, i, 574; by Andros, 592-594; ii, 98, 192; writs, i, 592; without representation, 592-593, 595, 598-599; ii, 178, 193, 249, 465, 477, 499-500; resistance, i, 592-594; local assessment, ii, 100, 196, 216; English revenue acts, 196, 219; indirectly by Trade Acts, 465, 476; in Revolution, 553; iii, 82; last Province levy law, 342; levies in Revolution, 347; levies omitted, 351; federal power, 376, 392, 393, 559; imports, 392, 393; slave trade, 393; power of State, iv, 112; alien passengers, 113, 144; retrenchment preferable, 89; State authorities, v, 29, 32; Boston, 68.

Taxes, Harvard College corn, i, 236; shipping tolls, 238-240, 241, 450; rates, 239; ii, 196, 216; on property, i, 435, 436, 592; ii, 98, 196, 215; iv, 109; v, 341, 654; on income, i, 435; iv, 33, 92; v, 121, 339, 340; poll tax, i, 436, 592; ii, 98, 100, 216; iv, 92; v, 169, 171; special increase, i, 435; ii, 196; abatement, i, 436; ii, 75; discount for money, i, 436; payment in kind, 436-437; minister's salary, 437; iii, 196, 300; iv, 9, 355; excise, i, 438; ii, 98, 197, 216-217; iii, 550; v, 333; drawbacks, i, 476; devoted to fortifications, 438; tonnage duty, 450, 592; ii, 132, 197; on beaver, i, 450; arrears, ii, 196, 211; payment with paper money, 194, 198, 209, 211; to retire bills of credit, 211; annual amounts, 80, 205, 215; v, 333, 335; on vehicles, ii, 216, 409; school rate, 376; iii, 551; iv, 20; v, 237; revenue stamps, ii, 478; to redeem paper money, iii, 348; refusal to pay, 352; on deeds, iii, 555; wild lands, iii, 568; iv, 33; tenants, iii, 570; alien passengers, iv, 144; on mortgages, 604; on shipping, 604; inheritance, v, 121, 171, 334, 335; on sales of gasoline, 37, 61, 63, 335; on motor vehicles, 61, 63, 334, 335, 340; metropolitan, 69, 331; State tax, 333, 338; insurance tax, 333; on savings deposits, 333; on corporations, 333, 338, 340; on banks, 333, 338; liquor licenses, 333; World War, 334; municipal statistics, 338; on intangibles, 339; rule of proportion, 654.

Taxes, federal: State's quota, iii, 173, 177; Continental money called in, 344; minister's rate, 344; slaves imported, 393; excise, iii, 415; division with State, iii, 466.

Taylor, Charles H., v, 482.

Taylor, E. W., "The Witchcraft Episode," II, ii, pp. 29-60.

Taylor, President Zachary, iv, 97, 98, 126, 129.

Tea Act (1773), ii, 508, 535, 538.

Tea, tax, ii, 217, 219, 475, 504, 507; boycott, ii, 241, 305, 496, 508, 519, 535-539; iii, 318, 320; retailers, ii, 358; drinking, iii, 286; substitutes, 318.

Teachers, associations, v, 250.

Teachers Retirement Board, v, 30.

Teatts, Mrs. Hannah, ii, 359.

Technical instruction, iv, 186, 190, 360.

Telegraph, transatlantic, iv, 187, 368; State supervision, 610; v, 362.

Telephone, invention, iv, 187; v, 239, State supervision, 362.

Temperance movement, iv, 81, 88, 319, 489, 591; v, 205, 227, 475. *See also* Drinking; Intoxicants.

Temple, Mrs., iii, 19.

Temple, Sir Thomas, i, 508, 510, 511, 514; ii, 67.

Temple papers, ii, 315.

Templeton (Mass.), founding, ii, 110.

Ten-hour Law, iii, 512; iv, 419.

Tenney, Sanford, iv, 194.

Tenure of Office Act, iv, 558, 559, 560.

Terra cotta, iv, 238.

Tewksbury, founding, ii, 106.

Tewksbury, State infirmary, iv, 605; v, 59.

Texas, annexation, iv, 94, 96, 126, 295, 327, 329, 330, 337, 338; reconstruction, iv, 567.

Textiles, household industry, i, 43, 273, 284, 318, 425; ii, 370, 407; manufacturing, i, 265; iii, 359; iv, 412, 430; v, 373-376, 390, 430; fulling mills, i, 265, 318; ii, 408; iv, 410; imports, ii, 407; linen factories, 409; woolen manufacture, 409, 484; iv, 413; first cotton mill, (illus.) opp. iii, 510; machines, iv, 412; v, 372, 436; marketing, iv, 430; schools, v, 253; bleaching and dyeing, 390; labor movement, 435.

Thacher, George, iii, 409, 552.

Thacher, Oxenbridge, ii, 174, 175, 176, 238, 468, 491, 492.

Thacher, Peter, ii, 253.

Thacher, Peter Oxenbridge, iv, 55.

Thacher, Thomas, v, 540.

Thackeray, William Makepeace, iv, 226.

Thanksgiving Day, annual festival, ii, 234; for victory, 444; iii, 145.

Thatcher, Samuel G., iv, 261.

Thayer, Abbot Henderson, iv, 249.

Thayer, Eleazer, ii, 437.

Thayer, E., Jr., General Court, iii, 115.

Thayer, Eli, iv, 487; v, 148.

Thayer, John (1758-1815), v, 511.

Thayer, Nathaniel, iv, 259.

Thayer, Nathaniel, v, 160, 298.

Thayer, Mrs. Nathaniel, v, 613, 626.

Thayer, Mrs. Nathaniel, "The Immigrants (1830-1929)," iv, chap. v. pp. 142-169.

Thayer, Mrs. Pauline Revere, v, 227.

Thayer, Richard, ii, 116.

Thayer, Webster, v, 126, 127.

Theater, ii, 283; iii, 281, 294; Boston, ii, 234, 254, 283; iii, 446; amateur, ii, 234; Harvard College, 283; admission to, iv, 584; closed in epidemic, v, 627.

Theft, i, 276-277; ii, 228.

Theocracy, New Haven, i, 221-222; Massachusetts, 84, 478-482, 496, 559-560, 567, 569, 571, 576, 595, 598, 602, 604-605; ii, 1-3, 135; theory, i, 376.

Theology, Cambridge Synod, i, 182; stern, 273; justification doctrine, 178; mollification, ii, 288; instruction, i, 355; v, 263.

"Thermopylæ" (clipper ship), iv, 467, 469.

Timber. *See* Lumber; Trees.

Thomas À. Kempis, i, 361; ii, 344.

Thomas, General George Henry, iv, 539.

Thomas, John, ii, 430; iii, 24, 129.

Thomas, Lorenzo, iv, 559.

Thompson, Lieutenant Colonel, iii, 132.

Thompson, Charles P., politics, iv, 603-604.
Thomson, David, i, 17, 202.
Thompson, George, iv, 321-323.
Thompson, General Samuel, iii, 558-559.
Thompson's Island, i, 15, 202, 261; iv, 388.
Thomson, Charles, iii, 114.
Thomson, Elihu, v, 394.
Thomson-Houston Electric Co., v, 384.
Thoreau, Henry David, iv, 204, 275, 277; v, 148.
Thorndike, Israel, iii, 60.
"Three Friends" (vessel), iii, 539.
Thursday lecture, ii, 234.
Thwing, Charles F., "Massachusetts in the West," v, chap. v, pp. 132-167.
Ticknor, George, iv, 129, 209; v, 270, 271.
Ticknor, William, iv, 222; v, 497.
Tilden, Samuel Jones, politics, iv, 601.
Tillinghast, Mrs. Anna C. M., v, 224, 225.
Tillinghast, Caleb B., v, 275.
Tillinghast, Nicholas, iv, 179, 180.
Tilton, Mrs. Elizabeth H. (Fox), v, 227.
Time. *See* Daylight saving.
Timepieces, iii, 286.
Tinkham, George Holden, in U. S. Congress, iv, 572.
Tinsmiths, early, i, 46.
Tisbury, founding, ii, 103.
Tisquantum. *See* Squanto.
"Titanic" (steamship), v, 280.
Titcomb, Moses, ii, 427.
Tithingmen, office, ii, 100; duties, 114; iii, 299.
Tituba, ii, 36-38.
Tiverton, name, ii, 104.
Toasts, i, 163.
Tobacco, cultivation, i, 87; iv, 75; export, i, 87, 446; Indians, 156; abstinence, 160; ii, 344; use restricted, i, 173, 275; manufacture, iv, 417; sale on Sunday, v, 46.
Tobias, (Indian), i, 546.
Toledo (Ohio), fine arts, v, 155.
Toleration Act (1689), ii, 9.
Tongues, speaking in strange, ii, 34.
Tontine Building (Boston), iv, 229.
Tools, agricultural, iv, 423; iii, 357; iv, 373-375; manufacture, 362, 408; v, 380; auger, iv, 362; wrench, v, 380; drill, 381. *See also* Machines.
Topsfield, founding, i, 58, 529.
Tories, rise, ii, 84. *See also* Loyalists.
Toronto (Ontario, captured, iii, 485.
Torrey, Charles T., iv, 335.
Torture, i, 118; forbidden, i, 118; witches, ii, 30, 50, 59.
Tourjee, Eben, iv, 241.
Town meetings, earliest, i, 74; democratic, 122; ii, 240; iii, 502; forbidden, i, 594; ii, 98, 518; statutes, 99-100, 119; proprietors, 101; local provisions, 113; eighteenth century, ii, 115-119; iii, 501; Boston, ii, 118, 143, 145, 237-244, 249-254, 496, 509, 539, 542; constitutional provisions, 119; calling, 241, 518, 545; iii, 64; warrant, ii, 242; publicity by means of, iii, 153; persistence, iii, 502.
Town Room, v, 290.
Towns, naming, i, 56-61; ii, 102, 104; iv, 349; correlated English places, (map) i, opp. 58; representation, i, 109, 113, 121, 169; ii, 16, 143; settlement, i, 56-63, 120, 371,525, 527, 532-533, 553; ii, 102, 105; iii, 356; iv, 350-355; central control, i, 120, 417; ii, 100; iv, 352; powers, i, 120-121; ii, 97, 99-100; qualifications of officials, i, 171; maps by date of founding, ii, inside cover, opp. 102; establishing, i, 417; ii, 14, 77, 107-109; planning, i, 419-420; iv, 350; fines, i, 432, 437; destruction by war, 553; ii, 75; desertion forbidden, ii, 75; offices, 99-100, 114, 244; suable, 100; precincts, 108; districts, 109; political unit, 240; guardians of abandoned estates, iii, 264; industrial centers, iv, 173, 414; democratic, v, 95; expenditures, 338. *See also* Pub-

lic funds; Suffrage; *also specific topics.*
Townsend, founding, ii, 106.
Townshend, Charles, ii, 495.
Townshend Acts, ii, 149, 151, 495, 503, 535.
Townships, Township Act (1636), i, 121; erection, 121; ii, 108; size, iv, 350.
Toys, i, 304-305.
Trabigzanda, i, 363.
Tracy, Nathaniel, iii, 56, 413.
Trade. *See* Commerce; Shipping.
Trade guilds, i, 427.
"Trade Wind" (clipper ship), iv, 456.
Trades, ii, 231.
Train, Enoch, iv, 441, 442, 443, 449, 459.
Training days, ii, 272.
Tralee (Ire.), i, 63.
Transcendentalism, iv, 203, 206, 269, 275.
Transportation, monopoly, i, 100; seventeenth century, 416; iv, 419; eighteenth century, ii, 415; iii, 301; animals on the hoof, ii, 415; nineteenth century, iv, 364-367, 615; v, 399-426; distance condensed, 60; problem, 399; regional monopoly, 403, 410; freight rates, 419.
Transportation Act (1920), v, 410, 413.
Traub, General Peter E., v, 616.
Travelling conditions, by sea, i, 68, 297; by land, 416; ii, 380, 390; iii, 301, 569; v, 60; safety, 63-65.
Treason, legislation, i, 564; petit treason, ii, 263; inciting rebellion, 499; trading in wartime, 475; allegiance to the king, iii, 74.
Treasurer and Receiver-General (Mass.), lists, ii, 592; appointing, iii, 73; popular election, iv, 25; v, 40; office, 29, 32-33, 40, 354; title, 659.
Treasury Board (Eng.), ii, 18.
Treaties, need of central authority, iii, 367; Acadian, i, 235; Aix la Chapelle, ii, 422; Breda, i, 510; Amiens, iii, 456; Ashburton, iv, 123; Erskine Agreement (1809), iii, 435; France (1778), iii, 49, 169; (1800), 426; Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), iv, 127, 297; Hartford, i, 234, 245, 500; Holland (1781), iii, 172; Jay (1794), 436, 533; London (1794), iii, 436; Neutrality (1686), i, 517; (1702), ii, 77; New Netherland, i, 234, 245, 500; Oregon (1846), iv, 298; Paris (1763), ii, 445; (1783), iii, 55, 420; iv, 301; Reciprocity (1854), iv, 306; Ryswick, ii, 70; Utrecht, 85, 428; San Lorenzo (1795), iii, 533; Wang-Hiya (1843), iv, 124; Washington (D. C.), (1854), 306.
Treby, Sir George, i, 8.
Trees, large, i, 127, 461; mast trees, 461, 37; ii, 130, 399, 467.
Trenton (N. J.) battle, iii, 128.
Trevett vs. Weeden, ii, 471.
Trial, right of, i, 118, 185; speedy, 118, 236; v, 118; double jeopardy, i, 118; torture, 118; by water, ii, 59; by jury, 163-164, 167; iv, 39; v, 133, 645, 646; beyond the sea, ii, 499, 506, 518; review of decision, iv, 40; questions of fact, 41; record of evidence, v, 118; prolongation, 127, 129; new trial, 127, 129.
Trinity College. *See* Cambridge University.
Tripoli, war with, iii, 471.
Trollope, Anthony, iv, 418.
Trowbridge, Edmund, ii, 179, 187, 188.
Troy (N. Y.), schools, iv, 360; v, 200; railroad, iv, 428.
Troy and Greenfield Railroad, iv, 603, 615; v, 329.
"True American" (schooner), opp. iii, 59.
Trumbull, John, ii, 292, 313.
Trumbull, Lyman, iv, 555.
Truro, founding, ii, 103; in Revolution, iii, 347.
Trust companies. *See* Banks.

Tryon, Governor (N. Y.) William, ii, 519.
Tuberculosis, v, 217, 549, 554; hospitals, 52, 59, 555.
Tucker, Charles L., v, 123.
Tucker, Samuel, iii, 33, 59.
Tuckerman, Joseph, iii, 520.
Tudor, Frederick, iv, 440.
Tufts, Cotton, v, 541.
Tufts College, iv, 232; v, 257, 263, 283, 467; medical school, 283, 544; dental school, 283, 558.
Tunnels. *See* East Boston; Holland Tunnel; Hoosac Tunnel; Railways.
Turbine, iv, 410; v, 372.
Turell, Ebenezer, ii, 377.
Turell, Mrs. Jane (Colman), ii, 310, 377.
Turkey shoot, iii, 300.
Turner, Charles, iii, 475.
Turner, William, iii, 313.
Turner's Falls, canal, iv, 421.
Tuscarora Indians, ii, 432.
Tuthill, Captain Zechariah, ii, 362.
Tuttle, Lucius, v, 408.
Twentieth Century Club, v, 290.
Twichell, Ginery, iv, 565.
Tyler, H. W., "Education and Science in Massachusetts (1890-1930)," v, chap. viii, pp. 133-266.
Tyler, President John, iv, 91, 92, 94, 122.
Tyler, Royall, ii, 179, 292, 317; iii, 505.
"Typhoon" (clipper ship), iv, 454.
"Tyrannicide" (brigantine), iii, 35, 37, 59, 60.
Tyringham, founding, ii, 111; iv, 354; vote for independence, iii, 162.

ULLOA, FRANCISCO DE, iv, 345.
"Ultra vires" doctrine, ii, 470.
Uncas, i, 218, 232, 247.
Underground railroad, iv, 206.
Underhill, Charles L., v, 643, 662, 667.
Underhill, Evelyn, v, 476.
Underhill, John, i, 205, 207.
Underwood, Oscar W., iv, 572; tariff bill, v, 185.
Union Bank, iii, 353.
Union of colonies, military, ii, 18; early plans, 76; Albany Plan, 423, 456, 458-461, 464; partial and temporary schemes, 460-466; iii, 167; initiative of Mass., ii, 148, 153, 480, 527; iii, 94; circular letters, ii, 148-149, 496, 497; resistance to taxation, 499, 521, 524, 525; Articles of Confederation, iii, 167, 172; more perfect union needed, 366; division of interests, 376, 377, 400. *See also* New England Dominion; New England United Colonies; United States of America.
Union Pacific R. R., iv, 367; v, 157, 160.
Union Trust Company, v, 345.
Unitarianism, suppression, ii, 337; development, iii, 81, 505; iv, 202, 253-266; v, 142, 463; principles, iv, 206, 274; v, 147; Portland (Maine), iv, 261.
"United States" (U. S. frigate), iii, 483.
United States of America, essential needs of strong union, iii, 366; compact between States, 425; iv, 119; inviolable union, iv, 108, 119, 120, 138; central authority, 113, 590; extension, v, 133.
United States of America, Mass. in national affairs, iii, 407-438; iv, 281-341; v, 171-194.
United States Steel Corporation, v, 382.
"United States Telegram," iv, 79.
United Textile Workers, v, 436.
"Unity" (sloop), iii, 31.
"Unity" (H.M.S.), iii, 32.
Universalist Historical Society, v, 283.
Universalists, sharing taxes, iii, 196; legal standing, 505; growth, v, 143, 466; principles, 466.
Universe, hub of, v, 215.
University of Chicago, v, 152.

University of Indiana, law school, v, 152.
University of Iowa, law school, v, 152.
University of Massachusetts, v, 236.
University of Michigan, v, 316.
University of Missouri, law school, v, 152.
University of Pennsylvania, art school, iv, 237.
Unquety. *See* Milton (Mass.).
Upjohn, Richard, iv, 230, 245.
Upton, founding, ii, 105.
Upton, George B., iv, 448.
Ursulines, v, 514, 518.
Usher, A. P., "Colonial Business and Transportation," ii, chap. xiii, pp. 386-416.
Usher, Hezekiah, i, 440.
Usher, John, i, 440, 588, 592, 594, 601; ii, 71.
Ushers, iv, 193, 197.
Utrecht, Union of, i, 230.
Uxbridge, founding, ii, 105; visited by Washington, iii, 417.

VALPARAISO (CHILI) BATTLE, iii, 483.
Van Brunt, Henry, iv, 234, 244.
Van Buren, President Martin, iv, 86, 91-94, 97, 305, 338.
Van Etten, Edgar, v, 406.
Van Renssalaer, Stephen, iv, 359.
Van Schaack, Henry, iv, 368.
Vane, Sir Henry, i, 173, 179, 338, 395-396, 469; portrait, opp. i, 174.
Vanzetti, Bartolomeo, v, 126, 194.
Varnum, General James Mitchel, iii, 122.
Varnum, Joseph Bradley, iii, 418, 424, 427, 474, 489, 498.
Varkens Kill. *See* Salem Creek (N. J.).
Vassall, William, iii, 419-420, 421; iv, 229.
Vassar College, observatory, v, 215.
Vaudreuil, Philippe de Rigaud, marquis de, ii, 78, 81, 86-89, 427, 442, 444.
Vaughan, Henry, architect, v, 157.
Vaux, Calvert, iv, 240.
Vehicles, i, 423; ii, 216, 268, 389; booby hutch, ii, 305; stages, iii, 301 (illus.), opp. 510.
Verarzanus, John, i, 137, 140, 144, 152.
Vergennes, Charles Gravier, Count de, iii, 238.
Vergoose, Mrs. Elizabeth, ii, 308.
Vermont, Indians, i, 130; in Revolution, iii, 129; settlors, 441; iv, 354; constitution, iii, 506; v, 147; anti-slavery, iv, 321; name, 347.
"Vermont" (U.S.S.), v, 397.
Verplanck, Gulian Crommelin, iv, 357, 358.
Vessels. *See* Ships.
Vetch, Samuel, ii, 81-83.
Veterans. *See* Civil service; Pensions.
Vicksburg (Miss.) battle, iv, 537.
Vietor, Agnes, v, 217.
Victoria, Queen of England, v, 305.
Victory, of Samothrace, iv, 465.
Victory Loan. *See* Public debt.
Victualers, ii, 373.
Villenage, i, 269.
Villard, Oswald Garrison, "The Anti-slavery Crisis in Massachusetts," iv, chap. xi, pp. 309-341.
Vines, Richard, i, 193, 199.
"Viper" (vessel), iii, 50.
Virginia, colonization, i, 5, 12, 13, 17, 49, 55, 407, 524; social and economic conditions, 55; college (1626), 22; explorations, 364; commerce, 423, 446, 448, 461; boundaries, 385; iii, 175; contumacy, i, 470; Iroquois alliance, 518; liberty by charter, ii, 158; appeals to Privy Council, 168; opposition to English oppression, 478, 499, 525; committees of correspondence, 506; iii, 231; cooperation against England, ii, 521; iii, 231; constitution, 182; independence proposed, 233; bills of credit, 343; federal constitution, 370, 374, 377, 380,

382, 385, 400, 407; slavery, 376; navigation acts, 376; tax on exports, 376; agrarian interest, 416; not suable, 422; primogeniture, 428; population, 434; War of 1812, 489; reconstruction, iv, 567; emigration, v, 138.
"Virginia" (vessel), i, 38.
Virginia Company, i, 6, 11, 12, 66, 94, 95, 102, 191, 385.
Virginia Resolutions (1798), iii, 425, 452.
Virginia Resolves (1769), ii, 153, 499.
Virgo, v, 215.
"Vixen" (U. S. brig.), iii, 484.
Voting. *See* Elections; Suffrage.

WABASH (U.S.S.), v, 576
Wabquisset (Indian town) i, 146.
Wadsworth, Peleg, iii, 554.
Wadsworth, Captain Samuel, i, 550.
Wages, i, 270-271, 317, 426-427; extra, 270-271, 426; too low, 427; common laborers, 270; mechanics, 270; ii, 206; Indians, i, 270; women, 270; iv, 418; v, 447; payment weekly, iv, 606, 611; minimum limit, v, 169, 221, 447, 632, 653; State commission, 30; prisoners, 55; mill operatives, 386; railroad employees, 405.
Walbridge, General, iv, 527.
Walcott, Henry Pickering, v, 554.
Waldo, Samuel, ii, 421.
Waldorf, Thomas, i, 17.
Waldron, Daniel W., v, 5.
Waldron, Richard, i, 130.
Wales (Eng.), i, 523, 526.
Wales (Mass.), founding, ii, 111.
Wales, Thomas B., iv, 367.
Walker, Amasa, iv, 97, 395.
Walker, Charles Howard, "Artistic Massachusetts (1920-1929)," iv, chap. viii, pp. 225-249.
Walker, Charles Howard, iv, 238, 242, 244, 245, 247.
Walker, Francis A., v, 258.
Walker, Henry Oliver, iv, 248, 249.
Walker, Admiral Sir Hovenden, ii, 84.
Walker, Joseph, v, 184, 634, 636, 641, 642, 645, 656, 662, 665.
Walker, Mary, iii, 334.
Walker, Quock, iii, 508; iv, 37.
Walkover Shoe Co., factories (illus.), opp. v, 430.
"Wall Street Journal," v, 366.
Wallis, John, ii, 274.
Walsh, Governor David Ignatius, v, 23, 24, 184, 634; governor, 186, 535, 592, 635; U. S. Senator, 189, 194, 535; Mass. Constitution, 635, 644, 662.
Walton, Colonel, ii, 131, 134.
Wambaugh, Sarah, v, 229.
Wannalancet, i, 130.
Walpole (Mass.), iron works, i, 40; founding, ii, 106.
Waltham, founding, ii, 106; industries, iv, 412; v, 372, 400; schools for feeble-minded, 59, 556.
Wamesit, Indians, i, 539.
Wampanoag Indians, i, 128, 130, 134, 253-254, 543-553. *See also* Alexander; Massasoit; Philip.
Wampum, currency, i, 84, 145-146, 233, 434; ornaments, 144, 145-146, 434; belts, 146; standardization, 237.
War, making, i, 228-229; levying costs, 229; aftermath, iii, 251; voting for, 466.
War of 1812, iii, 471-499; iv, 108; declared, iii, 436; attitude of Mass., 436, 459, 489, 567; foreign service refused, 476; claims against U. S., 577; in the South, 487; battles (map), opp. 488.
War Industries Board, v, 607, 623.
War savings stamps, v, 350.
Ward, General Artemas, Provincial Congress, ii, 552; iii, 123; commander-in-chief of militia, 5, 121; Bunker Hill battle, 8, 12-13, 15; military service, 20, 107, 109, 120, 143, 166; church warden, 121; Continental Congress, 108, 165.
Ward, Edward, ii, 271.

Ward, Hamilton, portrait, opp. iv, 558.
Ward, Jonathan, iii, 126.
Ward, Joseph, iii, 132.
Ward, Nathaniel, i, 117, 179; ii, 157, 160, 161, 272, 321, 367; lawyer, i, 117.
Ward, Samuel, iv, 367.
Ward house (Salem), (illus.), opp. ii, 370.
Wardell, Samuel, ii, 40.
Wardrop, David William, iv, 517.
Ware (Mass.), district, ii, 110; in-
Ware, Ashur, iii, 576.
Ware, Henry, iv, 254, 260.
Ware, William, iv, 214.
Ware, William Robert, iv, 234, 236.
dustries, iv, 361.
Wareham, founding, i, 528; ii, 106; sloop seized, iii, 31; War of 1812, 490; Industry, v, 388.
Warner, Olin, iv, 242.
Warrants, town meetings, ii, 115; recruiting, 445; fac simile, opp. ii, 40, 444.
Warren (Mass.), founding, ii, 105.
Warren (R. I.), i, 207.
"Warren" (vessel), iii, 37, 60.
"Warren" (U.S.S.), iii, 471.
"Warren" (schooner), iii, 33.
Warren, Eli, iv, 386.
Warren, General James, ii, 316, 510; iii, 65, 67, 68, 95, 78, 95, 138, 441.
Warren, John, v, 541.
Warren, John Collins, iv, 166; v, 547, 549, 561.
Warren, General Joseph, orations, ii, 230, 313, 554; offices, 237; politics, 237, 250, 472, 540, 557; iii, 67; Suffolk County congress, ii, 547, 548; iii, 155; Provincial Congress, ii, 551; iii, 6, 17, 68, opp. 68; military service, ii, 582-583; iii, 12, 17; Freemason, iv, 357; portrait, opp. ii, 556.
Warren, Langford, iv, 239.
Warren, Mrs. Mercy (Otis), ii, 378; iii, 221, 306, 316; writings, ii, 310, 313, 316, 317; iii, 320; letters, ii, 315, 378; iii, 329; costume, ii, 358; portrait, iii, opp. 316.
Warren, Sir Peter, ii, 421.
Warren, William F., iv, 194; v, 458.
Warren Bridge Company, iv, 79, 113.
Warrington, Lewis, iii, 487.
Wars of the Roses, i, 50.
Warwick (Mass.), founding, ii, 111.
Warwick (R. I.), i, 209-211, 238, 550.
Warwick, Robert Dudley, earl of, i, 52, 78, 98, 196, 199, 210.
Washburn, Governor Emory, iv, 50, 368, 369; v, 41, 106.
Washburn, Frederic A., v, 621.
Washburn, William Barrett, iv, 565, 567, 595-597, 599, 600.
Washington (D. C.), capital city, iii, 415; captured by British, 460, 487; Capitol, iv, 135, 229; monuments, 238.
Washington (Eng.), i, 59.
Washington (Mass.), name, iv, 349.
Washington, Mount, i, 195; iv, 130.
Washington, State of, settlement, v, 146.
"Washington" (brigantine), iii, 33.
"Washington" (U. S. sloop), iii, 59.
Washington, President George, French and Indian War, ii, 424, 426, 436, 442; in legislature, ii, 499; offer to raise troops, ii, 521; commander-in-chief, iii, 18, 31, 78, 160, 161, 223, 229, 234; siege of Boston, iii, 18-26, 120; secretaries, iii, 22; medal, iii, 26, 144; proclamation of independence, iii, 106; toasted in Boston, 111; in central region, 126-133; difficulty with Congress, 144-146; half-pay for officers, iii, 147-149; library, iii, 238; v, 285; lieutenant general of provisional army, iii, 242, 426; circular letter to governors, iii, 366; federal constitutional convention, iii, 377, 381, 390; presidency, iii, 410, 419; tours, iii, 410, 416; Mount Vernon, iv, 212; Freemason, iv, 357; anniversary celebrations, iv, 357; v, 577; characteristics, iii, 19,

223, 235; anecdote, iii, 326; writings, iii, 18-19, 32, 33, 41; iv, 208; views, iii, 256, 261, 368, 377, 417, 511.
Washington, Mrs. Martha (Doddridge), iii, 326.
Washington Benevolent Society, iv, 357.
Washington County (Maine), iii, 446.
Washington family, i, 59, 160.
Washington University (St. Louis), v, 142.
Water, metropolitan supply, iv, 604, 617; v, 29, 30, 69, 70, 73, 86, 264, 332, 336; Boston, iv, 614; v, 76, 85; State supervision, 363.
Water power, abundance, i, 44; development, i, 44; iv, 360, 403, 410; v, 373; geologic cause, i, 15; public control, i, 429.
"Wasp" (U. S. sloop), iii, 483, 487.
Watch and Ward Society, v, 497.
Watchmaking, v, 390.
Watchmen, i, 299; ii, 101; Boston, ii, 244, 245.
Waterbury (Conn.), Indian raid, ii, 84.
Waterford (Ire.), i, 63.
Waterhouse, Benjamin, v, 541.
Waterman, Robert H., iv, 451.
Waters, Captain, iii, 33.
Watertown, founding, i, 59, 100, 261, 525; ii, 106; taxation, i, 106, 169, 173-174; land, 121; weir, 166; emigration, 215; description, 415; Colony tax, 436; townmeeting, ii, 116; Boston town meeting, 253; Provincial Congress, iii, 65; General Court, 97, 113; industries, 110, 360; v, 385; celebration of independence, iii, 111; visited by Washington, 417; schools, iv, 166; v, 239; water, 86.
Waterways and Public Lands, Commission on, v, 30.
Watson, Elkanah, iv, 358.
Watts, Isaac, ii, 317.
Watts, John, ii, 164.
Wauban, i, 538.
Waverley (Mass.), school, v, 239.
Wayside Inn (South Sudbury), (illus.) opp. ii, 276.
Wayside Pulpit, v, 466.
Wealth, in 16th century, i, 51; of colonists, 76, 87, 439-440, 465, 488; ii, 208, 389; theory, i, 474; fortunes in trade, 273, 425; Boston, 440; ii, 389; depletion by war, 420; iii, 55; effect of Revolution, 85; statistics, 348, 351; governing class, iv, 2; twentieth century, v, 405.
Weathersfield (Conn.), i, 535.
Weaving, household industry, i, 266, 284, 318, 425; ii, 370; iii, 319; iv, 363; journeymen, i, 318; instruction, ii, 409; in public, iii, 302; parties, 319; devices, iv, 363.
Webb, General, ii, 435, 438-439.
Webb, Isaac H., iv, 442.
Webster (Mass.), foreign-born in, iv, 154.
Webster, Daniel, iv, 103-138, 211, 482, 552; Mass. Constitutional Convention, iii, 4, 12, 59; lawyer, iv, 51, 54; U. S. Congress, iv, 79, 88, 95, 283, 284, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 294, 297, 299, 311, 474, 480; Secretary of State, iv, 91, 99, 129, 298, 302; Mexican War, iv, 96, 126; presidential candidate, iv, 97, 121, 126, 130; orations, iv, 91, 104, 106, 108, 114, 118, 121, 124, 128, 135, 137, 210; v, 135; travel by stage, iv, 420; views, iv, 48, 422; portrait, iv, frontispiece, opp. 118.
Webster, Ebenezer, iv, 105.
Webster, Fletcher, iv, 117, 126, 134, 511, 513, 523, 524, 527.
Webster, John, ii, 32.
Webster, John W., iv, 56.
Webster, Noah, ii, 318; iv, 369; spelling book (fac simile), opp. iv, 196.
Webster Commission, v, 32.
Webster family, iv, 105, 117, 121, 126.
Weeks, John W., v, 185, 190, 344, 349; portrait, opp. v, 344.
Weights and measures, standardiza-

tion, i, 237, 256; State commissioner, v, 30.
Weld, Charles, iv, 239.
Weld, Theodore, v, 147.
Weld, Thomas, i, 177, 345.
Welford, Jane, ii, 34.
Welles, Samuel, ii, 457.
Wellesley College, iv, 191, 617; v, 206, 265; presidents, iv, 194; admission, v, 244; curriculum, 255; library, 284.
Wellfleet, ii, 110; pirate wrecked, ii, 302; whaling, iii, 83; fisheries, iv, 406.
Wellington, Benjamin, ii, 568.
Wells (Me.), founding, i, 199, 201; witchcraft, ii, 39; attacked by Indians, ii, 71.
Wells, Joseph, iv, 239.
Wells, Wellington, "Political and Governmental Readjustments (1865-1889)," iv, chap. xx, pp. 588-618.
Wenham, founding, i, 529.
Wentworth, Governor (N. H.), Benning, iv, 351.
Wentworth, Governor (N. H.) Sir John, ii, 467, 529.
Wentworth Institute, v, 254.
Wesleyan Building (Boston), v, 458.
Wessagusset. *See* Weymouth.
West (U. S.), French claims, ii, 420; settlement, iv, 74; v, 132-138; influence of Mass., 133, 138-165, 364.
West, Benjamin, iv, 230.
West, Admiral Francis, i, 17, 18, 194, 202.
West, Mary, i, 317.
West Brookfield, cheese, iv, 381.
West Indies, conquest, i, 474. *See also* Commerce; Spain; *also names of islands.*
West Lynn, shipbuilding, v, 388.
West Newbury, combs, iii, 361.
West Newton, school, iv, 180.
West Point Military Academy, first graduate, iii, 474; buildings, iv, 245; appointments sold, iv, 582.
West Roxbury, camp, iv, 526; part of Boston, v, 70.
West Rutland, prison camp, v, 52.
West Springfield, paper, iv, 361; railroad, v, 417.
Westborough, name, ii, 104; founding, 105; singing school, iii, 314; nailery, 559; Lyman School, v, 52.
Westborough, State hospital, v, 59.
Western (Mass.). *See* Warren.
Western Railroad, iv, 75, 90, 367, 427, 428, 430; v, 401.
Western Reserve, v, 138, 142.
Western Reserve University, founding, v, 146; buildings (illus.), opp. v, 146.
Westfield (Mass.), founding, i, 222, 531; ii, 105; in Mass., i, 238; name, ii, 104; schools, iv, 180, 194, 389; industries, 362; v, 401; camp, v, 584, 613.
Westfield, State sanatorium, v, 59.
Westford, founding, ii, 106; in Revolution, 575-577.
Westmoreland (Eng.), i, 57.
Weston (Mass.), founding, i, 530; ii, 103; name, 104; schools, iii, 312.
Weston, Francis, i, 210.
Weston, Nathan, iii, 577.
Weston, Thomas, i, 16, 67, 74, 75, 261, 523.
"Westward Ho!" (clipper ship), iv, 457.
Wetamoo, i, 547.
Wethersfield (Conn.), i, 215.
Weymouth (Mass.), founding, i, 16, 59, 61, 74, 76, 261, 523; population, 431; early history, 534; armory, v, 586.
Weymouth, George, i, 16, 193, 364.
Whale oil, illuminant, i, 36, 263; ii, 403; iii, 532; iv, 404; replaced by petroleum, i, 25; iv, 404; exports, ii, 412; English tax, iii, 528.
Whalebone, ii, 412; iv, 404, 405.
Whales, stranded, i, 35; advertisement, ii, 230.
Whaling causes of decline, i, 25; ii,

404; industry, 35-37; ii, 403, 404;
404; industry, i, 35-37; ii, 403, 404; during Revolution, iii, 83; during War of 1812, 482.
Whalley, General Edward, i, 478.
Wharton, Richard, i, 570-571, 584, 596, 599.
Wheatley, Phillis, ii, 317; iii, 317.
Wheaton College, v, 209.
Wheeler, Sir Charles, ii, 71.
Wheelock, Eleazar, iv, 112.
Wheelwright, Edmund March, iv, 240; v, 155.
Wheelwright, John (1592-1679), i, 205, 206, 310.
Wherwell (Eng.), i, 57.
Whidden, William M. W., iv, 240.
Whig party, rise, iv, 84, 121; strength, 18, 85, 88-91, 93-100, 135, 477, 481-484, 490; policies, 88-100, 477, 480, 481; "cotton Whigs," 93-100; decline, 488, 496.
Whipping, servants, i, 267, 299, 318; penalty, 276-278, 403; ii, 228, 266; iii, 347; children, i, 308, 318; Harvard students, 349; military penalty, ii, 437; school children, iv, 182.
Whipping post, iii, 300.
Whipple, Sherman L., v, 182, 185, 635, 641, 642, 662, 665.
Whips, manufacture, iv, 362; v, 391.
"Whirlwind" (clipper ship), iv, 456.
"Whishaw" (vessel), ii, 302.
Whiskey, iv, 417.
"Whistler" (clipper ship), iv, 460.
White, Caleb, iii, 317.
White, John, i, 19, 57, 58, 97; iii, 214.
White, Joseph, iv, 51.
White Horse (Boston), ii, 284.
White Plains (N. Y.), battle, iii, 128; maneuvers, v, 584.
White Star Line, iv, 463.
Whitefield, George, ii, 306-307, 421; iii, 283, 317.
Whitfield, Henry, i, 376.
Whiting, Lilian, v, 218.
Whitinsville, v, 391.
Whitman, Elizabeth, iii, 289.
Whitman, Ezekiel, iii, 575, 577.
Whitney, Eli, iii, 359; iv, 312.
Whitney, Henry M., politics, v, 177, 178.
Whittemore, Benjamin F., iv, 582.
Whittier, John Greenleaf, ii, 38; iv, 193, 217; v, 151; public interests, iv, 179, 183, 294; abolitionist, iv, 319, 322, 327, 328, 335; politics, iv, 501, 555; suffragist, v, 221; views, iv, 319.
Wickford (R. I.), i, 213.
Widener, Harry Elkins, v, 280.
Widgery, William, iii, 558-561.
Widows, i, 228, 279, 280, 285, 430; ii, 299; iii, 289; seats in church, 299; State aid, v, 51.
Widows Society, iii, 520.
Wigglesworth, Michael, i, 377; iii, 288.
Wilbraham, founding, ii, 111.
Wilde, Samuel Sumner, iii, 552, 578; iv, 54.
Wilder, Charles B., iv, 579.
Wilder, Marshall P., iv, 385, 386, 390.
Wilderness campaign, iv, 538.
Wildes, Sarah, ii, 38, 40.
Wilkes-Barre (Pa.), library, v, 267.
Willard, Mrs. Emma, v, 200.
Willard, Frances, v, 205.
Willard, John, ii, 38, 40.
Willard, Levi, ii, 446.
Willard, Samuel (1640-1707), ii, 25, 49, 55, 273, 278, 299, 333.
Willard, Samuel (1775-1859), iv, 259.
Willett, George F., v, 125.
Willett, Thomas, i, 89.
William III and Mary (Eng.), i, 406; ii, 6, 7, 9, 10, 98, 135.
Williams, Ephraim, ii, 427; iv, 368.
Williams, George, iii, 44, 46, 54.
Williams, George Fred, v, 170, 173, 174, 179.
Williams, Rev. John (1644-1729), ii, 309.
Williams, Nathaniel, ii, 242.
Williams, Nathaniel, ii, 246.

Williams, Roger, i, 80, 133, 142, 178, 179, 207-208, 211-212, 214, 232, 274, 309, 369, 372, 392-395; ii, 337; "The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody" (fac simile), opp. i, 394.
Williams, Mrs. Rufus P., v, 217.
Williams College, founding, ii, 427; iii, 504; iv, 368; v, 265, 501, 544; subsidies, iii, 568; presidents, iv, 185, 368; character, 185; officials, 368; buildings, 232; summer activities, v, 255; library, 284.
Williamsburgh (Mass.), iv, 362.
Williamsburg (Va.), fast day, ii, 524.
Williamstown, vote for independence, iii, 102; "haystack prayermeeting," iv, 356.
Willoughby, Charles C., "The Wilderness and the Indian," i, chap. vi, pp. 127-158.
Wilmington, founding, ii, 106.
Wilmot Proviso, iv, 97.
Wills, probating, i, 236; ii, 14, 193; v, 116; intestacy, i, 236; probate fees, ii, 193; breaking, v, 122; uniform legislation, v, 44; trust companies as executors, v, 343.
Wilson, Edmund R., iv, 240.
Wilson, Henry, Mass. Constitutional Convention, iv, 59; politics, iv, 98, 186, 474-475, 483-484, 489, 490, 552; U. S. Senator, iv, 98, 283, 491, 494, 516, 553, 559, 562, 567-569, 572, 576, 581, 583, 592, 597; Vice President, iv, 98, 491, 597; General Court, iv, 99; schools, iv, 183; portrait, opp. iv, 490.
Wilson, James, iii, 94, 374, 382, 384, 386, 387.
Wilson, James F., portrait, opp. iv, 558.
Wilson, John, i, 82, 114, 344, 393, 395, 396, 578.
Wilson, President Woodrow, v, 184, 189, 222, 600, 603, 633; views, v, 191.
Wiltshire (Eng.), i, 56-57, 58.
Winchendon, independence supported, iii, 102.
Wincob, John, i, 66.
Windows, i, 263; breaking, ii, 280.
Winds, Maury's discoveries, iv, 451, 459.
Windsor (Conn.), i, 84, 86, 215, 217.
Wine, i, 275.
Wing, John, ii, 277.
"Winged Racer" (clipper ship), iv, 457.
Winnenpesaukee, Lake, v, 332.
Winnicumet. *See* Hampton.
Winnisimmet. *See* Chelsea.
Winship, Abiel, iv, 299.
Winship, Albert E., "Education (1820-1890)," iv, chap. vi, pp. 172-198.
Winship, Jonathan, iv, 299.
Winslow, Anna Green, iii, 308, 311, 313.
Winslow, Governor (Plymouth Colony) (1595-1655) Edward, i, 18, 72, 73, 128, 175, 208, 220, 228, 369, 376, 470; portrait, opp. 82.
Winslow, Edward (1714-1784), iii, 253.
Winslow, Isaac, ii, 410.
Winslow, Isaac, iv, 331.
Winslow, General John, ii, 428, 433.
Winslow, Joshua, iii, 308, 311.
Winslow, Governor (Plymouth Colony) Josiah, i, 74, 253-254, 256, 540.
Winslow, Samuel, i, 428.
Winslow, Sidney W., v, 377.
Winslow Guards, iv, 358.
Winsor, Justin, v, 271, 279, 291; portrait, opp. v, 290.
Winter, John, i, 198, 267.
Winthrop (Mass.), water supply, v, 86; shipbuilding, 398.
"Winthrop" (sloop), iii, 35, 59.
Winthrop, Madam Catherine (Brattle), ii, 299, 363.
Winthrop, Fitz-John, ii, 68.
Winthrop, Governor John, i, 53, 159-188, 168, 183, 338, 473; ii, 157, 242; offices, i, 112, 113, 116, 161, 168, 172, 174, 228, 256; governor, 99, 100, 108,

112, 163, 165, 166, 172; public life, 82, 106, 107, 199, 504-505; deputy governor, 112, 168, 396; influence, 172, 214; characteristics, 106, 160, 172, 176-188, 397, 207; wealth, 162, 166, 183, 413, 415; land, 166, 181, 415, 525; shipowner, 184, 265, 447; Harvard College, 342, 344, 346, 351; labor, 265; library, 284; writer, 164, 366, 370; views, 122, 165, 167, 179, 186, 297, 342, 387, 474; ii, 33; iii, 87; anecdotes, i, 182, 294; portrait, i, frontispiece.

Winthrop, John (1606-1676), emigration, i, 56, 161, 166, 526; assistant, i, 112; in Conn., i, 166, 213, 217, 247; business man, i, 184, 428, 505; commissioner, i, 256; education, i, 338, 342.

Winthrop, John (1714-1779), General Court, iii, 107, 108.

Winthrop, Mrs. Margaret, i, 161, 297, 317; iii, 330.

Winthrop, Robert Charles, editor, i, 164; U. S. Congress, iv, 283, 284, 289, 296, 299, 473, 474; politics, 489, 501, 509, 597; views, 476, 485; portrait, opp. iv, 284.

Winthrop, Samuel, ii, 187.

Winthrop, Wait Still, i, 584; ii, 18, 80, 170, 246, 572; portrait, opp. ii, 170.

Winthrop family, i, 160, 161, 162, 166, 184.

Winthrop papers, ii, 314.

Winthrop v. Lechmer, ii, 169.

Wiscasset, admiralty court, iii, 39.

Wise, John, i, 593; ii, 233; iii, 228.

"Witch of the Wave" (clipper ship), iv, 468.

Witchcraft, ii, 32-60; capital punishment, i, 276, 312; ii, 32; extent, i, 276; ii, 29-34; books concerning, i, 374; scepticism, 385; Quakers, 402; in England, ii, 29-32; in Massachusetts, 34-60, 163; 297, 298, 328.

"Witchcraft" (clipper ship), iv, 445, 446, 468, 470.

Wither, George, i, 363.

Witnesses, parties to a suit, iv, 58.

Wituwamat, i, 74.

Wives. *See* Marriage; Widows; Women.

Woburn (Mass.), founding, i, 58, 417, 529; land allotment, 417; taxes in kind, 437; in Revolution, ii, 579; school, iii, 293; library, v, 282; 250th anniversary, 577.

Woedtke, Frederick William, Baron v, 8, 23, 173, 174, 578.

Wolcott, Oliver, iii, 147, 240, 423.

Wolcott, Roger (1678-1767), ii, 309.

Wolcott, Governor Roger (1847-1900),

Wolfe, General James, ii, 304, 440, 442.

Wollaston, Captain, i, 85, 524.

Wolves, bounties, i, 104; troublesome, ii, 407; necklaces of teeth, iii, 285.

Women, i, 293-322; ii, 354-383; iii, 288, 306-337; v, 199-232; Indian, i, 132; veiling, 167, 309-310; property, 301, 302; iii, 334; intellect, i, 167; domestic occupations, 266; iv, 363; wages, i, 270; dress, 272; ii, 358; iii, 283; domestic status, i, 280; protection, 280, 302; whipping, 267, 299, 403; stocks, 276; single, i, 301; ii, 367, 371, 372; veils, i, 309; trades, 318; ii, 371; iii, 114; v, 201; captured by Indians, i, 549; chaperonage, ii, 361; centenarian, 373; anti-British spirit, ii, 484; minority age, iii, 306; schoolteachers, 326; iv, 188; editors, iii, 326; helpmates of famous men, 328; factory operatives, 513; iv, 417; on State committee, 184; ten-hour day, 419; in Civil War, iv, 518, 521, 528; office holding, v, 10; lawyers, 101, 109; separate support, 116; professions, 214; Galatea Collection, 271; in World War, 613; notaries, 650. *See also* Education; Prisons; Red Cross Society; Suffrage.

"Woman Citizen" (periodical), v, 203.

Woman's Education Association, v, 277.

Women's Educational and Industrial Union, v, 221.
"Woman's Journal," v, 203, 206.
Women's Republican Club. *See* Business and Professional Women's Republican Club.
Women's rights movement, iii, 334; iv, 319, 591, 605, 611.
Wood, Jethro, iv, 374.
Wood, William, i, 367, 414; quoted, i, 127, 133, 136, 137, 141, 142, 147, 151, 152, 155, 367; "New England's Prospect," title page (fac simile), opp. i, 414.
Wood, William M., v, 384, 438.
Wood Creek (N. Y.), ii, 68.
Wood engraving, iv, 231.
Woodbridge, John, i, 319; ii, 194.
Woodbury, John, i, 529.
Woodbury, William, i, 529.
Woods Hole, fisheries, iii, 531.
de, iii, 143.
Woodward, Charles F., v, 579, 580.
Woodward, Richard, ii, 305.
Woodworking, iii, 367; iv, 408; carving, iv, 231.
Wool, General John Ellis, iv, 579.
Wool, export, prohibited, ii, 18; preparation, ii, 370; production, iv, 377, 413; tariff, v, 393-395. *See also* Textiles.
Woolen Act (1699), ii, 18.
Woolman, John, ii, 310.
Wooten, W. P., v, 620.
Worcester (Eng.), battle, i, 62.
Worcester (Mass.), in Conn., i, 216; abandoned, 416; allotment of land, 418; founding, 532; ii, 259; nonimportation of English goods, 543; rioting, 547; opposition to revision of charter, iii, 71; Mass. Constitution, 204; population, 408; iv, 281; visited by Washington, iii, 416; possible State capital, 564; foreign-born element, iv, 154; colleges, 186; v, 241, 544; railroads, iv, 367, 427, 428; industries, 409; v, 371, 386, 389, 391, 392, 393, 394, 400; canals, iv, 422; State normal school, 617; State hospital, v, 55, 58, 59; pastors, 462, 463, 467, 470, 522; militia, 574.
Worcester, Alfred, v, 551, 555.
Worcester, Samuel, iv, 261.
Worcester County (Mass.), settlement, ii, 103, 104, 110, 112; convention (1774), 550; wealth, iii, 348; frontier, 548; cotton mills, iv, 281; proslavery sentiment, 332; map (1801), iii, inside cover.
Worcester Medical College, v, 544.
Worcester, Nashua & Rochester Ry., v, 402.
Worcester Polytechnic Institute, founding, iv, 186; v, 261; private support, 240; library, 283.
Worcester Safe Deposit and Trust Company, v, 342.
Worcester Wire Co., v, 383.
Worcestershire (Eng.), i, 58, 61.
Workhouses, i, 284; ii, 267.
Workingmen's party, iv, 83-85.
Workmen's compensation, v, 114, 120, 169, 632; act of 1911, 120, 359; State authorities, 30; insurance, 360.
World Peace Foundation, v, 499.
World War, v, 322, 598-630; service by women, 219, 226; bonuses for service, 334; financing, 349, 601, 602, 603, 613.
Wormely, Katherine Prescott, v, 498.
Woronoak. *See* Westfield.
Worthen, Ezra, iv, 410.
Worthington, John, ii, 457.
Wren, Sir Christopher, iv, 227.
Wrench, v, 380.
Wrentham, founding, i, 530.
Wrentham, State school, v, 59.
Wright, Carroll Davidson, iv, 379; v, 234.
Wright, Elizur, v, 358.
Wright, Mrs. Martha (Coffin), iii, 336.
Wright, Governor (N. Y.) Silas, iv, 369.
Writs, in the king's name, i, 592-593.

Writs, of assistance, ii, 18, 147, 468, 505; case, ii, 175-177, 468-471.
Writtle (Eng.), i, 60.
Wycliffe, John, i, 58.
Wyman, Mrs. Mary, i, 301.
Wyoming, suffrage, v, 202, 205.

X-Y-Z CORRESPONDENCE, iii, 424.

YALE COLLEGE, RELIGION, ii, 308; support by Cotton Mather, 333; naming, 333; buildings, iv, 232; influence, v, 146; medical school, 544.
"Yale" (vessel), v, 580.
Yale, David, i, 122, 167.
Yale, Elihu, ii, 333.
Yancey, William Lowndes, iv, 128.
Yankee Division (U. S. A.), v, 175, 615.
Yankee, type, iv, 363.
Yarmouth (Eng.), i, 59.
Yarmouth (Mass.), i, 83, 287, 526, 530.
Yarmouth (N. S.), iii, 48.
Year, political, iv, 7; fiscal, v, 336.
Yellow fever, v, 541.
York (Me.), founding, i, 195, 197; offenders, i, 315; pillaged, ii, 70.
York (Ontario), iii, 484.
York County, i, 201; iii, 548.
Yorkshire (Eng.), i, 57, 60, 526.
Yorktown (Md.) battle, iii, 133.
"Young America" (clipper ship), iv, 467.
Young, Alse, ii, 33.
Young, Benjamin Loring, v, 43.
Young Men's Christian Association, v, 109, 262, 612.
Youngman, William S., v, 24, 641, 645.
"Youth's Companion," v, 489.

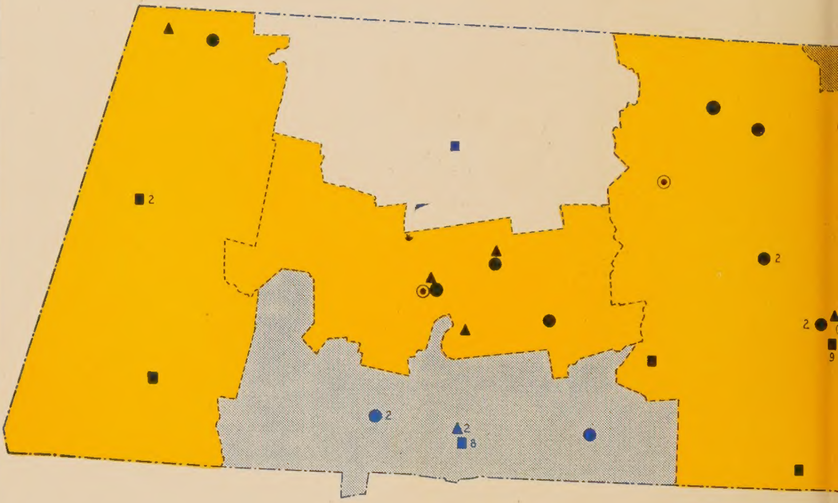
ZAKRZEWSKA, MARIE, v, 216.
Zenger libel case, ii, 171.
"Zephyr" (schooner), iv, 440.
"Zion's Herald," v, 458; v, 493.

SAYINGS

A steel pen made out of a bayonet, iv, 566.
God Save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, first used, opp. iii, 116.
I do not choose to run for President, v, 192.
Independence forever, iii, 249.
Inter arma silent literae, ii, 313.
Let us have peace, iv, 595.
Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable, iv, 212.
Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute, iii, 424.
Salus populi est seprema lex, i, 558.
She's good enough to marry an East India cap'n, iv, 438.
Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my heart and hand to this vote, iv, 211.
Suicide is confession, iv, 110.
Sympathize with the Pilgrim Mothers, who had to live with the Pilgrim Fathers, v, 325.
There can be no constitutional instruction to do an unconstitutional act, v, 191.
There is no right to strike against the public safety, v, 190.
We must all hang together or assuredly we shall all hang separately, ii, 527.
When law and order is the issue, all Americans stand together, v, 191.

SOBRIQUETS

American Farmer, iii, 388.
Atlas of American Independence, iii, 234.
Duke of Summersetts, iii, 562.
Father of American commerce to India, iii, 538.
Father of his Country, iii, 235.
Father of Ohio, v, 138.
Great Incendiary, ii, 528.
Holy Alliance (banks), iii, 578.
John Bull, ii, 534.
John Codline, ii, 534.
Middling Interest, iii, 445.
Six-tailed bashaw, iii, 578.



MAP OF MASSACHUSETTS
SHOWING
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
AND
EDUCATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND STATE INS

SCALE OF MILES
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LEGEND

☐ UNDER 100 PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
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▲ COLLEGES AND UNIVE
⊙ SCIENTIFIC AND TECH
■ MUSEUMS, ART GALLE
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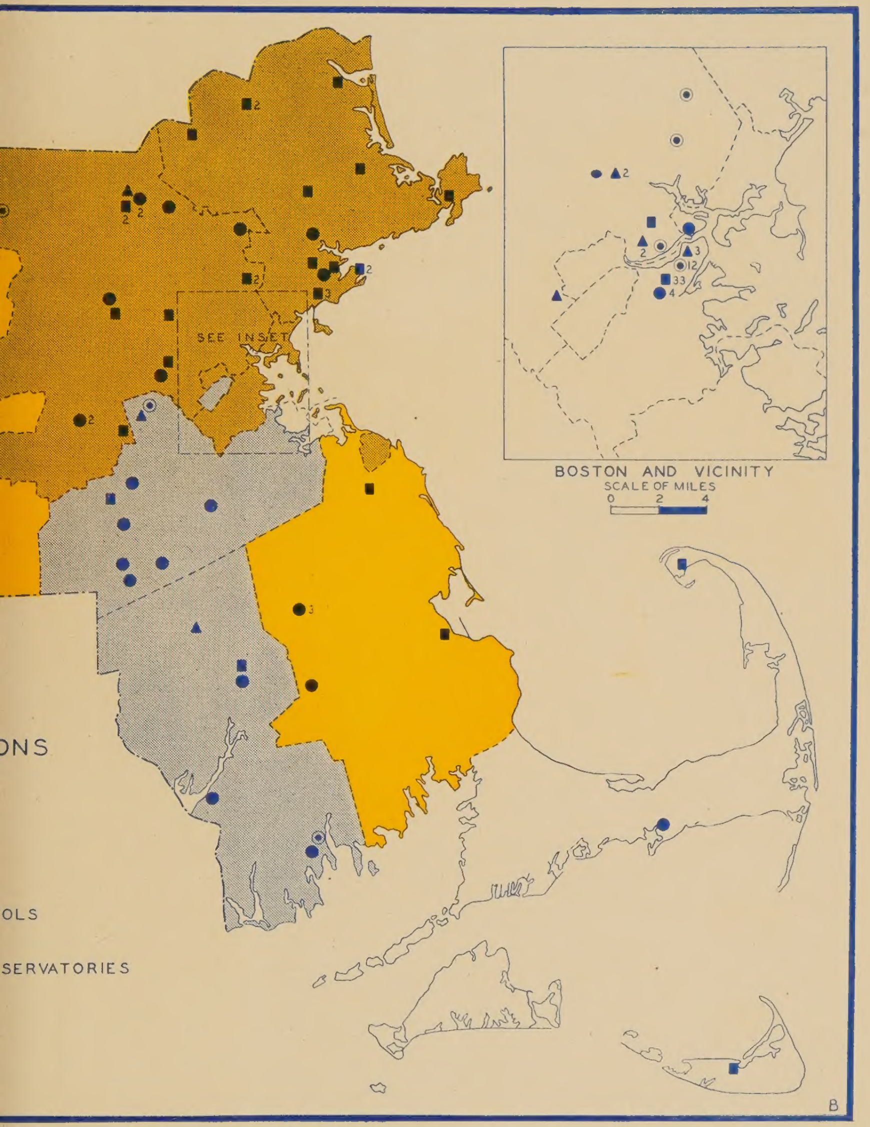
SEE INSET
BOSTON AND VICINITY
SCALE OF MILES
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ONS
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